



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

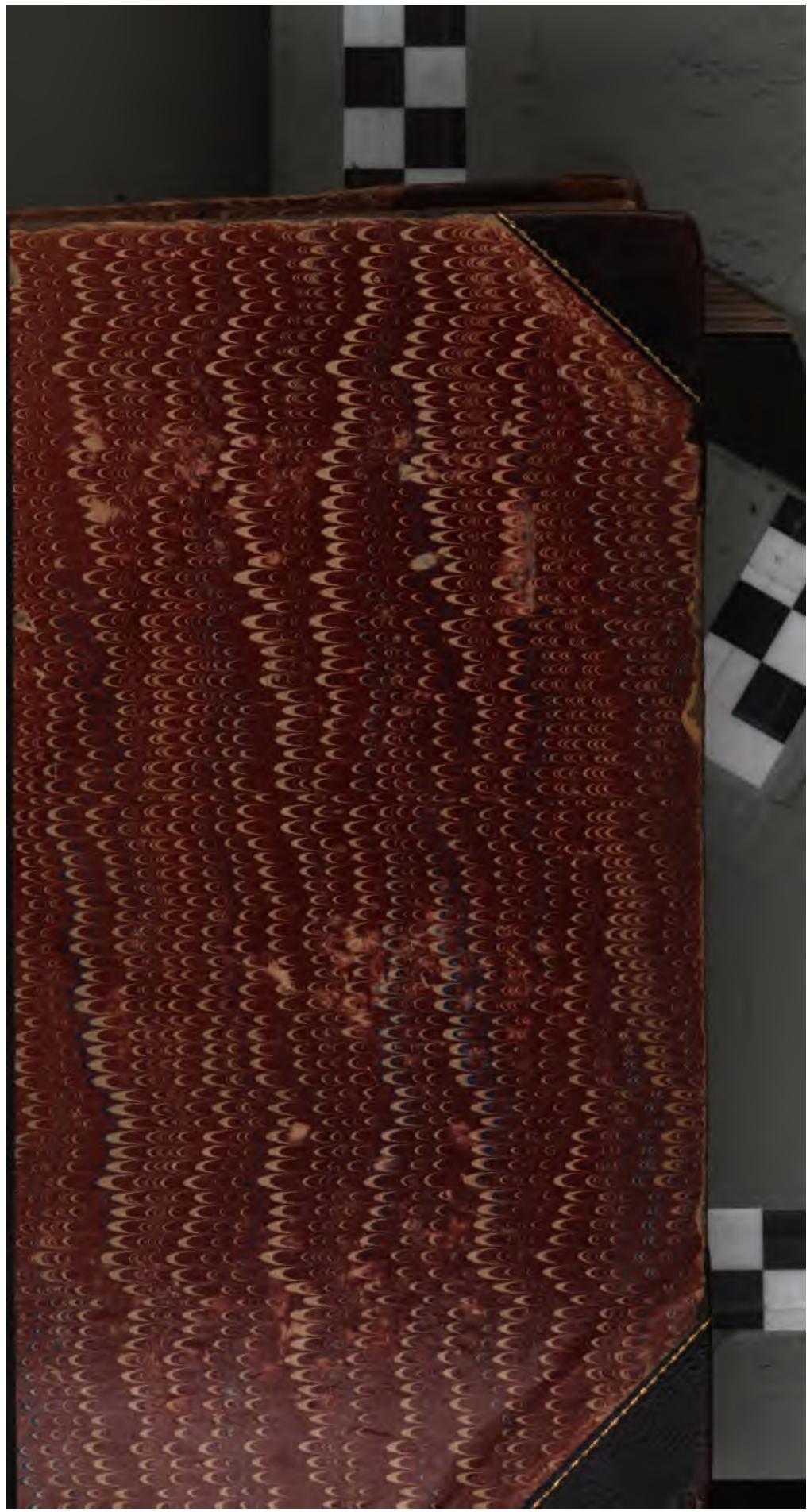
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

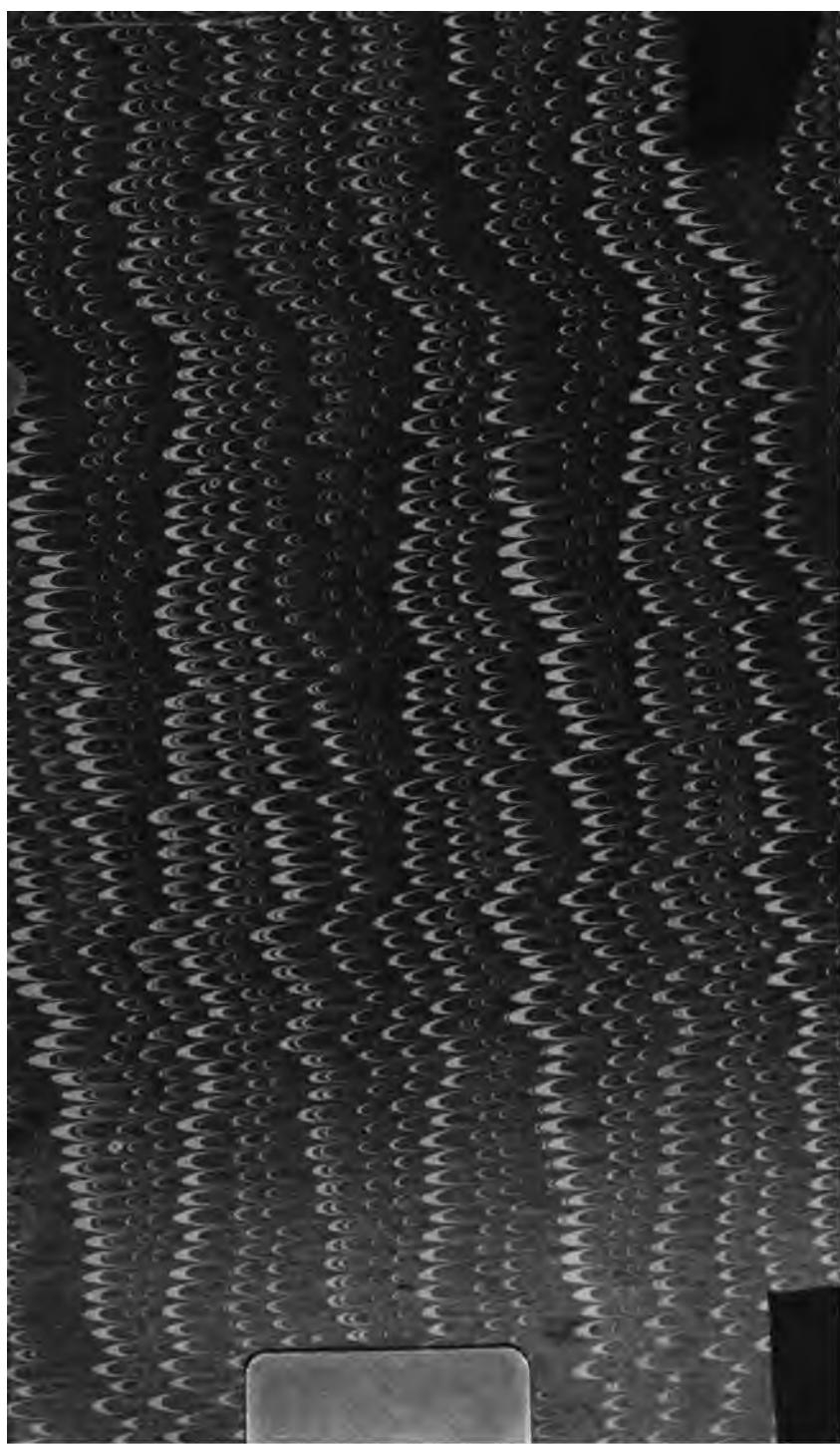
We also ask that you:

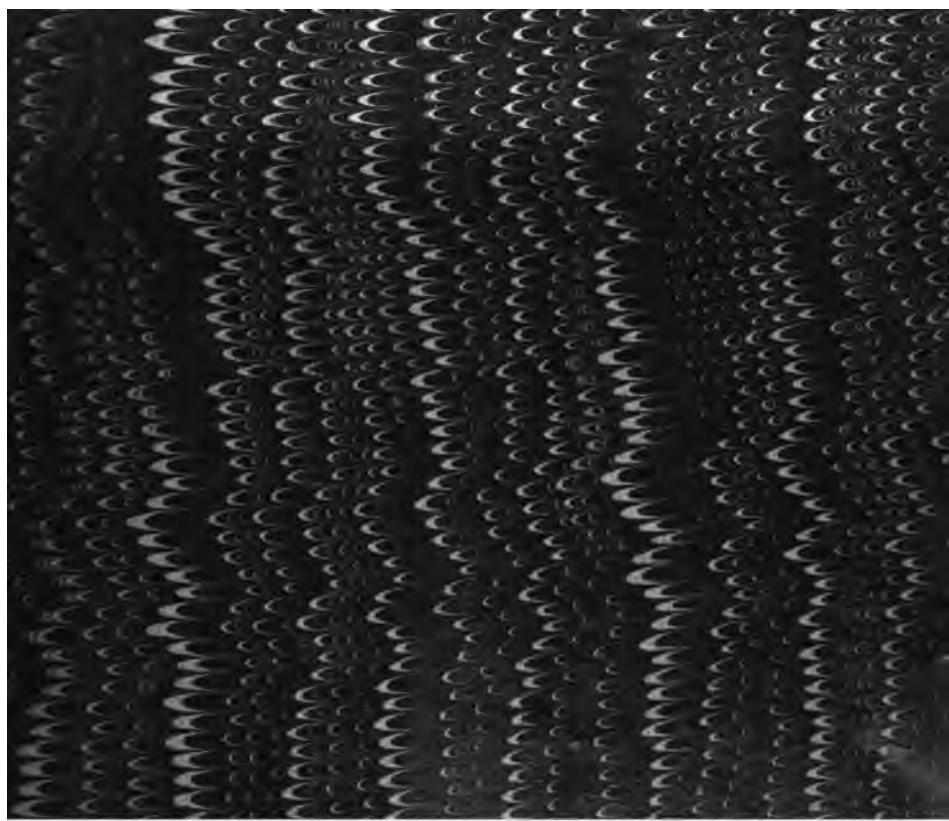
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>







H 42



Compliments of

CHARLES MOORE,

House of Representatives.

Pennsylvania Archives

Second Series.

Reprinted under direction of
CHARLES WARREN STONE,
Secretary of the Commonwealth,



Edited by
JOHN B. LINN AND WM. H. EGLE, M.D.

VOL. IV.

HARRISBURG:
E.K. Meyers, State Printer.

1890.

103444

BRUNSWICK COLLEGE OF MUSIC

PAPERS

BELATING TO

WHAT IS KNOWN

AS THE

WHISKEY INSURRECTION

IN

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

1794.



HISTORICAL NOTES.

Perhaps no part of the history of Pennsylvania is less understood than the insurrection of 1794, commonly known as the "Whiskey Insurrection." A summary, therefore of the various excise laws of Pennsylvania, with their fate as indicating the temper of the people on that subject, together with a notice of the hardships the early settlers of Western Pennsylvania had to endure; the disturbance following the enactment of an Excise law by Congress, and of the measures, peaceable and military, taken to suppress them, will perhaps not be deemed improper in connection with the documents embraced in this volume.

On the 16th of March, 1684, the first Excise was imposed by the Assembly of the Province, in an act, entitled "Bill of Aid and Assistance of the Government."^{*} This objectionable feature thereof was soon after repealed, and not renewed until the year 1738, when the Provincial Assembly passed "An act for laying an excise on wine, rum, brandy and other spirits."[†] So unpopular was this act, that it remained in force only a few months.

In May, 1744,[‡] it was again renewed by the Assembly, for the purpose of providing money without a general tax, not only to purchase arms and ammunition for defense, but to answer such demands as might be made upon the inhabitants of the Province by his Majesty for distressing the public enemy in America. This was not long in operation.

In the year 1772,[§] the attention of the Assembly was once more called to the excise as a productive source of revenue, and a duty was levied on domestic and foreign spirits. At first, however, as to home distilled spirits it was not executed, and indeed, hardly any steps were taken for the purpose, particularly in the older counties. But during the Revolutionary war, the necessities of the State and a temporary unpopularity of distillation, owing to the immense amount of grain consumed, rendered the collection of duties both necessary and practicable, and a considerable revenue was thereby attained. Towards the end of the war, the act was repealed.

In 1780, Congress resolved that an allowance of an additional sum should be made to the army, to compensate for the depreciation of its pay. This was distributed among the States for discharge. Pennsylvania made several appropriations for the purpose, but the revenues so applied turned out to be unproductive. The depreciation fund was always favorably regarded, and upon an application of the officers of the Pennsylvania line,

* Notes of Assembly, I, 29.

† Dallas, I, 298.

‡ Dallas, I, 299.

§ Dallas, I, 634.

another effort was made, the revenue arising from the excise remaining uncollected, was appropriated to this fund, and vigorous measures were taken for its collection.*

Great changes, however, had taken place in the disposition of the people since the first imposition of these duties. The neighboring States were free from the burthen, and in New Jersey, where a law had been passed for the purpose, its execution had been entirely prevented by a powerful combination. The Pennsylvania law, therefore, met with great opposition, especially west of the Allegheny, and there is no evidence that the excise was ever paid in that section.

The majority of the people in the western counties of the State were of Scotch-Irish descent. They had heard of the exaction and oppression in the old country under the excise laws—that houses were entered by excise officers, the most private apartments examined, and that confiscations and imprisonment followed if the smallest quantity of whiskey was discovered not marked with the official brand. They also remembered that resistance to the stamp act and duty on tea, at the commencement of the Revolution, began by the destruction of the tea and a refusal to use the royal stamps; that the design was not to break allegiance to the British throne, but to force a repeal of these odious laws. They were almost to a man enemies to the British government, and had contributed their full proportion in service in establishing the independence of America. To them no other tax of equal amount would have been half so odious. Holding these opinions, it is not to be wondered at that the more hot-headed resorted to threats of violence, and precipitated the riotous proceedings which are detailed in the documents herewith presented.

The condition of Western Pennsylvania at this period we shall not fully describe. Suffice it, however, to say that as late as the year of the insurrection freight in wagons to Philadelphia cost from five to ten dollars per hundred pounds. Salt sold for five dollars a bushel, while iron and steel cost from fifteen to twenty cents a pound. In that fertile region grain was abundantly produced, but there was no market, while the farmers east of the mountains were growing rich by means of the general war in Europe. Trade down the Ohio, despite its danger, had then no outlet, the lower Mississippi being in possession of the Spanish. The freight on a barrel of flour to Philadelphia was as much as it would bring in that market. "Wheat," says Rev. Dr. Carnahan, "was so plentiful and of so little value that it was a common practice to grind that of the best quality and feed it to the cattle, while rye, corn and barley would bring no price as food for man or beast. The only way left for the inhabitants to obtain a little money to purchase salt, iron and other articles necessary in carrying on their farming operations, was by distilling their grain and reducing it into a more portable form, and sending the whiskey over the mountains or down the Ohio to Kentucky, then rapidly filling up and affording a market for that article. The lawfulness or morality of making and drinking whiskey was not in that day called in question. When Western Pennsylvania was in the condition described, the Federal Constitution was adopted, and a most difficult problem, was presented, viz: How to provide ways and means to support

* Dallas, II, 162.

the Government, to pay just and pressing revolutionary claims, and sustain an army to subdue the Indians still harrassing the frontiers. The duties on goods imported were very far from adequate to the wants of the new Government. Taxes were laid on articles supposed to be the least necessary, and, among other things, on distilled liquors or on the stills with which they were manufactured.

The Constitution of the United States provided "that all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;" (section 8.) But it is manifest that the same article may be taxed alike in all the States, and yet the tax may be very unequal and oppressive in particular parts of the country. Excise on stills and whiskey operated in this way; little or no whiskey was manufactured in some of the States, and in different parts of the same State. The western people saw and felt that the excise pressed on them, who were the least able to bear the burden, more heavily than on any other part of the Union. They had more stills and made more whiskey than an equal population in any part of the country. There were very few or no large manufactories where grain was bought and cash paid. There was not capital in the country for that purpose. In some neighborhoods every fifth or sixth farmer was a distiller, who, during the winter season, manufactured his own grain and that of his neighbors into a portable and saleable article. They foresaw that what little money was brought into the country by the sale of whiskey, would be carried away in the form of excise duties.* The people of Western Pennsylvania then regarded a tax on whiskey in the same light as the citizens of the State would now a United States tax on coal and iron.

The State tax as heretofore remarked, having remained a dead letter for years, was repealed, a circumstance not likely to incline the people to submit to a similar law passed by Congress on the 3d of March, 1791, at the suggestion of Gen. Hamilton, then Secretary of the Treasury. This law laid an excise of four pence per gallon on all distilled spirits. The members from Western Pennsylvania, Smilie, of Fayette, and Findley, of Westmoreland, stoutly opposed the passage of the law, and on their return among their constituents loudly and openly disapproved of it. Albert Gallatin, then residing in Fayette county, also opposed the law by all constitutional methods. It was with some difficulty that any one could be found to accept the office of inspector in the western district on account of its unpopularity.

The first public meeting in opposition was held at Redstone Old Fort, 27th July, 1791, where it was concerted that county committees should meet at the four county seats of Fayette, Allegheny, Westmoreland, and Washington. On the 23d August the committee of Washington county passed resolutions, and published them in the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, to the effect that "any person who had accepted or might accept an office under Congress in order to carry the law into effect, should be considered inimical to the interests of the country, and recommending to the citizen of Washington county to treat every person accepting such office with contempt and absolutely to refuse all kind of communication with him and withhold from him all aid, support or comfort.

* Address of Rev. Dr. Carnahan.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

Delegates from the four counties met at Pittsburgh, on 7th September, 1791, and passed severe resolutions against the law. These meetings, composed of influential citizens, served to give consistency to the opposition.

On the 6th September, 1791, a party, armed and disguised, waylaid Robert Johnson, collector for Allegheny and Washington, near Pigeon creek, in Washington county, tarred and feathered him, cut off his hair and took away his horse, leaving him to travel on foot in that mortifying condition. Several persons were proceeded against for the outrage, but the deputy marshal dared not serve the process and "if he had attempted it, believes he should not have returned alive." The man sent privately with the process was seized, whipped, tarred and feathered, his money and horse taken from him, blindfolded and tied in the woods, where he remained five hours.

In October, 1791, an unhappy person, named Wilson, who was in some measure "disordered in his intellects," and affected to be, perhaps thought he was, an exciseman, and was making inquiry for distillers, was pursued by a party in disguise, taken out of his bed, and carried several miles to a blacksmith's shop. There they stripped off his clothes and burned them, and having burned him with a hot iron in several places, they tarred and feathered him and dismissed him naked and wounded. The unhappy man conceived himself to be a martyr to the discharge of an important duty.

In Congress, 8th May, 1792, material modifications were made in the law, lightening the duty, allowing monthly payments, &c.

In August, 1792, government succeeded in getting the use of Wm. Faulkner's house, a captain in the United States army, for an inspection office. He was threatened with scalping, tarring and feathering, and compelled to promise not to let his house for that purpose, and to publish his promise in the Pittsburgh *Gazette*.

The President issued a proclamation 15th September, 1792, enjoining all persons to submit to the law, and desist from all unlawful proceedings. Government determined—first, to prosecute delinquents; second, to seize unexcised spirits on their way to market; and third, to make no purchases for the army except of such spirits as had paid duty.

In April, 1793, a party in disguise attacked in the night the house of Benjamin Wells, collector in Fayette county, but he being from home, they broke open his house, threatened, terrified and abused his family. Warrants were issued against the offenders by Judges Isaac Mason and James Findley, but the sheriff refused to execute them, whereupon he was indicted. On the 22d November they again attacked the house of Benjamin Wells in the night. They compelled him to publish a resignation of his office within two weeks in the papers, on pain of having his house burned.

Notwithstanding these excesses, the law appeared during the latter part of 1793 to be rather gaining ground. Several principal distillers complied, and others showed a disposition, but were restrained by fear.

In June, 1794, John Wells, the collector for Westmoreland, opened his office at the house of Philip Reagan, in that county. An attack was made in the night by a numerous body of men. Reagan expected them, and had prepared himself with guns

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

7

and one or two men. The firing commenced from the house, and the assailants fired at it for some time, without effect on either side. The insurgents then set fire to Reagan's barn, which they burned, and retired. In the course of a day or two 150 men returned to renew the attack. After some parleying, Reagan, rather than shed blood, proposed to capitulate, provided they would give him honorable terms and assurances that they would neither abuse his person nor property, he to give up his commission, and never again act as an exciseman. These stipulations were agreed to, reduced to writing and signed by the parties. Reagan then opened his door and came out with a keg of whiskey and treated them. However, after the whiskey was drunk, some of them began to say that he was let off too easy, and that he ought to be set up as a target to be shot at. Some were for tarring and feathering him, but others took his part, and said he had acted manfully, and that after capitulating they were bound to treat him honorably. At length they got to fighting amongst themselves. After this it was proposed and carried that Reagan should be court-martialled, and that they would march off right away to Ben. Wells, of Fayette county, the excise officer there, and catch him and try him and Reagan both together. They set out accordingly, taking Reagan along but when they arrived at Wells' house he was not there, so they set fire to it and burned it to the ground with all its contents. They left an ambush near the ruins, in order to seize Wells. Next morning he was taken, but during the night, as Reagan had escaped and Wells was very submissive with them, they let him off without further molestation.

The next attack was made on Captain Webster, the excise officer for Somerset county, by a company of about 150 men from Westmoreland. They took his commission from him, and made him promise never again to act as a collector of excise. An attempt was made by some of the party to fire his haystacks, but it was prevented by others. They marched homeward, taking Webster a few miles. Seeing him very submissive, they ordered him to mount a stump and repeat his promise never again to act as a collector of excise, and to hurrah three times for "Tom the Tinker," after which they dismissed him.

This term, "Tom the Tinker," came into popular use to designate the opposition to the excise law. It was not given by adversaries as a term of reproach, but assumed by the insurgents in disguise at an early period. "A certain John Holcroft," says Mr. Brackenridge, "was thought to have made the first application of it at the attack on Win. Coughran, whose still was cut to pieces. This was humorously called mending his still. The menders, of course, must be tinkers, and the name collectively became Tom the Tinker." Advertisements were put up on trees and other conspicuous places, with the signature of Tom the Tinker, threatening individuals, admonishing or commanding them. Menacing letters, with the same signature, were sent to the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, with orders to publish them, and the editor did not dare refuse. "At Braddock's field the acclamation was, 'Hurrah for Tom the Tinker!' 'Are you a Tom Tinkers' man?' Every man was willing to be thought so, and some had great trouble to wipe off imputations to the contrary." Mr. Findley says "it afterwards appeared that the letters did not originate with Holcroft, though the inventor of them has never been discovered."

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

The office in Washington opened to receive the annual entries of stills, after repeated attempts, was suppressed. At first the sign was pulled down. On the 6th of June, twelve persons, armed and painted black, broke into the house of John Lynn, where the office was kept, and, beguiling him by a promise of safety to come down stairs, they seized and tied him, threatened to hang him, took him into the woods, cut off his hair, tarred and feathered him, and swore him never again to allow the use of his house for an office, never to disclose their names, and never again to aid the excise; having done this, they bound him, naked to a tree and left him. He extricated himself next morning. They afterwards pulled down part of his house, and compelled him to seek an asylum elsewhere.

In Congress, on the 5th of June, 1794, the excise law was amended. Those, however, who desired not amendment, but absolute repeal, were thereby incited to push matters to a more violent crisis. It became indispensable for the government to meet the opposition with more decision. Process issued against a number of non-complying distillers in Fayette and Allegheny. Indictments were found against Robert Smilie and John M'Culloch, rioters, and process issued accordingly.

It was cause of great and just complaint in the western counties, that the federal courts sat only on the eastern side of the mountains, and that individuals were subjected to ruinous expenses when forced to attend them. The processes, requiring the delinquent distillers to appear at Philadelphia, arrived in the west at the period of harvest, when small parties of men were likely to be assembled together in the fields. In Fayette county the marshal executed his processes without interruption, though under discouraging circumstances. In that county the most influential citizens and distillers, had at a meeting, in the winter or spring previous, agreed to promote submission to the laws, on condition that a change should be made in the officers.

In Allegheny county, the marshal had successfully served all the processes except the last, when, unfortunately, he went into Pittsburgh. The next day, 15th July, 1794, he went in company with Gen. Neville, the inspector, to serve the last writ on a distiller named Miller, near Peter's creek. It is believed that had Major Lenox, the marshal, gone alone to serve that remaining one, there would have been no interruption. Unfortunately he called on the inspector to accompany him. Gen. Neville was a man of the most deserved popularity, says Judge Wilkinson, and in order to allay opposition to the law as far as possible, was appointed inspector for Western Pennsylvania. His appearing, however, in company with the marshal, excited the indignation of some of Miller's neighbors, and on the return of the marshal and inspector, they were followed by five or six men, armed, and a gun was discharged towards them, not, it is believed, with a design to injure, but to alarm them and show their dislike towards the inspector.

On the day of this occurrence, there was a military meeting at Mingo creek, about seven miles distant from the inspector's house, for the purpose of drafting men to go against the Indians. A report of the attack on the marshal and inspector was carried to this meeting, and on the day following at day-light, about thirty young men, headed by John Holcroft, the reputed "Tom the Tinker," assembled at the house of the inspector and de-

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

9

manded the delivery of his commission and official papers. This was refused, and the firing of guns commenced. It is not known who fired the first gun—the insurgents always maintaining that it came from the house, and their only intention was to alarm the inspector, and to cause him to deliver his papers.

The firing went on for some time from the house and from the assailants. At length a horn was sounded in the house, and then there was a discharge of firearms from the negro quarters, which stood apart from the mansion house. From the guns of the negroes, who probably used small shots, five or six of the insurgents were wounded, one of them mortally. Forthwith the report spread that the blood of citizens had been shed, and a call was made on all who valued liberty or life to assemble at Mingo Creek meeting house, prepared to avenge the outrage. Some went willingly, others were compelled to go. A large number assembled at the place of rendezvous. Three men were appointed to direct the expedition, and Major Macfarlane, who had been an officer in the Pennsylvania Line of the Revolution, was chosen to command the armed force. When they came within half a mile of Neville's house, leaving those who had no firearms in charge of the horses, they advanced. After the first attack, Neville had left his house, and Major Kirkpatrick, with ten or twelve United States soldiers, had come to defend it. Kirkpatrick was allied to the family of Neville by marriage. When the assailants approached the house the three men who were to superintend the affair took their station on an eminence at a distance. Macfarlane and his men approached within gunshot and demanded Neville. It was answered that Neville was not in the house nor on the premises. His commission and official papers were then demanded, with a declaration that if not delivered they would be taken by force. Kirkpatrick replied that he had a sufficient force to defend the house, and he would not surrender the papers. Macfarlane informed him that he would wait until the women and children, which he observed were in the house, had withdrawn, and then he would commence the attack, unless his demands were complied with. The women withdrew and the firing began on both sides.

After several rounds, the firing seemed to cease from the house, and Macfarlane, supposing a parley was desired, stepped from behind a tree which protected him and ordered his men to stop. At that instant a ball from the house struck him, and he expired in a few minutes. Some of the assailants, without orders, applied a torch to the barn; from the barn the fire spread to the other outbuildings, and from them to the dwelling house. When the house caught fire, Kirkpatrick surrendered and was permitted to leave, with his command uninjured.

The death and funeral of Macfarlane greatly increased the excitement, and runners were sent forth to call a meeting of the people at Mingo Creek meeting house, to determine what measures were to be taken. In the town of Washington among others, the messenger urged David Bradford and Col. John Marshall, to attend the proposed meeting. At first, they both refused. Marshall said he would have nothing to do with the business; and Bradford declined on the ground that he was prosecuting attorney for the county, and that his services in that capacity might hereafter be called for. They afterwards changed their minds, attended the meeting, where hearing the

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

story of what they called the murder of Macfarlane their sympathies became excited, and from that moment they took a warm and active part. The prominent persons at this meeting were those named, and Messrs Parkinson, Cook and Brackenridge. The latter, it appears, attended for the purpose of gaining their confidence. He suggested that though what they had done might be morally right, yet it was legally wrong, and advised the propriety of consulting their fellow citizens. A meeting of delegates from the Western counties was therefore ordered to be held at Parkinson's Ferry, now Monongahela City, on the 14th of August.

A night or two after the meeting at Mingo creek, Bradford and Marshall got possession of the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia mail. The postboy had been attacked and the mail taken from him by two men near Greensburg. The object was to ascertain what had been written to the east, respecting the disturbance. Letters were found giving sad accounts of their doings, and naming individuals concerned. Those of Gen. Gibson, Col. Presley Neville, Mr. Bryson and Mr. Edward Day, gave the greatest offense to the insurgents. The documents not referring to this affair were put into the mail bag and returned to the post office in Pittsburgh. The authors of the objectionable letters, were, in consequence, obliged to leave Pittsburgh by some circuitous route, or conceal themselves, that it might be given out publicly that they were gone.

In the meantime, Bradford and others, without a semblance of authority, issued a circular letter to the colonels of the several regiments in the western counties, requiring them to assemble their commands at the usual place of rendezvous, fully equipped with firearms and ammunition and four days' provision, and from thence to march to Braddock's field, so as to arrive on Friday, the 1st of August. Strange to say, it was in many instances promptly obeyed; many who despised it at heart did not dare to disobey it. Bradford afterwards denied that he gave such an order.

There were but three days between the date of the orders and the time of assemblage, yet a vast and excited multitude was brought together, many in companies, under arms. Some were well disposed towards the Government, but came for fear of being proscribed; others as mere spectators; others, such as Hugh H. Brackenridge and several from Pittsburgh, to put themselves, if possible, at the head of the multitude and restrain them, by organization and management, from proceeding to open outrage and rebellion. Great apprehension was entertained that the insurgents might proceed to Pittsburgh and burn the town. The obnoxious persons had been banished, as if by authority, in deference to the demand of the Tom Tinker men, and the Pittsburgh delegation were careful to announce the fact at Braddock's field. Probably the majority of those assembled were secretly well disposed towards the Government, but afraid to come out and avow it. Mr. Brackenridge thus describes the feeling that prevailed there and throughout the western counties: "A breath in favor of the law was sufficient to ruin any man. It was considered as a badge of toryism. A clergyman was not thought orthodox in the pulpit unless against the law. A physician was not capable of administering medicine, unless his principles were right in this respect. A lawyer could have got no practice without at least concealing his sentiments, if

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

11

for the law; nor could a merchant at a country store get custom. On the contrary, to talk against the law was the way to office and emolument. To go to the Legislature or to Congress, you must make a noise against it. It was the *Shibboleth* of safety, and the ladder of ambition."

It was proposed by Bradford to march and attack the garrison at Pittsburgh, but this was abandoned. Bradford now moved that the troops should go on to Pittsburgh. "Yes", said Brackenridge, "by all means; at least to give a proof that the strictest order can be observed, and no damage done. We will just march through, and, taking a turn, come out upon the banks of the Monongahela; and after taking a little whiskey with the inhabitants the troops will embark and cross the river." Officers having been appointed, Edward Cook and Bradford, generals, and Col. Blakenay, officer of the day, the insurgents marched in a body by the Monongahela road, to Pittsburgh,

By the wily management of the Pittsburgh gentlemen the greater part of the company, after being diverted by a treat, were got across the Monongahela. A few, however, remained, determined to burn Gen. Neville's house, in town, and Gen. Gibson's and others. By the influence of Col Cook, Marshall and others of the insurgent party, this outrage was prevented. Major Kirkpatrick's barn, across the river, was burned. If they had succeeded in burning two or three houses the whole town must have been consumed. "The people," says Mr. Brackenridge, "were mad. It never came into my head to use force on the occasion. I thought it safest to give good words and good drink, rather than balls and powder. It cost me four barrels of old whiskey that day, and I would rather spare that than a quart of blood."

An account of these turbulent proceedings reaching the State and national authorities, a conference was immediately held. Gov. Mifflin, on the 6th of August, appointed Chief Justice McKeon and General William Irvine to proceed immediately to the western country to ascertain the facts relative to the late riots, and, if practicable, to bring the insurgents to a sense of their duty. The day following, President Washington issued a proclamation of warning, commanding "all persons being insurgents, on or before the first day of September, to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes," at the same time directing the raising of troops, "to be held in readiness to march at a moment's warning." The quota of the States was as follows:

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Total.
Pennsylvania,	4,500	500	200	5,200
New Jersey,	1,500	500	100	2,100
Maryland,	2,000	200	150	2,350
Virginia,	3,000	300	. .	3,300
	<u>11,000</u>	<u>1,500</u>	<u>450</u>	<u>12,950</u>

The same day Gov. Mifflin, of Pennsylvania, issued a similar proclamation, directing the quota of the State to be armed and equipped as speedily as possible. The Governor issued a second proclamation calling together the Assembly of the State in special session.

On the 8th, the President appointed James Ross, Jasper

Yeates and William Bradford forthwith to repair to the western counties and confer with such bodies or individuals as they may approve, "in order to quiet and extinguish the insurrection," giving them full instructions and ample powers concerning the same.

These proceedings in the east, had not been received west of the Alleghenies previous to the meeting called for the 14th of August, at Parkinson's Ferry. This was composed of two hundred and sixty delegates elected by the respective counties of Westmoreland, Fayette, Allegheny, Washington and that part of Bedford lying west of the mountains, and by the county of Ohio, in Virginia. Many had been sent with a view to stem the current of disorder until it had time to cool down. This however, was only to be accomplished, as some thought, not by open opposition, but by covert management. Col. Cook was appointed chairman, and Albert Gallatin secretary. Gallatin, Brackenridge and Judge Edgar, of Washington county, took a prominent part in the discussions. The intemperate resolutions were gradually softened down or explained away. The organic force of the insurrection was condensed into a committee of sixty, one from each township; and this committee was again represented by a standing executive committee of twelve. The committee of sixty was to meet at Redstone Old Fort on the 2d of September, and the standing committee were in the meantime to confer with the U. S. commissioners, whose arrival had been announced at Pittsburgh, during the meeting. To gain time and restore quietness was the great object with Gallatin and his friends. Mr. Gallatin presented with great force the folly of past resistance, and the ruinous consequences to the country of the continuance of the insurrection. He urged that the government was bound to vindicate the laws, and that it would surely send an overwhelming force against them. He placed the subject in a new light, and showed the insurrection to be a much more serious affair than it had before appeared.

The Pennsylvania commissioners reached Pittsburgh on the 17th. On the 20th the commissioners on the part of the Union, with those on the part of the State, met the committee appointed at the meeting at Parkinson's Ferry. At this conference, preliminary proceedings were taken which resulted in propositions by both bodies of commissioners, who explicitly declared that the exercise of the powers vested in them "to suspend prosecutions," "to engage for a general pardon and oblivion of them," "must be preceded by full and satisfactory assurances of a sincere determination in the people to obey the laws of the United States." The committee presented their grievances, dwelling principally, says Chief Justice McKean, on their being sued in the courts of the United States, and compelled to attend trials at the distance of three hundred miles from their places of abode, before judges and jurors who were strangers to them. Every argument against an excise was urged but it was clearly evidenced that there was an apprehension in the gentlemen of the committee themselves respecting the safety of their own persons and property, if they should even recommend what they conceived best for the people in the deplorable situation to which they had brought themselves.

The conference adjourned to the 28th of August, to meet the committee of sixty at Redstone Old Fort, now Brownsville, where, after two days' session, the propositions of the com-

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

13

missioners were finally recommended for acceptance. The meeting was opened by a long, sensible, and eloquent speech by Mr. Gallatin, in favor of law and order. Mr. Brackenridge enforced and enlarged upon the arguments already advanced by Gallatin. Bradford, in opposition, let off almost intemperate harangue; but when he found the vote, 34 to 28, was against him, he retired in disgust. Afterwards, alleging that he was not supported by his friends, he signed the terms of subinission, and advised others to do it. Judge Edgar summed up the argument for submission, and, by his pious and respectable character and his venerable appearance, won many over to his side.

Such was the fear of the popular phrensy that it was with difficulty a vote could be had at this meeting. No one would vote by standing up. None would write a yea or nay, lest his handwriting should be recognized. At last it was determined that *yea* and *nay* should be written by the secretary on the same pieces of paper, and be distributed, leaving each member to chew up or destroy one of the words, while he put the other in the box. This resulted in the appointment of another committee to confer with the commissioners, who were also empowered "to communicate throughout the several counties the day at which the sense of the people was expected to be taken" on this question, "*Will the people submit to the laws of the United States upon the terms proposed by the Commissioners of the United States?*"

The foregoing test of submission was to be signed individually by the citizens throughout the western counties before or on the 11th of September. Only ten days intervened, says Rev. Dr. Carnahan, between the offer of the new terms and the day on which each individual should secure an amnesty of the past by a written promise of submission to the laws. Four of these days passed before the terms were printed, leaving only six days to circulate information over a region much larger than the State of New Jersey. There was no opportunity to instruct the people respecting what was to be done. The consequence was that in some places the people did not meet at all.

All the commissioners had returned to Philadelphia before the day of signing, except James Ross who remained to carry the signatures to the government. Bradford and Marshall signed on the day appointed and to the credit of the former be it stated that he made a long speech, exhorting the people to submit. His declaration, signed by himself and a number of others, is found among the documents following.

The report of the commissioners, however, was so unfavorable that the President thought it necessary to send over the mountains the army already collected, but within a few days after Mr. Ross left with the papers signed, a sudden and great change took place in the sentiments and conduct of the insurgents. Various meetings were held and strong resolutions were passed, expressing their ready submission to the laws of the land. Ohio county, Virginia, was the only exception—the inhabitants of that district being as rebellious as ever.

The army, as previously stated, consisted of 12,050 men. Governor Henry Lee, of Virginia, was placed in chief command. Governor Thomas Mifflin, of Pennsylvania; Governor Richard Howell, of New Jersey; Governor Thomas S. Lee, of Maryland, and General Daniel Morgan, of Virginia, commanded the volunteers from the respective States.

The President, accompanied by General Henry Knox, Sec-

retary of War, General Alex. Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, and Judge Richard Peters, of the United States District Court, set out for Western Pennsylvania on the 1st of October. On Friday His Excellency reached Harrisburg, and on the day following, Carlisle, where the main body of the army had preceded him.

The meeting of the Committee of Safety at Parkinson's Ferry on the 2d of October, appointed William Findley, of Westmoreland, and David Redick, of Washington county, commissioners to wait on the President and to assure him that submission and order could be restored without the aid of military force. They met President Washington at Carlisle on the 10th, where several interviews were had. They made known to him the change that had taken place, that the great body of the people who had no concern in the disorders, remained quietly at their home and attended to their business, had become convinced that the violence used would ruin the country; that they had formed themselves into associations to suppress disorder and to promote submission to the laws. The President in reply stated that as the army was already on its way to the disaffected region, the orders would not be countermanded, yet assured the delegates that no violence would be used, and all that was desired was to have the inhabitants come back to their allegiance.

The commissioners returned, called another meeting of the Committee of Safety at Parkinson's Ferry, on the 24th, and made their report. Assurances were received from all parts of the country that resistance to the laws had been abandoned, and that no excise officer would be molested in the execution of his duties. The same commissioners with the addition of Messrs. Ephraim Douglass and Thomas Morton, were appointed to meet the President on his arrival at Bedford, and inform him of the state of the country.

The President left Carlisle on the 11th of October, reaching Chambersburg on the same day, Williamsport on the 13th, and Fort Cumberland on the 14th, to review the left division of the army, consisting of the Virginia and Maryland volunteers. On the 19th, he reached Bedford where he remained two or three days, then returned to the Capital, which he reached on the 28th.

In the meantime, the commissioners appointed by the insurgents, finding that the President had left for the east, proceeded to Uniontown, to confer with Gen. Lee, in whose hands all power to treat with them had been delegated, who received them with civility, assuring that no exertions would be wanting on his part to prevent injury to the persons and property of the peaceable inhabitants. He bade the commissioners to "quiet the apprehensions of all on this score," that he expected on the part of "all good citizens the most active and faithful co-operation, which could not be more effectually given than by circulating in the most public manner, the truth among the people, and by inducing the various clubs which had so successfully poisoned the minds of the inhabitants to continue their usual meetings for the pious purpose of contradicting with their customary formalities their past pernicious doctrines. A conduct, he continued, so candid should partially atone for the injuries which, in a great degree, may be attributed to their instrumentality, and must have a propitious influence in administering a radical cure to the existing disorders." This report was printed and widely circulated. The General himself published

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

15

an address to the inhabitants of the "Four Western Counties," recommending the subscribing "*an oath to support the Constitution and obey the laws*, and by entering into an association to protect and aid all the officers of government in the execution of their respective duties."

Notices were at once issued by all the justices of the peace that books were opened at their respective offices "to receive the tests or oaths of allegiance of all good citizens." At the same time Gen. Neville gave official notice for the immediate entering of all stills. At once the people attended to the requirements of the commander-in-chief of the army and the law, and on the 17th of November, general orders were issued for the immediate return of the troops, except a small detachment under Gen. Morgan, directed to remain at Pittsburgh "for the winter defense."

A formal investigation was held by Judge Peters, at which information was made against many who had really been guilty of no offense against the government. Some were released through the interposition of influential friends, while others less fortunate, were sent to Philadelphia on trial where they were imprisoned for ten or twelve months. Several were finally tried, one or two convicted, but subsequently pardoned.

In the language of Dr. Carnahan, "this occurrence was salutary as an example, showing that the Federal Government was not a rope of sand which might be broken at the will of any section of the country, whenever any State or part of a State, thought a particular law might be oppressive."

RESOLUTIONS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

June 22d, 1791.

The Legislature of this Commonwealth, ever attentive to the rights of their constituents, and conceiving it a duty incumbent on them to express their sentiments on such matters of a public nature as in their opinion have a tendency to destroy their rights, have agreed to the following resolutions:

Resolved, That any proceeding on the part of the United States tending to the collection of revenue by means of excise, established on principles subversive of peace, liberty and the rights of the citizens, ought to attract the attention of this House.

Resolved, That no public urgency within the knowledge or contemplation of this House can, in their opinion, warrant the adoption of any species of taxation which shall violate those rights which are the basis of our government, and which would exhibit the singular spectacle of a nation resolutely oppressing the oppressed of others, in order to enslave itself.

Resolved, That these sentiments be communicated to the Senators representing the State of Pennsylvania in the Senate of the United States, with a hope that they will oppose every part of the excise bill now before the Congress which shall militate against the rights and liberties of the people.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING AT PITTSBURGH—1791.

AT PITTSBURGH,

the 7th of September, 1791.

The following gentlemen appeared from the counties of Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette and Allegheny, to take into consideration an act of Congress, laying duties upon spirits distilled within the United States, passed the 8d of March, 1791:

For Westmoreland county—Nehemiah Stokely and John Young, esquires.

For Washington county—Col. James Marshall, Rev. David Phillips and David Bradford, esquire.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

17

For Fayette county—Edward Cook, Nathaniel Bradly and John Oliphant, esquires.

For Allegheny county—Col. Thomas Morton, John Woods, Esq'r, and William Plumer, Esq'r.

Edward Cook, Esquire, was voted in the chair, and John Young appointed secretary.

Resolved, That having considered the laws of the late Congress, it is our opinion that in a very short time hasty strides have been made to all that is unjust and oppressive. We note particularly the exorbitant salaries of officers, the unreasonable interest of the public debt, and the making no discriminations between the original holders of public securities and the transferees, contrary to the ideas of natural justice in sanctioning an advantage which was not in the contemplation of the party himself to receive, and contrary to the municipal law of most nations and ours particularly, the carrying into effect an unconscionable bargain where an undue advantage has been taken of the ignorance or necessities of another; and also contrary to the interest and happiness of these States, being subversive of industry by common means, where men seem to make fortunes by the fortuitous concurrence of circumstances, rather than by economic, virtuous and useful employment. What is an evil still greater, the constituting a capital of nearly eighty millions of dollars in the hands of a few persons who may influence those occasionally, in power, to evade the Constitution. As an instance of this, already taken place, we note the act establishing a National Bank on the doctrine of implication, but more especially we bear testimony to what is a base offspring of the funding system, the excise law of Congress, entitled "An act laying duties upon distilled spirits within the United States," passed the 3d of March, 1791.

Resolved, That the said law is deservedly obnoxious to the feeling and interests of the people in general, as being attended with infringements on liberty, partial in its operations, attended with great expense in the collection, and liable to much abuse. It operates on a domestic manufacture, a manufacture not equal through the States. It is insulting to the feelings of the people to have their vessels marked, houses painted and ransacked, to be subject to informers, gaining by the occasional delinquency of others. It is a bad precedent tending to introduce the excise laws of Great Britain and of countries where the liberty, property and even the morals of the people are sported with, to gratify particular men in their ambitious and interested measures.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this committee, the duties imposed by the said act on spirits distilled from the produce of the

soil of the United States, will eventually discourage agriculture, and a manufacture highly beneficial in the present state of the country, that those duties which fall heavy, especially upon the western parts of the United States, which are, for the most part, newly settled, and where the aggregate of the citizens is of the laborious and poorer class, who have not the means of procuring the wines, spirituous liquors, &c., imported from foreign countries.

Resolved, That there appears to be no substantial difference between a duty on what is manufactured from the produce of a country and the produce in its natural state, except, perhaps, that in the first instance, the article is more deserving of the encouragement of wise legislation as promotive of industry, the population and strength of the country at large. The excise on home-made spirituous liquors, affects particularly, the raising of grain, especially rye, and there can be no solid reason for taxing it more than any other article of the growth of the United States.

Resolved, That the foregoing representations be presented to the Legislature of the United States.

Resolved, That the following remonstrance be presented to the Legislature of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That the following address, together with the whole proceedings of this committee, which were unanimously adopted, be printed in the Pittsburgh *Gazette*. "

Signed by order of the Committee,

EDWARD COOK,
Chairman.

LAW OF PENNSYLVANIA REPEALING COLLECTION OF EXCISE.

AN ACT to repeal so much of every act or acts of Assembly of this State, as relates to the collection of excise duties.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same*, That so much of every act or acts of Assembly, as authorize the collection of any duty or duties upon wine, rum, brandy or other spirituous liquors, shall be and the same are hereby repealed.

SEC. 2. *Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That nothing herein contained shall be deemed or

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

19

construed to prevent the recovery of all such duties upon the said articles, as are now due to the Commonwealth; nor to release or take away any forfeiture or penalty, which any person or persons may have incurred by reason of the said acts of Assembly; but that all prosecutions commenced, or which may be commenced in consequence thereof, may be prosecuted to as full effect as if such acts, or parts thereof, had not been repealed.

WILLIAM BINGHAM,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
RICHARD PETERS,
Speaker of the Senate.

APPROVED—September the twenty-first, 1791.

THOMAS MIFFLIN,
Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

ACT OF CONGRESS RELATING TO EXCISE.

AN ACT concerning the duties on spirits distilled within the United States.

SECTION 1, *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled,* That from and after the last day of June next, the present duties upon spirits distilled within the United States, and on stills, shall cease, and that in lieu thereof, upon all spirits which after the said day shall be distilled within the United States and wholly or in parts from molasses, sugar or other foreign materials, there shall be paid the duties following, that is to say:

For every gallon of those spirits of the first class of proof, ten cents; for every gallon of those spirits of the second class of proof, eleven cents; for every gallon of those spirits of the third class of proof, twelve cents; for every gallon of those spirits of the fourth class of proof, fourteen cents; for every gallon of those spirits of the fifth class of proof, eighteen cents; for every gallon of those spirits of the sixth class of proof, twenty-five cents. And upon all spirits which after the said day, shall be distilled within the United States from materials of the growth or produce of the United States, in any city, town or village at any distillery at which there shall be one or more stills, which singly or together shall be of the capacity of four hundred gallons or upwards, there shall be paid the duties following, that is to say:

For every gallon of those spirits of the first class of proof, seven cents; for every gallon of those spirits of the second class of proof,

eight cents; for every gallon of those spirits of the third class of proof, nine cents; for every gallon of those spirits of the fourth class of proof, eleven cents; for every gallon of those spirits of the fifth class of proof, thirteen cents; for every gallon of those spirits of the sixth class of proof, eighteen cents. And upon stills which after the said day shall be employed in distilling spirits from materials of the growth or produce of the United States, at any other place than a city, town or village, or at any distillery in a city, town or village at which there shall be one or more stills, which singly, if only one, or together if more than one, shall be of less capacity than four hundred gallons, there shall be paid the yearly duty of fifty-four cents for every gallon of English wine measure of the capacity or content of each and every such still including the head thereof: *Provided*, That it shall be at the option of the proprietor or possessor of any such still, instead of the said yearly duty, either to pay seven cents for every gallon of spirits by him or her distilled, or to pay at the rate of ten cents per gallon of the capacity for each and every month of the employment of any such still; and in case the said proprietor or possessor shall elect to pay either the said rate of seven cents per gallon of the spirits by him or her distilled, or the said monthly rate of ten cents, according to the capacity of his or her still or stills, he or she at the time of making entry of his or her still or stills in manner hereinafter directed, shall by writing under his or her hand, left at the office of inspection where such entry shall be made, notify the said election and if the same shall be to pay the said monthly rate of ten cents, shall demand a license for the term of time specifying the day of commencing and the day of ending during which he or she shall intend to work his or her still or stills, which license shall, without delay or expense, to the said proprietor or possessor be granted, and shall be signed by the supervisors of the revenue and countersigned by the officer at whose office application for the same shall have been made. And in the case of an election to pay the said monthly rate of ten cents, it shall not be lawful for any person by whom the same shall have been made to work his or her still or stills, at any time, within the year from the date of his or her entry thereof, other than that for which a license shall have been granted unless he or she shall have previously obtained another license for such further time, which upon like application shall and may be granted in like manner; and if any such person shall work his or her still or stills, contrary to the direction or provision aforesaid, he or she shall forfeit and pay for every such offense two hundred dollars; and in every case in which any proprietor or possessor of a still or stills, subject to the payment of duty according to the capacity of such

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

21

still or stills, shall not make election to pay according to one or the other of the alternatives aforesaid, or shall not duly comply therewith, he or she shall be liable to pay and shall pay the said yearly rate of fifty-four cents for every gallon of the capacity or capacities of his or her still or stills.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That there be in each county comprehended within any district, at least one office of inspection, at which every person having or keeping a still or stills within such county, shall between the last day of May and the first day of July, in each year, make entry of such still or stills, and at which every person who being a resident within the county, shall procure a still or stills, or who removing within a county, shall bring therein a still or still, shall within thirty days after such procuring or removal, and before he or she shall begin to use such still or stills, make entry thereof. And every entry, besides describing each still and the capacity thereof, shall specify the place where, and the person in whose possession it is and the purpose for which it is intended, as whether for sale or use in distilling, and in the case of removal, shall specify the place from which every such still shall have been brought.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That every proprietor and possessor of a still shall be jointly and severally liable for the duty thereupon; and that every owner of land, upon which any still shall be worked, shall be liable for the duty thereupon, unless the same shall be worked by a lawful and bona fide tenant of the land of an estate, not less than for the term of one year, or unless such owner can make it appear, that the possessor of or person by whom such still shall have been worked, was during the whole time of working the same, a trespasser or intruder on his land.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That every officer of inspection within whose survey any distillery of Geneva or sweet cordials, subject to the payment of duty by the gallon of the spirits distilled thereon may be, shall forbear to visit or inspect, for a space not exceeding two hours in each day such part of the said distillery as he may be required by the proprietor, possessor or manager of such distillery to forbear to visit and inspect, for which purpose it shall be necessary for the said proprietor, possessor or manager, to give notice in writing to the said officer, describing therein particularly the part of such distillery, which it shall be his desire that the said officer may forbear to visit and inspect, and specifying the time of each day for which such forbearance shall be desired.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury to regulate as well the marks to be set upon the casks, vessels and packages contain-

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

ing distilled spirits, as the forms of the certificates which are to accompany the same, and that when any cask or vessel in which distilled spirits have been contained, shall have been emptied of its contents, it shall be lawful for the marks thereupon to be effaced by, or in the presence of an officer of inspection, and if the said cask or vessel shall afterwards be used for putting therein other spirits, the same may be marked anew.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That instead of a notice of twenty-four hours, heretofore required to be given of the intent to export distilled spirits in order to the benefit of the drawback of the duties thereupon, six hours shall be sufficient.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That there be an abatement for leakage at the rate of two per cent., in every case in which the duty shall be payable by the spirits distilled, to be allowed at the distillery where such spirits shall be made.

SEC. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That the officer of inspection within whose survey any still shall be, the duty whereupon is payable according to the capacity of the still, shall identify by progressive numbers and other proper marks every such still within his survey, and the duty thereupon shall operate as a specific lien upon the said still.

SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That every distiller of, and dealer in spirits, who may have in his or her possession, distilled spirits not marked or certified, pursuant to the act, entitled "An Act repealing after the last day of June next, the duties heretofore laid upon distilled spirits imported from abroad, and laying others in their stead, and also upon spirits distilled within the United States, and for appropriating the same," shall prior to the last day of September next, report the spirits in his or her possession, in writing at some office of inspection, to the end that such spirits may be marked and certified as old stock. And that from and after the said last day of September next, casks and vessels of the capacity of twenty gallons and upwards, containing distilled spirits, which shall be found in the possession of any distiller or dealer in spirits, except at a distillery where the same were made, or in going from one place to another, without being marked according to law or without having a certificate from some proper officer, shall be liable to seizure and forfeiture, and that it shall be the duty of the several officers of inspection, upon request of any dealer or distiller to take measures for the marking of casks, vessels and packages containing distilled spirits, and to furnish such dealer or distiller, free from expense, with certificates to accompany the same: *Provided*, That it shall not be incumbent upon any such officer to mark or certify any cask, vessel or package which ought

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

23

to have been before marked or certified according to any law of the United States,

SEC. 10. *And be it futher enacted*, That from and after the last day of April one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, no distilled spirits, except anack and sweet cordials, shall be brought into the United States from any foreign port or place, except in casks or vessels of the capacity of ninety gallons and upwards.

SEC. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That no drawback of the duty on distilled spirits which shall be exported after the last day of June next, shall be allowed upon any quantity less than one hundred gallons.

SEC. 12. *And be it further enacted*, That after the last day of June next, no distilled spirits shall be brought into the United States, from any foreign port or place, in any cask or vessel, which shall have been marked pursuant to any law of the United States concerning distilled spirits, on pain of forfeiture of the spirits so brought, and of the ship or vessel in which they shall be brought.

SEC. 13. *And be it further enacted*, That if the owner or possessor of any still or stills shall neglect to make entry thereof within the time and in manner prescribed by the second section of this act, such owner or possessor shall forfeit and pay the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars; and if any distilled spirits, except anack and sweet cordials, shall after the last day of April next, be brought into the United States in casks or vessels of less capacity than ninety gallons, all such spirits, and the casks and vessels containing the same, shall be subject to seizure and forfeiture, and every such penalty or forfeiture, shall be one-half to the use of the United States and the other half to the use of the person who shall first discover and make known the matter or thing whereby the same shall have been incurred.

SEC. 14. *And be it further enacted and declared*, That the duties hereby laid shall continue in force for the same time, and are hereby pledged and appropriated to and for the same purposes as those in lieu of which they are laid and pursuant to the act entitled "An Act repealing after the last day of June next the duties heretofore laid upon distilled spirits imported from abroad and laying others in their stead, and also upon spirits distilled within the United States and for appropriating the same."

SEC. 15. *And be it further enacted*, That to make good any deficiency which may happen in consequence of the reduction hereby made in the rates of the duties on spirits distilled within the United States, and on stills, so much of the product of the duties laid by the Act, entitled "An act for raising a far-

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

ther sum of money for the protection of the frontiers and for other purposes therein mentioned," as may be necessary, shall be and is hereby pledged and appropriated to the same purposes to and for which the duties hereby reduced were pledged and appropriated.

SEC. 16. *And be it further enacted,* That the President of the United States be authorized to make such allowances for their respective services to the supervisors, inspectors and other officers of inspection, as he shall deem reasonable and proper, so as the said allowances, together with the incidental expenses of collecting the duties on spirits distilled within the United States, shall not exceed seven and-a-half per centum of the total product of the duties on distilled spirits, for the period to which the said allowances shall relate, computing from the time the act, entitled "An Act repealing after the last day of June next, the duties heretofore laid upon distilled spirits imported from abroad and laying others in their stead, and also upon spirits distilled within the United States, and for appropriating the same," took effect: *And provided also,* That such allowance shall not exceed the annual amount of seventy thousand dollars, until the same shall be further ascertained by law.

SEC. 17. *And be it further enacted,* That the act, entitled "An Act repealing after the last day of June next, the duties heretofore laid upon distilled spirits imported, from abroad and laying others in their stead, and also upon spirits distilled within the United States, and for appropriating the same," shall extend to and be in full force for the collection of the several duties hereinbefore mentioned, and for the recovery and distribution of the penalties and forfeitures herein contained, and generally for the execution of this act, as fully and effectually as if every regulation, restriction, penalty, provision, clause, matter and thing therein contained, were inserted in and re-enacted by this present act, subject only to the alterations hereby made.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
President pro tempore of the Senate..

APPROVED—May eighth, 1792,

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President of the United States.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

25

MINUTES OF THE MEETING AT PITTSBURGH — 1792.

At a meeting of sundry Inhabitants of the Western Counties of Pennsylvania, held at Pittsburgh, on the 21st day of August, 1792.

Present:—John Canon, William Wallace, Shesbazer Bentley, Bazel Bowel, Benjamin Parkinson, John Huey, John Badollet, John Hamilton, John McClellan, Neal Gillespie, David Bradford, Thomas Gaddis, Rev. David Philips, Albert Gallatin, Matthew Jamison, James Marshall, James Robinson, James Stewart, John Smilie, Robert McClure, Peter Lisle, Alexander Long, Samuel Wilson & Edward Cook.

Colonel John Canon was placed in the Chair, and Albert Gallatin appointed Clerk.

The Excise Law of Congress being taken under consideration and freely debated, a committee of five members was appointed to prepare a draught of Resolutions, expressing the sense of the Meeting on the subject of said Law.

Adjourned to 10 o'clock to-morrow.

August 22, 1792.

The Members of the Meeting having met according to adjournment, the Committee appointed yesterday made report, which being read twice and debated by paragraphs, was unanimously adopted as followeth, to wit:

STRONGLY impressed with a sense of the fatal consequences that must attend an Excise, convinced that a tax upon liquors, which are the common drink of a nation, operates in proportion to the number and not to the wealth of the people, and of course is unjust in itself and oppressive upon the poor; taught by the experience of other countries that internal taxes upon consumption from their very nature, never can effectually be carried into operation without vesting the officers appointed to collect them with powers most dangerous to the civil rights of freeman, and must in the end destroy the liberties of every country in which they are introduced. Feeling that the late excise law of Congress, from the present circumstances of our agriculture, our want of markets and the scarcity of a circulating medium, will bring immediate distress and ruin on the Western Country. We think it our duty to persist in our remonstrances to Congress, and in every other legal measure that may obstruct the operation of the Law until we are able to obtain its total repeal; Therefore,

Resolved, That David Bradford, James Marshall, Albert Galla-

tin, Peter Lisle and David Philips, be appointed for the purpose of drawing a remonstrance to Congress, stating our objections against the law that imposes duty upon spirituous liquors distilled within the United States, and prayng for a repeal of the same, and that the chairman of this Meeting be directed to sign the same, in the name of the Meeting, and to take proper measures to have it presented to Congress at their next session.

Resolved, That in order that our measures may be carried on with regularity and concert, that William Wallace, Shesbazer Bentley, John Hamilton, Isaac Weaver, Benjamin Parkinson, David Redick, Thomas Stokely, Stephen Gapen, and Joseph Vanmetre, Andrew Rabb, Thomas Gaddis, Alexander Long, William Whiteside, John Oliphant, Robert McClure, James Long, Thomas Benjamin Patterson, James Stewart, Samuel Johnston, William Plumer and Matthew Jameson, be respectively appointed committees of correspondence for the counties of Washington, Fayette and Allegheny, and that it shall be their duty to correspond together and with such committee as shall be appointed for the same purpose in the county of Westmoreland, or with any committees of a similar nature that may be appointed in other parts of the United States, and also, if found necessary, to call together either general meetings of the people in their respective counties, or conference of the several committees.

AND WHEREAS some men may be found amongst us, so far lost to every sense of virtue and feeling for the distresses of this country, as to accept offices for the collection of the duty:

Resolved, therefore, That in future we will consider such persons as unworthy of our friendship; have no intercourse or dealings with them; withdraw from them every assistance, and withhold all the comforts of life which depend upon those duties that as men and fellow citizens we owe to each other; and upon all occasions treat them with that contempt they deserve; and that it be, and it is hereby most earnestly recommended to the people at large to follow the same line of conduct towards them.

On motion, *Resolved,* That the Minutes of this meeting be signed by the Chairman, attested by the Clerk and published in the Pittsburgh *Gazette*.

JOHN CANON, *Chairman.*

Attest:

ALBERT GALLATIN, *Clerk.*

PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT.

PHILADELPHIA, September 15, 1792.

By the President of the United States:

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, Certain violent and unwarrantable proceedings have lately taken place, tending to obstruct the operation of the laws of the United States for raising a revenue upon spirits distilled within the same, enacted pursuant to express authority delegated in the Constitution of the United States; which proceedings are subversive of good order, contrary to the duty that every citizen owes to his country and to the laws, and of a nature dangerous to the very being of government:

And whereas, Such proceedings are the more unwarrantable, by reason of the moderation which has been heretofore shown on the part of the government, and of the disposition which has been manifested by the legislature, (who alone have authority to suspend the operation of laws,) to obviate causes of objection and to render the laws as acceptable as possible:

And whereas, It is the particular duty of the Executive "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and not only that duty, but the permanent interests and happiness of the people require that every legal and necessary step should be pursued, as well to prevent such violent and unwarrantable proceedings, as to bring to justice the infractors of the laws and secure obedience thereto.

Now, therefore, I, George Washington, President of the United States, do by these presents, most earnestly admonish and exhort all persons whom it may concern, to refrain and desist from all unlawful combinations and proceedings whatsoever, having for object or tending to obstruct the operation of the laws aforesaid, inasmuch as all lawful ways and means will be strictly put in execution for bringing to justice the infractors thereof, and securing obedience thereto.

And I do moreover charge and require all courts, magistrates and officers whom it may concern, according to the duties of their several offices, to exert the powers in them respectively vested by law, for the purposes aforesaid; thereby also enjoining and requiring all persons whomsoever, as they tender the welfare of their country, the just and due authority of government and the preservation of the public peace, to be aiding and assisting therein according to law.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the Seal of the United

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

States to be affixed to these presents, and Signed the same with my hand. Done the fifteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, and of the Independence of the United States the seventeenth.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

By the President,
TH. JEFFERSON.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, October 5, 1792.

To the President of the United States:

SIR:—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter, inclosing a copy of a proclamation, that you have issued in consequence of certain irregular and refractory proceedings, which have taken place, in particular parts of some of the States, contravening the laws for raising a revenue upon spirits, within the United States, and it affords me the sincerest satisfaction to find that you repose a just confidence in the exertions of the Executive of Pennsylvania, to further in every proper way the particular object of the measure which you have at this time adopted, as well as on every other occasion to promote a due obedience to the constitutional laws of the Union.

Previously to the publishing of your Proclamation, certain Rioters of the county of Chester, who in opposing the collection of the Revenue upon spirits, had committed an assault and battery on the officer were indicted, convicted and fined, and I am informed that the regular process had, likewise, issued against the perpetrators of a similar offence in the county of Allegheny. Every other necessary step which the law permits to be taken I will cheerfully pursue, in order to prevent or punish the repetition of delinquencies so hostile to the peace and happiness of the community, for independent of an earnest desire to contribute to the tranquility and honour of your administration, I am sensible that the prosperity of every individual State depends upon the prosperity of the Union, which can only be effected by a strict and faithful attention to our Federal obligations. Under these impressions, I have thought it proper to address a letter, (a copy of which I take the liberty to inclose to the Judges of the Supreme Court, and the Presidents of the Courts of Common Pleas, requesting that they will inculcate

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

20

the indispensable duty of obedience to the laws of the Union, and particularly as far as their jurisdiction extends, that they will charge the Grand Inquests convened in the several counties to enquire into and present offences of the nature to which your Proclamation refers.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
With perfect respect,
Your Excellency's Most Obed't
Humble Servant,
THOMAS MIFFLIN,

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO THE JUDGES OF THE
SUPREME COURT.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct'r 5th, 1792.

GENTLEMEN:—The President has communicated to me a copy of a Proclamation, which he issued in consequence of certain irregular and refractory proceedings that have taken place in particular parts of some of the States, contravening the laws for raising a revenue from spirits distilled within the United States; and I am desirous, in every proper way, to manifest my disposition to further the object of the particular measure, which he has, at this time, adopted, as well as to promote, on every occasion, a due obedience to the Constitutional laws of the Union.

Permit me, therefore, Gentlemen, to request that you will take every official opportunity to inculcate the indispensable duty of obedience to the acts of Congress, and, particularly that you will be pleased, as far as the jurisdiction of your court extends, to charge the Grand Juries of the several counties within your district, to enquire into and present all offences of the nature to which the Proclamation refers.

I am persuaded, Gentlemen, that you are convinced with me, that the prosperity of the States, individually, depends upon the prosperity of the Union, which can only be effected by a strict and faithful attention to our Federal obligations, and, viewing the vigilance and wisdom with which you discharge the other duties of your important station, I repose a perfect confidence in your exertions upon the particular subject that I have now suggested.

I am, with Great esteem, Gentlemen,
Your Most Obedient Servant,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To the Honorable, THOMAS MCKEAN, Esquire, Chief Justice,
and his Associates of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

CIRCULAR TO THE CLERKS OF THE COURTS.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
PHILAD'A, 2d Nov'r, 1792.

SIR:—The Governor directs me to request that you will be pleased to transmit to him, by return of the post, transcripts of the records of all (if any) prosecutions, whether commenced or concluded, for Riots or other Breaches of the peace, committed in the county of _____, in opposition to the collection of the revenue on Spirits distilled within the United States.

I am, Sir, Your Most Obed't Serv't,
A. J. DALLAS, Sec'ry.

To the clerks of the Courts of General Quarter Sessions in the counties of Chester, Bedford, Bucks, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette & Allegheny, respectively.

JUDGE ADDISON* TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WASHINGTON, 4th Nov'r, 1792.

SIR:—I had the honour of your letter yesterday inclosing a copy of the President's proclamation, issued in consequence of certain refractory proceedings in the Excise law, and urging

* ALEXANDER ADDISON, was probably a native of Ireland, although of Scotch parentage, born in 1759. He was educated at Edinburgh, and was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Aberlowe, Scotland. He emigrated to Pennsylvania, and, on Dec. 20, 1785, applied to the Presbytery of Redstone to be taken under their care. The examination did not prove altogether satisfactory, but permission was granted him to preach in the bounds of the Presbytery, application having been made from the town of Washington for the stated labors of Mr. Addison. Shortly after he gave up preaching and turned his attention to the law. He settled at Pittsburgh, where he practised as a lawyer. He was president judge of the district which included the western counties for twelve years. He was removed, by impeachment, through political rancor. He was an accomplished scholar and a cultivated writer. He published "Observations on Gallatin's Speech," 1798; "Analysis of the Report of a Committee of the Va. Assembly," 1800; "Penn'a Reports," 1800. Dr. Carnahan says of him, "a more intelligent, learned, upright and fearless judge was not to be found in the State." His charge to the Grand Jury during the Insurrection is a noble monument of his talents and worth. He died November 24 1807.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

31

that I take every official opportunity of inculcating obedience to the Acts of Congress, and especially that I charge the Grand Juries of this District to enquire into and present all offences of the nature referred to by the Proclamation.

For the complimentary part of your letter I beg leave, together with my thanks, to offer you assurance, that it is my highest pride, and shall be my earnest study to deserve such sentiments, though I know I must in great measure depend for them on the indulgence of those who view my conduct. I wish you also to believe that there is no man either in private or official capacity more desirous than I to discharge those federal obligations on which the prosperity of the Union truly depends, and though I am not so partial to the Constitution and Laws of the United States as to believe that they have not in some instances mistaken their object and their means, yet I think there is no man who would with greater punctuality discharge the duties of an officer than according to the best of my judgment, I should in *all* cases, to which I may be properly called, in my official station.

Believing you anxious that all who act under you, or by your appointment, discharge their duties consonantly with the nature of their respective offices, and therefore desirous to possess information necessary to judge of their conduct, I think it incumbent on me to state what my conduct has been on the subject of the President's Proclamation.

The first act of violence alluded to in this Proclamation appeared in Washington county last winter, in tarring and feathering a Deputy Exciseman, and a person who carried letters, inclosing copies of process for the first offence, from the federal court. Similar outrages, attended with more or less aggravating circumstances, took place in each of the other counties of this circuit. I inclose that part of my charge to the Grand Juries at December sessions, which respected this subject. An Indictment was found against the rioters in Allegheny County; they were taken, pleaded not guilty, I think, and, at last, were discharged on the Habeas Corpus act, the Prosecutor having abandoned the prosecution. They had been guilty of a farther outrage, in carrying off certain persons, whom they suspected as witnesses, and detaining them till after the Grand Jury, who found the Bill, was dismissed. For this they were also indicted, some of them have been taken and fined, they are the least guilty, or miserably poor. The supposed ringleader is under recognizance to the next term. At Fayette County, after I had charged the Grand Jury, I happened to see a newspaper containing M. de la Fayette's letter, on his resigning the command of the National Guard, and as it inculcated, in a forcible man-

ner, the duty of submission to Government, I addressed the Jury a second time on the subject of the riot in that county, and read to them that letter. No Bill was found, as the Jury told me, for want of proof. A Bill was found in Washington County in consequence of a Recognizance taken by a Justice of the Peace. The usual proceedings have followed and the defendant's recognizance has been forfeited and sued. Nothing that I recollect on this subject required again any publick notice from me till after my last return from Philadelphia; soon after that an outrage of great enormity was committed in Washington, the nature of which you will see from my address to the Grand Jury of that county at last sessions which I have also inclosed, so far as relates to this matter. Besides this I sent for some persons who I had supposed could point out some of the rioters, but I received no satisfactory information from them. As the business was become of moment, I thought it proper to consult the other members of the court, and urged it as our duty to summon those and other witnesses to testify to the grand Jury what they knew. The other judges, or some of them seemed to entertain a different sentiment, and thought this would be stepping out of our line, and that it was not our duty to hunt after prosecutions; all hesitated and I could not obtain their consent to my proposition. My opinion is that no such clear evidence could have been produced as to give us reason to expect the finding of a Bill. Besides my general desire to preserve the peace and dignity of the State in this country, I had an additional motive for zeal in this matter. I have long entertained an opinion which the most serious reflection, (and I have given it a serious reflection,) has not altered but confirmed, that the powers of the federal courts in the extent given them by the judicial laws of the Union are useless or dangerous. Unless, because the State courts are capable in a proper manner of discharging almost all their duties. Dangerous, because if they exercise their powers they must either destroy the essence of the trial by Jury, or swallow up the State courts. It is better to have them useless than dangerous. If therefore, the State courts should punish and suppress these riots, the federal courts would have less or no inducement to interfere in them. If the State courts should not, the interference of the federal courts would be necessary; necessity would render this interference not unacceptable; habit would render the increasing interference pass without observation, and their power in all its dangerous extent would be fixed. My wish, therefore was that our State courts should suppress these riots and leave no reasonable desire in the federal courts to take notice of them.

At the end of last court in Washington, I received from Mr.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

33

Clymer a letter which produced a correspondence, whence probably, for I have heard Mr. Clymer expressed dissatisfaction at the manner in which his application to me ended, the President's letter to you, and yours to me have proceeded. I therefore inclose copies of this correspondence, and I hope you will think as I do, that I should ill have sustained the dignity of that station with which you have honoured me, if for so frivolous a reason I had submitted to act in the subordinate capacity which he appears to have assigned me. Had he made any request of me as an officer, I should then have known how to answer him as such. Being impressed with a consciousness of having done my duty, I am desirous that in this and in every other part of my conduct I should have your approbation. For your approbation, and that of all whose opinion, from their capacity of judging, truly deserves regard, I consider as the best reward of that earnestness with which I strive to make my office effective and useful. This also suggests a wish that if my conjecture be well founded, (for it may be groundless,) that the President's address to you had in any respect my conduct as its object, you would if you think it proper have this letter and the inclosures or copies thereof transmitted to him.

It may be fit to take this opportunity of mentioning to you, that at the last court in this county, Joseph Bentley and Oswald Bentley, were convicted at a court of Goal Delivery of Burglary. In consequence of this they were sent to Philadelphia goal. By this conviction their estates are forfeited as directed by the laws & constitution of this State. Joseph, I believe, has a plantation. With what other property or with what incumbrance, or what property Oswald has, I know not.

You will perhaps submit this to the Attorney General for his consideration and directions.

I am, Sir, with Great Respect,

Your Most Obed't

and very Humb'l Serv't,

ALEX'R ADDISON.

To THOMAS MIFFLIN, Governor of Pennsylvania.

EXTRACT FROM PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S ANNUAL MESSAGE.

PHILAD'A, November 6, 1792.

The prosperous state of our revenue has been intimated. This would be still more the case were it not for the impediment—
3—VOL. IV.

ments which in some places continue to embarrass the collection of the duties on spirits distilled within the United States. These impediments have lessened and are lessening in local extent and as applied to the community at large, the contentment with the law appears to be progressive. But symptoms of increased opposition having lately manifested themselves in certain quarters, I judged a special interposition on my part proper and advisable, and under this impression, have issued a proclamation warning against all unlawful combinations and proceedings, having for their object or tending to obstruct the operation of the law in question, and announcing that all lawful ways and means would be strictly put in execution for bringing to justice the infractors thereof and securing obedience thereto.

Measures have also been taken for the prosecution of the offenders; and Congress may be assured, that nothing within constitutional and legal limits which may depend on me, shall be wanting to assert and maintain the just authority of the laws. In fulfilling this trust, I shall count entirely upon the full co-operation of the other departments of the government, and upon the zealous support of all good citizens.

I cannot forbear to bring again into the view of the legislature the subject of a revision of the judiciary system. A representation from the judges of the supreme court, which will be laid before you, points out some inconveniences that are experienced. In the course of the execution of the laws considerations arise out of the structure of that system, which, in some cases, tend to relax their efficacy. As connected with this subject, provisions to facilitate the taking of bail upon processes out of the courts of the United States, and a supplementary definition of offences against the constitution and laws of the union, and of the punishment for such offences, will it is presumed, be found worthy of particular attention.

**CHARGE OF CHIEF JUSTICE McKEAN* AND REPLY
OF THE GRAND JURY.**

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 8, 1792,

[Extract from a charge delivered by his Honor, the Chief Justice of the State of Pennsylvania, to the Grand Jury for the City and County of Philadelphia, at the opening of the present sessions of Oyer and Terminer and General Jail Delivery.]

Before I conclude, it grieves me that I have occasion to mention, that there has been an illegal combination to oppose the execution of the laws of the United States for raising a revenue upon spirits distilled within the same, insomuch as to constrain the President to issue his proclamation, exhorting all persons whom it may concern to restrain from all unlawful combinations and proceedings whatsoever, having for object or tending to obstruct the operation of the said laws, and charging and requiring all courts, magistrates and officers whom it may concern, to exert their lawful powers in bringing to justice the infractors thereof, and to secure obedience thereto; and enjoining all persons whomsoever, as they tender the welfare of their country, the just and due authority of government, and the preservation of the public peace, to be aiding and assisting therein according to law.

The Governor, anxious for a strict and faithful attention to our federal obligations, and convinced that the prosperity of the States individually, depends on the prosperity of the

* THOMAS McKEAN was born in Chester county, March 19, 1734. After an academic and professional course of study, he was admitted an attorney, and soon after appointed deputy attorney general for Sussex county, Delaware. In 1757 he was elected clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly, and from 1762 to 1769 was member thereof from the county of New Castle. In 1765 he assisted in framing the address of the Colonies to the British house of commons. In 1771 he was appointed collector of the port of New Castle; member of the Continental Congress in 1774, and annually re-elected until February, 1783. In 1778 he was a member of the convention which framed the articles of confederation, and in 1781 president of Congress. In addition to these duties, in 1777 he acted as President of Delaware, and until his election as Governor, from 1777 to 1799 held the office and executed the duties of chief justice of Pennsylvania. He was a promoter of and signer of the Declaration of Independence, commanded a battalion which served under Washington in the winter of 1776-77. He was elected Governor of Pennsylvania three terms, (1799 to 1809,) under the Constitution of 1790, of the convention framing which he was a member. He died at Philadelphia on the 24th of June, 1817.

union, has been pleased, by a letter directed to the justices of the supreme court, on the 5th of last month, to request that we will take every official opportunity to inculcate the indispensable duty of obedience to the acts of Congress, and particularly, as far as our jurisdiction extends, to charge the Grand Juries to enquire into and present all offences of the nature to which the President's proclamation refers.

It is strange that a people, but just rescued from the galling yoke of foreign bondage, having just got rid of a despotic government, will not submit to one free and equal. What avails it to be exempt from the chains of a precarious tyranny if men still continue slaves to caprice of their own corrupt nature? The smallest tax, though absolutely necessary for the public safety against a barbarous savage enemy, and tending also to promote industry and to restrain excess in the use of an intoxicating and destructive spirit, makes them restless and impatient. They quarrel with a constitution and government purchased at the expense of much blood and treasure, and framed by themselves; they despise the rulers of their own choice, and trample on laws of their own making. What occasion is there for such violent and unwarrantable proceedings? If any law shall bear heavy on the citizens or any class of them, why do they not represent the case to the proper legislature, composed of persons elected by themselves? If the complaint is founded in reason, they may be sure of redress. The disease must be known before the remedy can be applied. Men who regard order, tranquility and peace, men who love their country, will use all honest means to promote them: they will endeavor to enlighten the ignorant, to calm the passions of the violent, and by their advice, influence and example, to inculcate a due obedience to the laws, for where the laws end, there tyranny begins. Any government is preferable to none, a tyranny to an anarchy.

If any of the offences referred to in the proclamation of the President shall have been committed within this city or county, and have, or shall come to your knowledge, I rest assured you will present the offender to the court for trial and for punishment.

To which the Grand Jury returned the following answer:

The Grand Jury of the city and county of Philadelphia, beg leave to return their thanks to the honorable the Chief Justice, for the charge delivered to them at the opening of the present sessions of Oyer and Terminer and General Jail Delivery, and do sincerely participate in the pain, expressed by your honor, on account of the late illegal combination among some of our western brethren, to oppose the laws of the United States, for raising a revenue on distilled spirits.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

37

It is a matter of great concern to us that an event so prejudicial to the public happiness, and so inconsistent with an enlightened attachment to liberty and law, should have occurred in a State of which we are citizens, and which is so deeply interested by its internal and local circumstances steadily to maintain public order.

Amidst these painful sensations, however, we beg leave to assure the honorable court, that we have not failed to exercise our vigilance and zeal in making diligent enquiry of all such offences as may have been committed within our jurisdiction, and are happy to assure you that we have found none of the nature referred to in the proclamation of the President of the United States, whose upright and mild but efficient administration of our excellent constitution and laws, we will, even strenuously support, both in our public and private capacities. We beg leave to request a copy of that part of your charge which relates to the President's proclamation for publication; being fully impressed that the sentiments contained in it, will meet the entire approbation of every good citizen.

In behalf of the Grand Jury unanimously.

JOHN BARRY, *Foreman.*

REPLY OF CONGRESS TO THE PRESIDENT.

PHILAD'A, November 9, 1792.

At the same time that we avow the obligation of the government to afford its protection to every part of the union, we cannot refrain from expressing our regret that even a small portion of our fellow citizens in any quarter of it should have combined to oppose the operation of the law for the collection of duties on spirits distilled within the United States, a law repeatedly sanctioned by the authority of the nation, and at this juncture materially connected with the safety and protection of those who oppose it. Should the means already adopted fail in securing obedience to this law, such further measures as may be thought necessary to carry the same into complete operation, cannot fail to receive the approbation of the legislature and the support of every patriotic mind.

It yields us particular pleasure to learn that the productiveness of the revenue of the present year, will probably supersede the necessity of any additional tax for the service of the next.

JAMES BRISON, OF ALLEGHENY, TO GOVERNOR
MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, November 9th, 1792.

SIR:—I had the honour of a letter from Mr. Secretary Dallas, requesting that I would, by the return of the post, transmit to your Excellency, transcripts of the proceedings in any prosecutions which may have been commenced or concluded for Riots or other breaches of the peace committed in this county, in opposition to the collection of the Revenue on Spirits distilled within the United States.

There have not been any prosecutions instituted in this county for Riots or breaches of the peace committed in direct opposition to the Collection of that Revenue. But an Indictment was found at December Sessions, 1791, against Colonel Samuel Wilson, Samuel Johnston, James Wright, William Tucker and John Moffitt, for having Riotously assembled together, and assaulted, beat and, with a red-hot iron, burnt a certain Robert Wilson, whom it appeared by some part of the testimony, they had suspected of having been concerned in the collection of the Excise on liquors. But he was a young Schoolmaster who was looking for employment, and carried with him very reputable testimonials of his character. I do not know whether it was through fear of further injury, or from what cause, But before the offenders were taken upon the process of the Court, the young man who had been so abused, left this part of the country, and at last June Sessions, the Defendants, (except Samuel Johnston, who was not present,) were discharged by proclamation—no person appearing to prosecute against them. The testimony of John Bell, who is a good honest farmer, States that John Moffitt, one of the Defendants, told the deponent that He, (Moffitt) with several others, had knocked the man (speaking of Robert Wilson) down and beat and abused him severely, and burnt him with a hot iron, both behind and before, for he was an exciseman, tho' they had not seen his appointment or commission. William Richmond, on his oath, mentions that Samuel Johnston offered to tender an oath to Wilson, "that he would never act in the Department of the excise, either directly or indirectly, which oath Robert Wilson refused to take, alleging that he had nothing to do with that business, one way or other."

As the Indictment only states the Riot, assault, battery and burning, without mentioning anything of the Revenue law, and

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

39

as Robert Wilson, the injured person, actually had nothing to do with that law, I presume it will not be necessary for me to send a transcript of the proceedings.

I have the Honour to be,

Your Excellency's

most obedient servant,

JAMES BRISON.

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esquire, Governor of Pennsylvania.

DAVID REDICK * TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

WASHINGTON, 14th Nov'r, 1792.

SIR:—Yours of the 2d Inst. did not come to hand until after the departure of the post, etc. I should have endeavored to have complied with your request at the time and in the manner proposed by the Governour. I have now enclosed a transcript of the docket entry, with copy of the only indictment which has been found by the Grand Jury of this County, in consequence of an opposition to the Excise law of Congress. It is thought that "Hamilton" cannot be convicted on principles of law, on this Indictment. How it may turn Out, I don't know.

Your favor by post, on the Subject of electors, did not come to hand untill after the day of election, nor was I at Washington, but at Pittsburgh on that day, under the care of a Physician.

* DAVID REDICK was a native of Ireland, and a lawyer by profession, admitted to practice in Washington county in 1782, one year after its organization. In 1786 he was elected a member of the Supreme Executive Council, and in 1788 chosen Vice President of Pennsylvania, the duties of which office he continued to exercise until January 19, 1789. In October, 1787, he was appointed the agent of the State for communicating to the Governor of New York intelligence respecting Connecticut claims. In 1791 Mr. Redick was appointed prothonotary of Washington county, and the following year clerk of the courts. As a business man he was active and energetic, and we find him exercising the duties of a surveyor, having been appointed to survey the ten islands in the Ohio and Allegheny rivers, and divide the several tracts of land opposite Pittsburgh into building or town and outlots. At the time of the "Whiskey Insurrection" he took a prominent part in defense of law, order and the Constitution, and, with Mr. Findley, was appointed, October 2, 1794, to wait upon President Washington and Gov. Mifflin to explain the state of affairs in the western counties. The result of their commission is fully narrated in these papers. Mr. Redick died at Washington, September 28, 1805, and was buried with Masonic honors.

I have been confined almost ever since I arrived from your city last. In my Illness, I have lost the use of my right arm and hand. The use of my fingers are so far restored, that yesterday and to-day I have, for the first time since last August, put pen to paper. There was no election held here for electors. I understand that two or three of our high-toned Gentlemen had address enough to prevent it, which would not have been the case, had I been in health and at home at the time; perhaps Coll. Marshal has written you more circumstantially on the subject.

I have enclosed the list, required by law, respecting fees taxed in my office. This is the second time I have sent this list off for your office; I hope it will now reach you.

I am Sir, with respect and esteem,

Your most ob't Serv't.,

DAVID REDICK.

J. A. DALLAS.

The Commonwealth ^{vs.} Daniel Hamilton.	<i>April Sessions, 1792.</i> Indictment Assault and Battery. A True Bill. Daniel Hamilton and James Kerr. Sent. Jointly and Severally in £500. Recognizance forfeited.
--	---

The Condition is that Daniel Hamilton appear at next Sessions and answer to Two Indictments found against him, the one for an assault and Battery said to be committed on Charles Morrow, the other, for an assault and Battery committed on John Connor.

Washington County, ss., April Sessions, one Thousand seven hundred and ninety-two.

The Grand Inquest for the Body of the County of Washington, upon their Oath and solemn affirmation respectively, do present that Daniel Hamilton, late of the county of Washington, Yeoman, on the fifteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord one Thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, with force and arms at the county of Washington aforesaid, in and upon one John Connor, in the peace of God and of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, then and there being an assault, did make, and him, the said John, did beat, wound and evilly treat so that his life was Greatly dispaired of, and other wrongs then and there did to the great Damage of the said John, and against the peace and Dignity of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

The above is a true copy from the original indictment.

DAVID REDICK.

WILLIAM FINDLEY * TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.*November 21st, 1792.*

DEAR GOVERNOR:—In consequence of what passed in a conversation with you respecting the duty imposed on Spirits distilled within the United States, I have consulted the Gentlemen, who are now in the city from the Western Counties, as well as carefully reflected, upon the circumstances relating to the subject, within my own knowledge, in order to enable me to furnish you with some satisfactory information of the prevailing disposition of the people in that Quarter, upon so interesting an occasion.

And I have the pleasure to assure you, as the result of my enquiries, that a disposition to Male treat the public officers or to make a riotous opposition to the execution of the Excise Law is neither manifested nor patronized by the leading Citizens who inhabit the Western Counties of this State; that the instances of such conduct have been few and too much magnified; that those which have happened, arose, probably, among the People residing in a very small part of the Western District; that whenever they were brought before the State courts the offenders have been legally punished with sufficient severity, and that in my opinion the federal Courts will meet with no interruption, unless it is attempted to transport the persons accused out of the proper Counties for trial. In that case, indeed, I will not undertake for the consequences. Permit me here to observe, that I have been informed that two respectable Citizens in the Town of Washington are indicted upon the Oath of an Hostler of low character; and that those Citizens are actually innocent. I know they are of good character and averse to riots. If they really are innocent, the prosecution may be considered as an unfortunate circumstance, Pregnant with dangerous effects. Those who understand the Excise law best, and are most zealous for to have it repealed, consider every thing riotous and indecent

* WILLIAM FINDLEY, born in the north of Ireland, 1750. He came to Pennsylvania in early life. Served in the Revolution, and at its close removed to Westmoreland county. Intelligent, and a fluent speaker, he soon became a politician; was a member of the State Legislature, of the Constitutional Convention of 1790, and member of Congress 1791-9 and 1803-17. He sided with Gallatin in his opposition to the United States Constitution. He published "A Review of the Funding System," 1794, "History of the Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania," 1796, and "Observations," vindicating religious liberty against S. B. Wylie. He died in Unity township, Westmoreland county, April 5, 1821.

as unfortunate and impolitic; and regret that the attempts to execute it, have been conducted with so much impropriety as to invite contempt and resistance.

However, with respect to the probable success of the law, or what modifications would render it agreeable to the people, I can state no precise information at this period. I could have done this with much more confidence a year ago; for I then conceived that alterations moderate in themselves, and easily changed as circumstances would admit, might have quieted the Spirit of opposition, at least so far as to permit the peaceable execution of the Law. To accomplish those alterations, I even sought opportunities of giving Informations to the Secretary of the Treasury, to whom the Revision of the Law was referred, as well as to the Legislative body of which I have the honor to be a member, and I improved those opportunities with all the disinterestedness and Candour of which I was capable; but I did not succeed in making any adequate impression, those modifications which were obtained not being adapted to those who are distillers of grain in remote situations.

When I returned among my Constituents, I discovered that not only those who had been wavering in their opinion, but those also who had first thought that they could avail themselves of the Law to advantage, by running down the occupiers of small stills in disadvantageous situations, and even those who had originally advocated the law, were become unanimous against it; for the more accurately they examine the Law, with application to their own local circumstances, they are the more determined and unanimous in their wishes for its repeal. They can conceive no amendment agreeably to the Constitution, that can do Justice to Citizens in their situation. By those who are unacquainted with them, and also by some who ought to know better, the people of the Western Counties have been reproached as equally unwilling to pay any kind of tax; but the public records, both of the Treasury and the Land Office of the Commonwealth, afford a standing and incontravertable proof that whatever may have been their distresses they were ever willing to pay their taxes, &c.

With respect to the modes which they design to pursue for attaining their wishes, I am at some loss to supply the information that you seek. Where I am best acquainted, the distillers mean to leave off the business intirely, and in fact many of them did so for some time during the last season, but taking the Country at large, there is a diversity of opinion. However, they all agree in the propriety of Petitioning Congress on the subject. The very low price of Whisky and the small Quantity that can be sold for Cash at any prices, notwithstanding the

encreased consumption occasioned by the army, and the injustice of being obliged to pay as much Excise out of two shillings, with dificulty procured, as other Citizens, better situated, have to pay out of, perhaps, three times that sum, much easier obtained, comes home to the understanding of those who cannot comprehend theories.

The execution of the law, even conducted with the greatest discretion, has some serious difficulties to encounter. It is well known that in some Counties, as well of Virginia as of Pennsylvania, Men have not, and cannot be induced by any consideration to accept of the Excise offices. In those counties there have been no riots nor threatening resolutions; but this arises from the perfect unanimity which subsists in the dislike to the Law.

Whatever method may be adopted to carry the law into effect, though I hope that riots will be prevented, yet the assistance of the people to support the officers, I presume, is not to be expected; and however extraordinary this opinion may appear, I can assure you, Sir, that it does not proceed from anti-federal principles, for the earliest and most zealous friends to the Government have, generally, been among those who have taken a lead, from the beginning, in expressing their disapprobation of the Excise.

It is my opinion that if those who are reputed to have the greatest influence in that country were to advocate the Law, instead of procuring a willing acquiescence, it would rather promote their determination against it.

Thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to gratify your well meant wishes for information respecting the Western Counties. But you will soon have an opportunity of more accurate Communications on that subject from the Members of the State Legislature.

Though Congress is fully vested with the Power of levying Excises, yet the necessity, the time, the subjects of Excise, and the People's prejudices respecting it, are questions of serious importance to government. For my own part, from a consideration of those things, I thought that power was about to be exercised prematurely and with an honest zeal for the success of the Government, exerted myself in my station to prevent it; but being once made, and its effects not experienced, I did not move last session for a repeal, but endeavoured to procure such alterations as I conceived would have had a tendency to give it effect. The industry and zeal with which, in all my correspondence, I have endeavoured to promote a regular line of conduct among the people, has been such as will never occasion me to blush; but that I should in the present situation of things, undertake to advise the people to go on with dis-

tilling and pay the Excise, would be lost Labour. Thus far, however, I freely declare, that I shall certainly continue to use what influence I have to direct the opposition into a regular and orderly channel. And this, I presume, is all that is contemplated by the mass of the People.

I am, Sir, with great respect, your Excellencies

Most obedient and very humble serv't,

WILLIAM FINDLEY.

Governor MIFFLIN.

EXTRACT FROM GOVERNOR MIFFLIN'S * ANNUAL
MESSAGE.

PHILAD'A, December 7, 1792.

While, however, I deliver this short but just encomium upon the nature of our federal compact, and acknowledge with ardor, that the voice of the people can alone give a legitimate existence to government, permit me, gentlemen, to take this public opportunity of adding a truth equally manifest and important—that obedience to the regular exercise of constitutional authority can alone render a free government beneficial and permanent. In granting the power to legislate, the people virtually engage that acts of legislation shall be held sacred; the constitution and the laws made under it are, therefore, alike the evidence of the public will, tho' expressed by different organs;

*THOMAS MIFFLIN was born in Philadelphia, in 1744, of Quaker parentage. On the completion of his education in the Philadelphia College, he entered a counting house. He visited Europe in 1765, and returning, entered into mercantile pursuits. In 1772 he was chosen to the Assembly, from Philadelphia, and in 1774 a delegate to the first Continental Congress. He was appointed Major of one of the first Pennsylvania battalions, accompanied Washington to Cambridge as an aid-de-camp, in August was made quarter-master General, shortly afterwards Adjutant General, brigadier General March 16th, 1776, and Major General Feb. 19, 1777. He commanded the covering party during the retreat from Long Island. After the battle of Germantown he resigned his position in the army. In 1782, was elected a delegate to Congress, of which body he was president in 1783. He was member and Speaker of the Legislature in 1785, a delegate to the convention to frame the Federal Constitution in 1787, President of the Supreme Executive Council from Oct., 1788, to Dec., 1790, President of the Convention which framed the Constitution of 1790, Governor of the State from 1790 to 1799, and died at Lancaster, January 21, 1800, while serving as a member of the Legislature.

and every unauthorized opposition to either must be considered, in effect, as a raising of the hand in contradiction to the tongue. I am persuaded that, uniting with me in lamenting the existence of any cause which can lead to observations of this kind, you will peruse, with pain, a communication which the President of the United States has made, and the copy of the proclamation issued by him, in consequence of certain irregular and refractory proceedings that have taken place in particular parts of some of the States, contravening the operation of the acts of Congress for raising a revenue upon spirits distilled within the territory of the Union. As far as it is in my power, I have cheerfully endeavoured to promote the object of the measure which the President has pursued on this occasion; and, indeed, I shall always deem it as an honorable and pleasing part of the duties of my office, to inculcate a strict and faithful attention to our federal obligations; for I am sensible that the jurisdictions of the State and of the general government, tho' distinct, are not adverse; and that their interests, through whatever channels they may pass, must forever be the same. But in making an enquiry how far the citizens of Pennsylvania have been concerned in any riotous or violent opposition, it is just to observe that I have found the instances of outrage but few; that the offenders have generally been prosecuted, and that in every case of a prosecution legally supported conviction and punishment have ensued. The documents on which this information is founded (together with the various other papers to which I may refer) will be presented for your consideration; and while with great satisfaction I leave to the courts of justice the vindication of the laws from positive insult and infraction, I implicitly rely on the aid of your example and advice to allay the spirit of discontent, to cultivate the means of harmony, and to excite a merited confidence in the measures of the general government.

There are not wanting, gentlemen, strong and interesting motives for the suppression of domestic controversies. Since the settlement of America, so powerful and so hostile a combination of the Indian tribes has not appeared as that which now menaces the western frontiers of the United States. Whatever may have been the origin of the contest, the danger is common, and the common force of the union is necessary to the defence. It is the duty, therefore, and doubtless the desire of those who are engaged in the administration of the general government, to afford protection co-extensively with their jurisdiction; but still we are left to lament that Pennsylvania, from local circumstances, may occasionally become the seat of the war; and surely a tribute of sympathy is peculiarly due to such of our fellow

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

citizens as are constantly exposed to the ravages of a barbarous enemy. The provision which, under the influence of this sentiment, was made at the last session of the general assembly, for co-operating with the force of the Union in protecting our western frontier, was regarded as a salutary proof of legislative attention and liberality. Endeavoring, on my part, to give to the execution of the law a dispatch and effect corresponding with the design of the legislature, I appointed the officers of the three companies, and issued instructions for the proper enlistments, the very day on which the act was passed; and as a sufficient number of rifles could not immediately be procured to arm the corps, I borrowed from the Secretary of War a temporary supply of muskets, to be delivered from the magazine of the United States, in Pittsburgh, authorizing, at the same time, an allowance to be made to every man who should bring his own rifle into the service.

JUDGE SMITH* TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

CARLISLE, 10th Decem'r, 1792.

SIR:—I received your letter of the 5th of October, inclosing the Proclamation of the President, respecting the proceedings contravening the Laws for raising a revenue from spirits distilled within the United States. I did not think it necessary, merely to acknowledge the receipt, till I could inform you what I had done in consequence of it.

I take it for granted that you did me the honour of writing to me, rather from your warm attention to the welfare of this State, in particular, and of the United States, than from any apprehension that I am not fully convinced of the necessity of inculcating on the minds of the people, the indispensable duty of obedience to the constitutional Laws of the Union and of this State. So firmly convinced am I that the lasting happiness of the people in every State, and the duration of our Union, de-

* THOMAS SMITH was a native of Scotland. An emigrant to America at an early age, and a lawyer by profession. He was appointed Deputy Surveyor, February 9, 1769, and established himself at Bedford. He was prothonotary, clerk of the sessions and recorder of Bedford county, Colonel of the militia in the Revolution, member of the Convention of 1776, member of the State Legislature, member of the Old Congress 1780-2, president judge of the judicial district of Cumberland, Mifflin, Huntingdon, Bedford and Franklin counties 1791-4, judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania 1794-1809. He died at Bedford, June, 1809.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

47

pend essentially, on a due obedience to the Laws, especially in this early period of our national existence, that I should have been guilty of a criminal inattention and disregard to both, had I not, on every proper occasion, since my appointment to my present office, inculcated this duty as indispensable, without the performance of which, our liberties cannot be preserved. Under this impression, I have hitherto acted according to the best of my judgment and abilities.

I had nearly finished writing the introduction to the technical part of my charge to the Grand Jury, for the November Term, when I received your letter; although I had anticipated, in substance, your recommendation in that, and in every other charge which I have hitherto given, yet I was led by duty, and perhaps by a little vanity, to introduce an extract from that letter; because the sentiments of the President of the United States, and those of the Governor of this State, coinciding with those I had delivered, would give mine a weight which would claim much greater attention from those to whom they had been addressed, and from the good people in the circuit in general, than of themselves, they would deserve. I also esteem it not a little honourable to myself, in having anticipated the sentiments of two such distinguished characters, one of whom deservedly enjoys the confidence of the People throughout the Union, and the other, that of the citizens of Pennsylvania.

By the appointment of Dr. Armstrong to Congress, I shall lose a valuable associate in Mifflin county; possessing firmness, honour and strict integrity, invested with a sound judgment, he contributed not a little to restore and preserve peace and good order in that county. I am afraid it will be difficult for you to appoint another of equal worth to succeed him. I have heard Col. Patton mentioned; I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with the Gentleman, but from the character which I have uniformly heard of him, I could not wish a better man. I presume you know his character—he was Vendue Master for the City for several years—he is now erecting Iron-works on Spring Creek, about 35 Miles, I suppose, N. or N. W. from the County Town. I did not inquire how long he has resided there.

Messrs. Brown and Bryson, (which last appears altered for the better, as you told me,) speaking to me on this subject, after the Court adjourned, and Dr. Armstrong was gone home, mentioned Mr. Gregg, now a Justice of the Peace, residing in Lewistown. Mr. Patton did not then occur to me, nor, I presume to them; I am no more acquainted with Mr. Gregg than with Mr. Patton, my two associates represented him to be a man of a good character and understanding, and his deportment seems to correspond with their representations. I take it for granted that he

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

is esteemed a man of integrity also, as he is very generally chosen as a referee, in which capacity I am well satisfied with his decisions.

The associate judges above named, told me that one Mr. Bratton, (I think his name is John,) had been mentioned also, they mention him as a man of understanding, but that if Dr. Armstrong has acquired credit for his good conduct in preserving the peace of the county, Mr. Bratton would not be a proper successor to him. It seems he was a principal fomenter of the disturbances, which at one time seemed so serious, between Huntingdon and Mifflin Counties. I never saw him, to my knowledge, till the last Court, when he was Foreman of the Grand Jury, his conduct there was perfectly conformable to the character which I had heard of him before. A bill was sent up against the son of one of the Grand Jury, they sent a note to the Court desiring that a person might be sworn as a witness; the Court sent D. Watt, Esq., who prosecuted in the absence, on account of sickness, of Mr. Clark, to the jury, to inquire if it was a legal witness. Mr. Watt reported that he was not; I understood he was suspected to be an accomplice; but, without the knowledge of the Court, the Grand Jury had him sworn and examined, the Bill was returned Ignoramus. The Justice who had bound him over and was on the Grand Jury, told me, as he rode with me part of the way to Huntingdon, that he and others of the Grand Jury, argued in vain with a quorum against those proceedings. They also received extra judicial affidavits, and made presentments in consequence of them, of matters not presentable, in which, it appeared by the conduct of the Foreman, when the Jury returned them, that he had been active. That this was done to acquire popularity among the ignorant and disorderly part of the people, was evident, and I take it for granted, with a view to succeed Dr. Armstrong. I desired the Clerk of the Sessions to send me copies of the presentments and affidavits, against my return from the circuit, in order that I might have transmitted them to you, but this he has not yet done.

As I have no person to propose, and have not the least personal acquaintance with any of the Gentlemen whom I have heard mentioned, it is evident that I cannot be influenced by personal motives on this occasion.

I have the honour to be,
with much respect, Sir,
your most obedient and very humble servant,
THOMAS SMITH.

P. S.—I herewith send an extract from my charge which will be published in our Wednesday's Paper.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO THE JUDGES OF THE
SUPREME COURT.

—
PHILADELPHIA, *March 21st, 1794.*

SIR:—In the present state of our National affairs, relatively to the Belligerent powers of Europe, I think it my duty to call the attention of the Officers of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to the prospect of such events as cannot fail to interest the patriotism of every good Citizen, and which, if not happily averted, will, I anxiously hope, produce that unanimity of sentiment and conduct among the people that is obviously essential to give energy and success to the exertions of a Republican Government, created by their will and only to be supported by their confidence.

The station which you fill affords you a favorable opportunity to inculcate and promote those principles of order and harmony on which our social happiness depends, and of attachment to the Constitution and Laws on which our political prosperity must be raised. And I am persuaded, that, acting upon this intimation with becoming zeal and discretion, your Country will have occasion to rejoice in the influence which your example and advice shall obtain over our Fellow-Citizens who inhabit the County in which you reside.

You will readily perceive, Sir, that the objects of peculiar moment at this critical period are to ensure obedience to the Laws of that Government which is immediately intrusted with the National defence, and to establish the Militia of the State upon a respectable and efficient footing. Let me request, therefore, that, according to your official avocations or personal influence, you will attend to those objects, and let it be deeply impressed on the minds of our Fellow-Citizens that, on the one hand, every irregular and illegal opposition to existing laws will not only embarrass the operations of Government, but eventually undermine the only real security for the liberty and property of individuals. And that, on the other hand, to neglect the natural and safe resource of a free people for the purpose of protecting themselves and of repelling the injuries offered to their rights, is virtually to invite the use of those artificial expedients which have been fatal, and must ever be dangerous to Republican Freedom and Independence.

The disposition that has appeared in some of the Counties to resist and counteract the execution of the Excise Law of Congress will attract particular notice. Whatever diversity of opinion

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

may arise as to the policy of imposing that tax, the propriety of acquiescing in it, while sanctioned by the Legislative authority cannot be controverted by any friend to the peace and happiness of his Country. The same Constitution which gave the power to lay a tax has designated the mode in which original impolicy or oppressive operation may be represented to that tribunal which can, and in a case of real grievance, is bound to grant redress. As Freemen let us always remonstrate against actual wrongs, but as Citizens let us always obey existing Laws.

Belying upon your assistance to promote the design of this letter, and assuring you that I shall receive with pleasure any communication upon the subject to which it relates,

I am, Sir,

Your most obed. serv.,

THO. MIFFLIN.

To the Judges of the Sup. Co't, Pres't and Ass. Judges of Com. pleas, Proth's, Majors Gen'l. Briga. Gen'l and Brigade Insp'r's of Militia of the Several Counties in the State.

JUDGE ADDISON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WASHINGTON, 31st March, 1794.

SIR:—The circular letter of the 21st of this month, addressed by you to the officers of this State, came to my hand yesterday.

Your zeal, no less constant than laudable, to render the sovereignty of our nation respectable and respected, both by other nations and our own citizens, is one of those virtues which rise in and adorn a publick station. May I not therefore indulge a hope, from which I trust the sanction of those who best know and judge my motives, and my conduct, will never be withdrawn, that, according to my limited circle of duty, I am actuated by a portion of the same spirit.

Those events which you suggest, in prospect so alarming, in existence so cruel, there are yet times in which a nation, in whom any sense of safety, of duty or of honour remains, must view with confidence, bear with courage, and dispel with energy. Can we doubt that to us those times are arrived, when every passion that can actuate a free, a commercial and a generous nation, is impudently insulted and menaced with destruction, and when dear and gallant brethren in Europe, on whose fate our conduct may have some, however little, influence, are labouring and in danger for those principles which conducted us to independence, and must preserve us in it? Dearly as every rational man must prize peace, and the world is convinced that

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

51

we have prized it as we ought, we are and have been long justifiable in abandoning this delusive neutrality, which only ties our hands, that our enemy may securely bleed us to death.

However dreadful may be the prospect of war, if no other redress remains for our injuries, the people of this country are, I am persuaded, prepared for its encounter; nor will they, I take upon me to say, shrink from its burdens, and if the payment of the Excise, odious and unequal as this revenue is, be necessary for its support, this payment, thus become, the price of our independence, and the fruit of our duty, will, I trust, be made chearfully and honestly.

Your particular notice of the resistance made to the collection of this revenue, and your concluding request of communication on the subject of your letter, induce me to say a few words on this head. With respect to my own conduct, I have nothing to add to what I have formerly stated to you. Nothing of a criminal nature and of this kind has since that time come within my cognisance, except we consider, in this view, the conviction of Samuel Wilson, and the submission of the other rioters in Allegheny county, whom I formerly mentioned to you in private conversation. I have endeavoured to inculcate that constitutional resistance, which alone is justifiable in a free people. The Constitution, however, ordaining an equal excise, renders it impossible to make this equal tax in the estimation of the people of this country. Were I to express an opinion, I would say, that if the collection of the excise were in proper hands, it might now be made. But it seems to be intrusted to men without spirit or discretion, and in whose principles the people have no confidence. They seem tamely content with the enjoyments of their appointments, or, if they have discovered any acts of decision and vigour, it is, I conceive, in unlawful and oppressive stretches of authority, and in the commission of trespasses.

John Bell, of whose conviction, sentence, escape and re-capture, I have before acquainted you, is still in jail in irons and in so miserable a condition, that I should suppose an intimation, even of his execution, could hardly be unwelcome. I take the liberty of re-calling your attention to his case and also to the request, which I made to you through Mr. Dallas, that the hundred dollars, advertised for his re-taking, might be paid by you as part of the contingent expences of government.

I am, Sir, with much respect,

Your Most Obed't Serv't,

ALEX'R ADDISON.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

JUDGE JACOBS TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

CHESTER COUNTY, April 10th, 1794.

SIR:—Yours of the 28th of March last gives me great satisfaction, by endeavoring to procure and promote harmony and Unanimity among the Citizens of this and the United States to excite patriotism, and induce an attachment to the Constitution and Laws thereof, in order to Establish and perpetuate our political prosperity and Happiness, under the existing republican Government at the present critical Period; and I am happy to inform you that since I have had the honour of an appointment as a Judge of the Courts of this County, there hath been but one prosecution for an Offence against the Laws of the United States, and that for opposing the collection of the revenue on home-made distilled spirituous liquors, on which a conviction took place and a heavy fine laid in order to deter and prevent any future attempts of a similar nature, either in complexion or consequence, one of whom was fined fifty pounds, who I am informed is poor with a family of small children, who perhaps may suffer more than the real offender, altho' already I apprehend, fully convinced of his malconduct and cheerfully submits to the Law, and perhaps the Executive of the United States will yet approve of a remission of his fine, as that could not have been the object of the law at its passing, were they satisfied that such Ideas of opposition and resistance were abandoned, which I hope is the case, knowing, or at least believing, they did not originate in this County, and men (perhaps in an exalted State) who matured & diffused the design have been so wary, or so fortunate, as to escape even publick censure. I fully concur in opinion with you that it is the Interest, as well as duty, of the Citizens of this and the United States to maintain, support and Carry into Execution all their Laws, however injurious, or oppressive they may be in Imagination, rather than suggest a forcible opposition, as our Existance as a Nation depends solely on our obedience to the Ordinances of the United States in Congress Assembled. I am happy to add that an approbation of the Government of this State and of the United States is abundantly evident from the established Integrity, Industry, Increase of property and general declarations of the Citizens of this County, so far as my Observations have extended.

And am, with respect & esteem,
Your Assur'd fr'd,

BENJAMIN JACOBS.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, Governour, Pennsylvania.

JUDGE ADDISON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WASH'N, 12th May, 1794.

SIR:—My last letter to you was intended merely as an answer to your circular letter of 21st March, and was drawn from me by an idea that it was proper for me to notice, according to my sentiments, the different subjects of your letter. Had I supposed that it was to claim the attention of the President, to assume the solemn form of an accusation, and to be subjected to the resentment of a subordinate officer of notorious unfriendly affections, I should certainly have expressed myself with greater caution, and in terms less general. The intimation which I have lately received of this I must submit to you as my apology for troubling you with a few explanatory remarks, and as my reason for requesting, that you will lay this letter also before the President.

There are, so far as I have understood, but two Collectors of Excise in the four counties of Pennsylvania on this side of the mountains. Benjamin Wells, of Fayette county, is collector for the counties of Westmoreland and Fayette. Robert Johnston, of Allegheny county, is collector for the counties of Washington and Allegheny. I know not of any office of Inspection either in Westmoreland or Washington.

Robert Johnston, so far as I have learnt of him, is an honest man, of good character; but more remarkable for simplicity, good nature, and inoffensive manners, than for those qualities of spirit, understanding, skill and address, which are necessary for carrying into execution a law odious and opposed, where he is charged with its execution.

Benjamin Wells, so far as I have ever heard him spoken of, is a contemptible and unworthy man, whom, I believe, the people of this country would never wish to see in any office or trust with an object of any importance.

So much as to my opinion of the men. I shall now add something as to my opinion of the things stated in my letter respecting the Excise.

At last March Court, in Fayette county, in a publick company at dinner, in the tavern where I lodged, some of the most respectable gentlemen of that county, and most strenuously opposed to the Excise law, proposed that a meeting of the inhabitants of that county should be called, in which it should be agreed that they would all enter their stills, provided Benjamin Wells was removed from office, and some honest and reputable man appointed in his stead. I will not say that these are the words, but I know it is the amount of the conversation.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

With respect to Tresspasses committed by the Excise officers, I alluded to seizures of whisky in transportation from one place to another, for want of marks and certificates, when it was notorious that the whisky seised had been distilled from domestick materials in a country place; and when such whisky is not subjected to the regulation of marks and certificates, nor seizable in transportation, I therefore considered all such seizures as unwarranted by law, and of course tresspasses.

You have now the grounds of my sentiments. If I erred it was an error of opinion, not a wilful misrepresentation. I will add also, that if it is an error, which I yet entertain with a confidence which I have discovered no reason to shake.

I am, Sir,
Your most obed't Serv't,
ALEX. ADDISON.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 18th April, 1794.

SIR:—In answer to a circular letter, which I have addressed to the officers of this Comm'u'th, enjoining among other things, an implicit obedience to the laws of the Union, I have received a variety of communications of a very patriotic and satisfactory nature, and the inclosed extracts from the letters of Judge Addison and Mr. Reddick, (the Prothonotary of the County of Washington,) relatively to the excise, appear to me to contain information of sufficient moment to excuse my submitting them to your consideration.

I am with perfect respect, Sir,
Your most Obed't Serv't,
THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To the President of the United States.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO JUDGE ADDISON.

PHILAD'A, 24th May, 1794.

D'R SIR:—I have just time to acknowledge, on behalf of the Governor, the receipt of your letter of the 12th current, and to express his regret that any use should be made of the extract, which he communicated to the President, that could give you pain. The truth is, that such general dissatisfaction has been

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

55

expressed with respect to Wells, that for the sake of the western counties, as well as for the sake of the General Government, it was thought adviseable to transmit all the information that could be collected on the subject, to the President; and the extract from your letter (the sentiments and expression of which certainly do you honor) made a part of the documents. The Governor did not expect that your name, or your opinion, would be put into the power of any person who was not entitled to a confidential trust; and he will readily comply with your request in laying the explanatory letter, likewise, before the President.

I am, &c.,

A. J. DALLAS, Sec.

TO ALEX. ADDISON, Esq.

INHABITANTS OF WESTMORELAND TO GEN. WILIAM JACK.

SIR:—As attempts have been made to raise an armed force to disturb the peace of this County and prevent the due Execution of the Laws, and an attack has been premeditated to be made on the Town of Greensburgh, we have thought proper to address you as the Commanding Officer of the Militia on a subject so distressing to the minds of all Well disposed Citizens. If such proceedings are not checked in their first Career, it is more easy to imagine than to point out the Calamities which may be the Consequence. We would be happy to have it in our power to say that the disposition to submit to the Laws was so prevalent that any extraordinary exertion of Goverment for that purpose and protecting well disposed Citizens in the Enjoyment of their Rights and Liberties was unnecessary. Recent examples convince us to the Contrary. Until that protection can be afforded, we are of opinion that besides Voluntary associations among such as are well inclined, a Small corps of Militia Volunteers, embodied by your direction, to be kept in service so long as you shall judge the exigency of the case may require, will Essentially contribute to maintain the peace, and under the Civil authority to assist in Suppressing Riots and traitorous designs. From the tenor and sentiments manifested by the Executive, we make no doubt that your Conduct in Calling such a body of men into service for a short time will meet with the most unequivocal approbation, and the Expense be Defrayed out of the publick Treasury. We add to this our personal assurance of your being

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

re-imburſed any expenſes which may be incurred by you as to the pay and Rations of the officers and men whom you may think proper to call out for the Salutary purpoſes above mentioned.

We are, Sir, your Humble Serv'ts,

WM. FINDLEY,	TIMOTHY BUELL,
SAM'L PORTER,	JOHN PARKER,
WM. TODD,	PETER CLASSON,
THOMAS HAMILTON,	JOHN CONTZ,
JAMES GUTHRE,	JOHN KIRKPATRICK,
JAMES M'KELLIP,	CH'R TRUBY,
JOHN HUTCHESON,	ROB'T WILLIAMS,
PETER TITTLE,	ROB'T TAYLOR,
JOHN DENNISTON,	SIMEON HOVEY,
GEORGE SMITH,	JAMES PERRY,
ROBERT BOLE,	WM. MAGHER,
JNO. BRANDEN,	FREDERICK ROHRER,
DAVID BEANS,	TERRENCE CAMPBELL,
CONRAD COLMER,	JOS. COOK,
JAMES HILL,	NATHAN WILLIAMS.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 27th May, 1794.

SIR:—In compliance with the request of Judge Addison, I have the honor to transmit to you a copy of his letter, dated the 12th current, in explanation of the extract communicated to you on the 18th of April last, relative to the collection of the Excise in the western Counties. As it appears that the information which he enabled me to lay before you, has been used in a way that was not intended, justice requires, that the foundation of his opinions should be clearly understood.

I have the honor to be,

With perfect respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's

Most Obed't, H'ble Serv't

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To the President of the United States

SECRETARY DALLAS* TO JACOB HARBAUGH, OF
BEDFORD.

—
SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
PHILADELPHIA, 26th June, 1794.

SIR:—The Governor directs me to acknowledge the receipt of the application, dated the 3d instant, on behalf of yourself and a Company of 48 persons, to be employed as volunteers in the detachment ordered to be held in readiness to march, agreeably to the President's late requisition. If the Company is formed and organized according to law, your offer will be cheerfully accepted; but it is necessary, that on that subject, a report should be made by the Brigade Inspector of Bedford County to the Adjutant General. You will, therefore, be pleased to address yourself to that officer, who has general instructions to accept such propositions, whenever it can lawfully be done.

I am Sir,

Your Most Obed't Serv't,

A. J. DALLAS, *Sect'y.*

To Mr. JACOB HERBOUGH, Milford township, Bedford Co.

* ALEXANDER JAMES DALLAS was born on the Island of Jamacia, June 21, 1759. He was the son of a Scotch physician, and was educated at Edinburgh and Westminster. He emigrated to America in 1783, and settled in Philadelphia. In July, 1785, he was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court. In January, 1791, he was appointed Secretary of the Commonwealth by Governor Mifflin, and served throughout that administration. He was constituted paymaster general of the expedition to western Pennsylvania in 1794. In 1801 President Jefferson appointed him United States Attorney for the Eastern district of Pennsylvania. In 1814 he was made Secretary of the United States Treasury, which he resigned in 1817. He published "Features of Jay's Treaty," 1796; "Speeches on the Trial of Blount;" "Laws of Pennsylvania," with notes; Reports, 4 vols., 1806-7; "Treasury Reports;" "Exposition of the Causes and Character of the War of 1812, 1815," &c. He died at Trenton, N. J., January 16, 1817.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

GEN. GIBSON* TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *July 4th, 1794.*

SIR:—I have the honor of receiving your Excellency's letter of the 27th ulto., with the enclosures. Nothing material has happened since my last, in which I refered you to General Wilkins' letter for the News. We are hourly expecting to hear from Capt. Denny and Mr. Ellicot, from LeBœuf, of which I shall give you the earliest information. Since my last letter to you, I have been at Washington, and have communicated the contents of your letters to me, to the principal Inhabitants of that and the other Counties. They most heartily approve of your Conduct and the Measures that have Been taken.

I have the honour to be, with respect, your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

JNO. GIBSON.

Governor MIFFLIN.

GEN. GIBSON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *July 18th, 1794.*

SIR:—I am sorry to have to inform your Excellency that a civil War has taken place in this County, Major Lenox, the

* JOHN GIBSON was born at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, May 23, 1740. He received a classical education. At the age of eighteen he accompanied Gen. Forbes' expedition, which took Fort Duquesne. Settling at Fort Pitt as an Indian trader at the peace, he was subsequently taken prisoner by the Indians, and was saved from burning at the stake by an aged squaw, who adopted him in place of her son, who had been slain in battle. He remained with the Indians a number of years. At the close of hostilities he again settled at Fort Pitt. In 1774 he assisted in negotiating the peace which followed Dunmore's expedition to the Shawnee towns. At the outset of the Revolution he was appointed to the command of a Continental regiment, where he served with the army in New York, and in the retreat through the Jerseys. During the latter years of the war he was in command of the western frontier. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1790, and subsequently a judge of the court of common pleas, of Allegheny county. He was Major General of the militia during the insurrection. In 1800 he was appointed by President Jefferson Secretary of Indiana, which office he held until it became a State, and was acting governor in 1811-13. He died at Braddock's Field, near Pittsburgh, April 10, 1822.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

59

Marshall of the Federal Court, in company with Gen'l Neville, served some processes on persons in this County on tuesday last. On the day following, at day-light, 100 men attacked Gen'l Neville's house, in which there was only the Gen'l and another man with the family; the Gen'l defended himself for an hour or Better against them, he wounded one of the party mortally, and three others badly, no person in the house received any damage. On his application to Major Butler he sent out Twenty of the federal troops of the Garrison to protect him. Yesterday another party of Five hundred men from the upper part of this County and Washington collected together, and about 6 o'clock in the afternoon made a second attack on Gen'l Neville's house; luckily the General made his Escape a few minutes Before they Surrounded the house; previous to the attack they sent in a flag to inform Gen'l Neville that if he would resign his commission and Give up his papers they would not injure him. Major Kirkpatrick, who remained in the house with his Sister-in-Law, Mrs. Neville, returned an answer informing them that General Neville was not in the house. But this they would not Believe, and after permitting Mrs. Neville and the females of the family to retire, they commenced an attack on the house which was Returned from the Soldiers in the house, When Four of the Rioters were killed and a number Wounded, and three of the Soldiers in the house were wounded. The party in the house then gave up and the rioters Burnt the dwelling house, Barn and all the out houses and everything in them. Among those killed was a Capt., James MacFarland, formerly an officer in the Pen's Line. Time will not permit me to give you a more particular detail of this Unhappy Business. Gen'l Neville has transmitted to the Executive of the United States a full account. I am sorry to find this Unhappy disposition prevails too generally in our Country, and God only knows where it will End.

This moment an Express arrived here from the Commanding officer at Fort Franklin to Major Butler at this place, inclosing a Copy of a Speech from Cornplanter to Gen'l Chapin, to be delivered by him to Gen'l Washington, the purport of which is, that unless the Lands which they had formerly pointed out on the map were given up, they would Be obliged to take them. The Commanding officer in his letter Mentions that the Cornplanter's Nephew, who had Brought the Speech, had convened the Indians at Fort Franklin in an open field; that they held a Council, the purport of which he could not learn, But he thinks from the terrible change in the Behaviour of the Indians it was hostile, as they have all withdrawn. He expects every moment when Hostilities will be commenced by them.

I shall use my utmost Exertions to protect the frontiers, and

hope to be able to draw out a Sufficient number of Militia if necessity requires. I still hope the country will unite against our Common Enemy.

The post is waiting, I must Beg you will Excuse this Scrawl,

Being with much respect,

Your Excellency's Most obd't humble Serv't,

JNO. GIBSON.

NOTICE FROM GEN. JOHN NEVILLE.*

PUBLIC NOTICE

In my house at Bower Hill, on Chartiers creek, which was attacked, plundered and burnt, by the rioters on Thursday evening last, were four thousand six hundred and eleven dollars and sixty cents, funded debt of the United States, in my own name, in two certificates, viz: No. 775 for 3,631 dollars 21 cents, 6 per cents., and No 603, for 980 dollars 43 cents, 3 per cents. This is to caution the public, least they may be offered for sale with forged powers of conveyance; interest is stopped at the bank and every legal measure taken to prevent imposition. If they are fallen into the hands of an honest man, he can return them to Col. Presly Neville, in Pittsburgh. I also caution the public not to receive assignments on any bonds or notes to me, as they are in the same situation.

JOHN NEVILLE.

July 20, 1794.

*JOHN NEVILLE was born on the head waters of the Occoquan, Virginia, July 26, 1731. He was an officer in the Virginia troops, under the ill-fated Braddock. In 1774 he was a delegate to the Provincial convention of Virginia. He was colonel of the Fourth Virginia regiment in the Revolution, serving with distinction at Trenton, Princeton, Germantown and Monmouth. After the war he settled in Pennsylvania, and was elected a member of the Supreme Executive Council. He was subsequently appointed, by the President of the United States, Inspector of Revenue for the western counties. It was his residence which was destroyed by the opponents of the Excise. He was a gallant soldier, and a dutiful citizen. He died at Montour's Island, near Pittsburgh, July 29, 1803.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

61

RESIGNATION OF COLLECTOR JOHNSON.

PITTSBURGH, *July 20, 1794.*

Finding the opposition to the revenue law more violent than I expected, regretting the mischief that has been done, and may from the continuation of measures,—feeling the opposition changed from dignified rabble to a respectable party, think it my duty and do resign my commission.

ROBERT JOHNSON.

“TOM THE TINKERS” NOTICE TO JOHN REED.

MR. SCULL:

I am under the necessity of requesting you to put the following in your next paper. It was found pasted on a tree, near my distillery.

JOHN REED.

July 23, 1794.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In taking a survey of the troops under my direction in the late expedition against that insolent exciseman, John Neville, I find there were a great many delinquents, even among those who carry on distilling. It will, therefore, be observed that I, Tom the Tinker, will not suffer any certain class or set of men to be excluded the service of this my district, when notified to attend on any expedition carried on in order to obstruct the execution of the excise law, and obtain a repeal thereof.

And I do declare on my solemn word, that if such delinquents do not come forth on the next alarm, with equipments, and give their assistance as much as in them lies, in opposing the execution and obtaining a repeal of the excise law, he or they will be deemed as enemies and stand opposed to virtuous principles of republican liberty, and shall receive punishment according to the nature of the offense.

And whereas, a certain John Reed, now resident in Washington, and being at his place near Pittsburgh, called Reedsburgh, and having a set of stills employed at said Reedsburgh, entered on the excise docket, contrary to the will and good pleasure of his fellow citizens, and came not forth to assist in the suppression of the execution of said law, by aiding and assisting in the late expedition, have, by delinquency, manifested his approbation

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

to the execution of the aforesaid law, is hereby charged forthwith to cause the contents of this paper, without adding or diminishing, to be published in the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, the ensuing week, under the no less penalty than the consumption of his distillery.

Given under my hand, this 19th day of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

TOM THE TINKER.

JUDGE ADDISON TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

WASHINGTON, 24th July, 1794.

D'R SIR :—I would recommend that the most pressing instructions be forwarded to the Attornies for the state in the Western Counties, to procure testimony by subpœnaing & recognising witnesses, &c., & to prefer indictments against those who may be discovered as engaged in the riots. All good men will certainly assist the publick authority on so pressing occasion, and this appears to me to be the best method of exerting the publick force.

A. ADDISON.

Circular letters also to all magistrates, &c.

SECRETARY OF WAR TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

July 25, 1794.

SIR :—I have the honor of transmitting for your information, extracts from letters written by Major Thomas Butler and Major Isaac Craig, dated at Pittsburgh the 18th instant, containing some information of an alarming outrage committed near that place by a large body of Men in Arms.

It may be proper at this time, not to make public the names of the writers or the circumstances by which they may be known.

I have the honor to be,

with great respect,

Your obed't Servant,

H. KNOX,
Sec'y of War.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

63

MAJOR ISAAC CRAIG TO GEN. KNOX.

PITTSBURGH, 18 July, 1794.

SIR:—About day-break, in the morning of the 16th instant, a number of armed men attacked General Nevill's house, he himself only defending it; he, however, dispersed the party having wounded six or seven, one of whom it is said mortally. And yesterday a large number of armed men amounting, it is said, to seven hundred, assembled & attacked his house, defended only by himself. Major Kirkpatrick and ten soldiers. During the attack General Nevil seeing it impossible to defend the house against such numbers, took an opportunity of escaping and concealing himself in a Thicket. Major Kirkpatrick continued to defend the house till one of his men was killed & four wounded, having killed two & wounded several of the insurgents. As soon the Major surrendered, the enemy set fire to the house which is consumed to ashes, with all the property it contained, not a single article saved, only the clothing the family had on when escaped during the attack; previous to burning the house they had set fire to the barn, stable, kitchen & Granary which were also consumed with their contents, amongst which were several valuable horses & a large quantity of grain.

Major Lenox, Colo. Nevil, myself & two others in attempting to get into the house, with a supply of ammunition, were made prisoners, disarmed and confined till the action was over & then carried several miles to their rendezvous; treated Major Lenox with the utmost indignity and all of us with insult; the night I was happy enough to make my escape and to find General Nevil and to escort him to my house where he now is. I have not yet slept since my return & feel very unwell.

I have the honor to remain,

Your Obed't serv't,

ISAAC CRAIG.

MAJOR THOMAS BUTLER TO GEN. KNOX.

FORT FAYETTE, July 18, 1794.

SIR:—I feel extreme pain in communicating to you the lawless and disorderly state of this western country at this period.

The deluded inhabitants are stimulated by designing men to oppose the law of the United States with respect to the excise, and have so far succeeded as to assemble numbers with arms

to intimidate the officers. On the morning of the 15th instant, one hundred and fifty of these deluded people assembled round the dwelling house of General John Neville, the Excise officer for the western district. On his asking what they wanted by surrounding his house, they answered to take him a prisoner to Washington, and fired sundry shots through the windows where himself and family were. The general returned the fire and wounded five before the mob dispersed, after which the General wrote me a note requesting that I would send him a small guard for the protection of himself and family, which I complied with and sent a sergeant and twelve for that purpose until such time as the storm would blow over.

On the 17th, the deluded and rebellious people assembled from the counties of Allegheny and Washington to the number of seven or eight hundred men, armed, who surrounded General Neville's house a second time and commenced a fire on the General's friends and the guard, who defended themselves until the house was in flames, which obliged them to surrender. General Neville fortunately escaped before the insurgents had got quite round the house. They burned all his buildings of every description and all his fences.

The chief who commanded the banditti was killed and sundries wounded. I am sorry to add that the man killed was once an officer in the American army. McFarlane was his name which should be erased from that list.

Three of the guards was wounded, none dangerous, and two missing, supposed to have gone off with the insurgents as they were not men of good characters.

I am, Sir, your obed't serv't,

THOMAS BUTLER.*

* THOMAS BUTLER was born in Pennsylvania in 1754. In 1776, while studying law with Judge Wilson, in Philadelphia, he joined the army as a subaltern, soon obtaining a company, was in almost every action in the Middle States during the Revolution, and was wounded. At Brandywine, September 11, 1777, he received the thanks of General Washington on the field of battle for his intrepidity in rallying his men, and at Monmouth the thanks of Wayne for defending a defile in the face of a heavy fire. In 1791 he was made a major commanding a battalion in Gibson's regiment, under St. Clair, at whose defeat he was twice wounded. April 11, 1792, he was appointed major fourth sub-legion, Lieut. Col. commanding, July 1, 1794, and Col. of the Second infantry, April, 1802. During the insurrection he was in command at Fort Fayette, Pittsburgh, and prevented the insurgents from taking it, more by his name than by his forces, for he had but few troops. He died at New Orleans, September 7, 1805.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

65

SECRETARY DALLAS TO ATTORNEY GENERAL
INGERSOLL.

PHILA., 25th July, 1794.

DEAR SIR:—Inclosed I transmit a copy of a letter from General Gibson, dated the 18th instant, containing information of an alarming riot committed in the County of Allegheny in opposition to the laws of the United States. Permit me, in the absence of the Governor, to suggest to you the propriety of pursuing some measures to ascertain, with legal formality, the circumstances of the offence and the names of the offenders. I know the Governor will be anxious to enforce every instrument that can be employed effectually to subdue the lawless spirit of the Rioters and to bring them to punishment. Perhaps you will think it expedient to request your Representatives in Allegheny and Washington Counties to attend to the subject; and, I am persuaded, they will find the Magistrates in that quarter, ready to co-operate with them in so important a business.

I am, sincerely y'rs,

A. J. DALLAS,
Secretary.

To JARED INGERSOLL, esq'r, Attorney General of Pennsylvania.

CIRCULAR TO THE PRESIDENT JUDGES.

PHILA., 25th July, 1794.

GENTLEMEN:—The Governor having received information that a daring and cruel outrage has been committed in the County of Allegheny by a lawless body of armed men, who, among other enormities, attacked and destroyed the house of Gen'l Neville on the 17th instant, requests, in the most earnest manner, that you will exert all your influence and authority to suppress, within your jurisdiction, so pernicious and unwarrantable a spirit; that you will ascertain, with all possible dispatch, the circumstances of the offence; and that you will pursue, with the utmost vigilance, the lawful steps for bringing the offenders to justice. Every honest citizen must feel himself personally mortified at the conduct of the Rioters, which, particularly if it passes with impunity, is calculated to fix an indelible stigma on the honor and reputation of the State. To you, Gentlemen, the Governor resorts with confidence, and he

5—VOL IV.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

assures you of his warmest support and approbation, in the prosecution of every lawful measure, which your better knowledge of the facts and of other local circumstances may suggest on the occasion.

I am with sincere esteem, Gentlemen,

Your most obed. H'ble Serv't,

A. J. DALLAS,

Secretary.

To the President & Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, To Every Justice of the peace, To the several Sheriffs and To the respective Brigade Inspectors of the Four Western Counties of Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette and Allegheny.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO GEN. GIBSON.

PHILA., 25th July, 1794.

SIR:—Your letter of the 18th instant has been received, and on behalf of the Governor (who will be absent a few days) I beg leave to express the most serious regret at the unfortunate events which it describes. Relying upon the aid of every friend to peace and order for the suppression of so disgraceful and so unwarrantable a spirit of opposition to the laws, he will, I am confident, employ all the energy of our government to bring the offenders to an early and exemplary punishment. With that view, the Attorney General has already been requested to institute an enquiry into the circumstances of the outrage, and the names of the perpetrators; and you will excuse my intimating, that if the civil authority can be supported by the assistance of the militia, the exercise of your discretion for that purpose, upon the request of the Magistrates, must be highly agreeable to the Governor. It would, therefore, perhaps, be useful to confer with the Judges of your county on the subject.

I am, with sincere esteem,

Sir, Your most Obed. Serv.,

A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary.*

To Gen'l GIBSON, at Pittsburgh.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO GEN. KNOX.

PHILA., 26th July, 1794.

SIR:—In consequence of the very disagreeable intelligence, which has been received, of the daring outrage lately committed

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

67

in Allegheny county, by a considerable body of armed men, measures have been taken, on behalf of the Executive of Pennsylvania, to suppress the lawless spirit of the Rioters, to ascertain the circumstances of the offence and to bring the offenders to justice; and, in the absence of the Governor, I think it my duty to communicate, for the information of the General Government, the official documents relating to those measures.

I am, Sir,

Your most obed. Serv.

A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary.*

To HENRY KNOX, Esqr., Secretary at War.

CIRCULAR OF THE WESTERN INSURGENTS TO THE MILITIA OFFICERS.

July 28th, 1794.

SIR:—Having had suspicions that the Pittsburgh post would carry with him the sentiments of some of the people in the country, respecting our present situation, and the letters by the post being now in our possession *by which certain secrets are discovered* hostile to our interest, it is therefore now come to that crisis, that every citizen must express his sentiments, not by his words, but by his actions. You are then called upon as a citizen of the western country to render your personal service, with as many volunteers as you can raise to rendezvous at your usual place of meeting on Wednesday next, and thence you will march to the usual place of rendezvous at Braddock's Field,* on the Monongahela, on Friday the first day of August next, to be there at two o'clock in the afternoon with arms and accoutrements in good order. If any volunteers shall want arms and ammunition bring them forward and they shall be supplied as well as possible. Here, Sir, is an expedition proposed in which you will have an opportunity of displaying your military talents and of rendering service to your country. Four days provisions will be wanted; let the men be thus supplied.

We are, (signed,) _____

JOHN CANON,

T. SPEARS,

B. PARKINSON,

L. LOCKREY,

D. BRADFORD,

J. MARSHALL,

A. FULTON,

To Col. _____.

*Braddock's Field was the place of the annual brigade muster or review. Each regiment previously assembled at its own rendezvous.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING AT PITTSBURGH,
JULY 31, 1794.

At a meeting of the inhabitants of Pittsburgh, on Thursday evening, July 31st, 1794, to take into consideration the present situation of affairs, and declare their sentiments on this delicate crisis.

A great majority, almost the whole of the inhabitants of the town, assembled. It being announced to the meeting that certain gentlemen from the town of Washington had arrived, and had signified that they were intrusted with a message to the inhabitants of the town relative to present affairs, a committee of three persons were appointed to confer with them, and report the message to the meeting. The persons appointed were, George Wallace, H. H. Brackenridge and John Wilkins, Jr. These gentlemen made a report to the meeting, to wit: that in consequence of certain letters sent by the last mail, certain persons were discovered as advocates of the excise law, and enemies to the interests of the country, and that a certain Edward Day, James Brison and Abraham Kirkpatrick, were particularly obnoxious, and that it was expected by the country that they should be dismissed without delay; whereupon, it was resolved it should be so done, and a committee of twenty-one were appointed to see this resolution carried into effect.

Also, that, WHEREAS it is a part of the message from the gentlemen of Washington, that a great body of the people of the country will meet to-morrow at Braddock's Field, in order to carry into effect measures that may seem to them advisable with respect to the excise law, and the advocates of it.

Resolved, That the above committee shall, at an early hour, wait upon the people on the ground, and assure the people that the above resolution, with respect to the proscribed persons, has been carried into effect.

Resolved, also, That the inhabitants of the town shall march out and join the people on Braddock's Field, as brethren, to carry into effect with them any measure that may seem to them advisable for the common cause.

Resolved, also, That we shall be watchful among ourselves of all characters that, by word or act, may be unfriendly to the common cause; and, when discovered, will not suffer them to live amongst us, but they shall instantly depart the town.

Resolved, That the town committee shall exist as a committee of information and correspondence, as an organ of our sentiments until our next town meeting. And that, WHEREAS, a

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

09

general meeting of delegates from the townships of the country, on the west of the mountains, will be held at Parkinson's Ferry, on the Monongahela, on the 14th of August next.

Resolved, That delegates shall be appointed to that meeting, and that the 9th August next be appointed for a town meeting to elect such delegates.

Resolved, also, That a number of handbills be struck off at the expense of the committee, and distributed among the inhabitants of the town, that they may conduct themselves accordingly.

GEN. JOHN WILKINS TO COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

PITTSBURGH, *August 1, 1794.*

D'R SIR:—The enclosed are two letters which were in the interrupted mail, & were returned into the post office. I have received no information as to Leboeuf, more than I have mentioned in these letters.

Our country is still in considerable confusion. The people are generally combined in their opposition to the excise law, & some of the most respectable people in the country are engaged in it. I hope government will adopt moderate measures to quiet the country. I cannot foresee the evil that will ensue if they do not. For God's sake, represent it to every person the bad effect that will result from violent measures on the part of government. I think if government would appoint commissioners to come out, enquire into the State of the country, & make arrangement for settling it in a peaceable manner, the happiest consequences would follow to this country. I cannot give you a detail of what has happened, nor the situation the country is in; but I still keep exerting myself, notwithstanding, to support the establishment at Leboeuf. About two weeks ago I sent up a drove of 30 head of beef cattle, & I this day am about sending as many more.

The people engaged in the present opposition to government must not be considered as an inconsiderable mob; they are a respectable & powerfull combination—this I remark to you, to show you how dreadful violent measures, on the part of the government, must appear, & what horrors every lover of peace in this country must feel, & to what danger they will be reduced, should an armed force be sent to enforce the law. I still am not without hope that moderate measures will bring about good effects, & the sending commissioners would be the best mode.

Am, D'r Sir, your Hum'e Serv't,

JNO. WILKINS, JR.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

MEMORANDA OF AN EXECUTIVE CONFERENCE.

1. It is agreed that, if the President issues a Proclamation, and drafts the Militia, under the act of Congress, declaring a part of the State in rebellion or a state of insurrection, the Governor will be under the necessity of convening the Legislature.
2. It is agreed, that a Proclamation declaratory of the sentiments of the government, relative to the riots, should be published.
3. It is agreed, that the Chief Justice & Gen'l Wm. Irvine shall be requested to act as commissioners in addressing the inhabitants of the western counties on the subject of the late Riots.

JUDGE WILSON TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 4th, 1794.

SIR:—From the evidence which has been laid before me, I hereby notify to you that in the counties of Washington and Allegheny, in Pennsylvania, laws of the United States are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings or by the powers vested in the Marshall of that district.

I have the honor to be with the highest consideration and respect,

Your most obedient

And Humble Servant,

JAMES WILSON*.

The President of the United States.

* JAMES WILSON, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was born near St. Andrew's, Scotland, September 14, 1742. He was educated at Glasgow, St. Andrew's and Edinburgh. Emigrated to Philadelphia in 1766, where he was employed as tutor in the College. He studied law with John Dickinson, and was admitted in 1768. Practiced successively at Reading, Carlisle and Annapolis, returning to Philadelphia in 1778. He was a member of the Conventions of 1774 and 1775. He took his seat in Congress, May 10, 1775, and voted in favor of the Declaration of 1776. In 1782-3 and 1785-7 he was again a delegate; member of the United States Constitutional Convention and of the Pennsylvania Convention of 1790. In September, 1789, he was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, serving until his death, which occurred at Edenton, N. C., August 28, 1798. He published "Address to the citizens of Philadelphia," 1784, and with Chief Justice McKean, "Commentaries on the United States' Constitution," 1792.

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY TO PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
PHILADELPHIA, *August 5, 1794.*

SIR:—The disagreeable crisis at which matters have lately arrived in some of the western counties of Pennsylvania, with regard to the laws laying duties on spirits distilled within the United States and on stills, seems to render proper a review of the circumstances which have attended those laws in that scene, from their commencement to the present time, and of the conduct which has hitherto been observed on the part of the Government, its motives and effect, in order to a better judgment of the measures necessary to be pursued in the existing emergency.

The opposition to those laws in the four most western counties of Pennsylvania, (Allegheny, Washington, Fayette and Westmoreland,) commenced as early as they were known to have been passed. It has continued, with different degrees of violence, in the different counties and different periods; but Washington has uniformly distinguished its resistance by a more excessive spirit than has appeared in the other counties, and seems to have been chiefly instrumental in kindling and keeping alive the flame.

The opposition first manifested itself in the milder shape of the circulation of opinions unfavorable to the law, and calculated, by the influence of public dis-esteem, to discourage the accepting or holding of offices under it, or the complying with it by those who might be so disposed; to which was added a show of the discontinuance of the business of distilling.

These expedients were shortly after succeeded by private associations to forbear compliance with the law. But it was not long before these mere negative modes of opposition were perceived to be likely to prove ineffectual. And in proportion as this was the case, and as the means of introducing the laws into operation were put into execution, the disposition to resistance became more turbulent, and more inclined to adopt and practice violent expedients; the officers now began to experience marks of contempt and insult; threats against them became more frequent and loud, and after some time these threats were ripened into acts of ill-treatment and outrage.

These acts of violence were preceded by certain meetings of malcontent persons, who entered into resolutions calculated at once to confirm, inflame, and systematize the spirit of opposition.

The first of these meetings was holden at a place called Redstone, (Old Fort,) on the 27th of July, 1791, where it was concerted that county committees should be convened in the four counties, at the respective seats of justice therein. On the 23d of August, following, one of these committees assembled in the county of Washington.

This meeting passed some intemperate resolutions, which were afterwards printed in the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, containing a strong censure on the law, declaring that any person who had accepted or might accept an office under Congress, in order to carry it into effect should be considered as inimical to the interests of the country; and recommending to the citizens of Washington county to treat every person who had accepted, or might thereafter accept, any such office, with contempt, and absolutely to refuse all kind of communication or intercourse with the officers, and to withhold from them all aid, support or comfort.

Not content with this vindictive proscription of those who might esteem it their duty, in the capacity of officers, to aid in the execution of the constitutional laws of the land, the meeting proceeded to accumulate topics of crimination of the Government, though foreign to each other; authorizing by this zeal for censure a suspicion that they were actuated not merely by the dislike of a particular law, but by a disposition to render the Government itself unpopular and odious.

This meeting, in further prosecution of their plan, deputed three of their members to meet delegates from the counties of Westmoreland, Fayette and Allegheny on the first Tuesday of September following, for the purpose of expressing the sense of the people of those counties in an address to the Legislature of the United States upon the subject of the excise law and *other grievances*.

Another meeting accordingly took place on the 7th of September, 1791, at Pittsburgh, in the county of Allegheny, at which there appeared persons in the character of delegates from the four western counties.

This meeting entered into resolutions more comprehensive in their objects, and not less inflammatory in their tendency than those which had before passed the meeting in Washington. Their resolutions contained severe censures, not only on the law which was the immediate subject of objection, but upon what they termed the exorbitant salaries of officers, the unreasonable interest of the public debt, the want of discrimination between original holders and transferees and the institution of a national bank. The same unfriendly temper towards the Government of the United States, which seemed to have led

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

78

out of their way the meeting at Washington, appears to have produced a similar wandering in that at Pittsburgh.

A representation to Congress, and a remonstrance to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, against the law more particularly complained of, were prepared by this meeting, published together with their other proceedings in the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, and afterwards presented to the respective bodies to whom they were addressed.

These meetings, composed of very influential individuals, and conducted without moderation or prudence are justly chargeable with the excesses which have been from time to time committed, serving to give consistency to an opposition which has at length matured to a point that threatens the foundations of the Government and of the Union, unless speedily and effectually subdued.

On the 6th of the same month of September, the opposition broke out in an act of violence upon the person and property of Robert Johnson, collector of the revenue for the counties of Allegheny and Washington.

A party of men, armed and disguised, way-laid him at a place on Pigeon creek, in Washington county, seized, tarred and feathered him, cut off his hair and deprived him of his horse, obliging him to travel on foot a considerable distance in that mortifying and painful situation.

The case was brought before the district court of Pennsylvania, out of which processes issued against John Robertson, John Hamilton and Thomas McComb, three of the persons concerned in the outrage.

The serving of these processes was confided by the then marshal, Clement Biddle, to his deputy, Joseph Fox, who, in the month of October, went into Allegheny county for the purpose of serving them.

The appearances and circumstances which Mr. Fox observed himself in the course of his journey, and learned afterwards upon his arrival at Pittsburgh, had the effect of deterring him from the service of the processes, and unfortunately led to adopt the injudicious and fruitless expedient of sending them to the parties by a private messenger, under cover.

The deputy's report to the marshal states a number of particulars, evincing a considerable fermentation in the part of the country to which he was sent, and inducing a belief, on his part, that he could not with safety have executed the processes. The marshal, transmitting this report to the district attorney, makes the following observations upon it: "I am sorry to add that he (the deputy) found the people, in general, in the western part of the State, particularly beyond the Allegheny moun-

tains, in such a ferment on account of the act of Congress, for laying a duty on distilled spirits, and so much opposed to the execution of the said act, and from a variety of threats to himself personally, (although he took the utmost precaution to conceal his errand,) that he was not only convinced of the impossibility of serving the process, but that any attempt to effect it would have occasioned the most violent opposition from the greater part of the inhabitants; and he declares that, if he had attempted it, he believes he should not have returned alive.

"I spared no expense or pains to have the process of the court executed, and have not the least doubt that my deputy would have accomplished it, if it could have been done."

The reality of the danger to the deputy was countenanced by the opinion of General Neville, the inspector of the revenue, a man who before had given, and since has given numerous proofs of a steady and firm temper; and what followed is a further confirmation of it.

The person who had been sent with the processes was seized, whipped, tarred and feathered; and, after having his money and horse taken from him was blindfolded and tied in the woods, in which condition he remained for five hours.

Very serious reflections naturally occurred upon this occasion. It seemed highly probable, from the issue of the experiment which had been made, that the ordinary course of civil process would be ineffectual for enforcing the execution of the law in the scene in question, and that a perseverance in this course might lead to a serious concussion. The law itself was still in the infancy of its operation, and far from established in other important portions of the Union. Prejudices against it had been industriously disseminated, misrepresentations diffused, misconceptions fostered. The Legislature of the United States had not yet organized the means by which the Executive could come in aid of the Judiciary, when found incompetent to the execution of the laws. If neither of these impediments to a decisive exertion had existed, it was desirable, especially in a republican government, to avoid what is in such cases the ultimate resort, till all the milder means had been tried without success.

Under the united influence of these considerations, it appeared advisable to forbear urging coercive measures until the laws had gone into more extensive operation, till further time for reflection and experience of its operation had served to correct false impressions and inspire greater moderation, and till the Legislature had had an opportunity, by a revision of the law, to remove as far as possible objections and to reinforce the provisions for securing its execution.

Other incidents occurred, from time to time, which are further

proofs of the very improper temper that prevailed among the inhabitants of the refractory counties.

Mr. Johnson was not the only officer who about the same period experienced outrage. Mr. Wells, collector of the revenue for Westmoreland and Fayette, was also ill-treated at Greensburg and Uniontown. Nor were the outrages perpetrated confined to the officers; they extended to private citizens who only dared to show their respect for the laws of their country.

Sometime in October, 1791, an unhappy man, of the name of Wilson, a stranger in the county and manifestly disordered in his intellects, imagining himself to be a collector of the revenue, or invested with some trust in relation to it, was so unlucky as to make inquiries concerning distillers who had entered their stills, giving out that he was to travel through the United States to ascertain and report to Congress the number of stills, &c. This man was pursued by a party in disguise, taken out of his bed, carried about five miles back to a smith's shop, stripped of his clothes, which were afterwards burnt, and having been himself inhumanly burnt in several places with a heated iron, was tarred and feathered and about day-light dismissed naked, wounded and otherwise in a very suffering condition. These particulars are communicated in a letter from the inspector of the revenue of the 17th of November, who declares that he had then himself seen the unfortunate maniac, the abuse of whom, as he expresses it, exceeded description and was sufficient to make human nature shudder. The affair is the more extraordinary, as persons of weight and considerations in that county are understood to have been actors in it, and as the symptoms of insanity were, during the whole time of inflicting the punishment, apparent; the unhappy sufferer displaying the heroic fortitude of a man who conceived himself to be a martyr to the discharge of some important duty. Not long after a person of the name of Roseberry underwent the humiliating punishment of tarring and feathering with some aggravations, for having in conversation hazarded the very natural and just, but unpalatable remark that the inhabitants of that county could not reasonably expect protection from a Government whose laws they so strenuously opposed.

The audacity of the perpetrators of these excesses was so great that an armed banditti ventured to seize and carry off two persons who were witnesses against the rioters in the case of Wilson in order to prevent their giving testimony of the riot to a court then sitting or about to sit.

Designs of personal violence against the inspector of the revenue himself, to force him to a resignation, were repeatedly at-

tempted to be put in execution by armed parties, but, by different circumstances, were frustrated.

In the session of Congress, which commenced in October, 1791, the law laying a duty on distilled spirits and stills came under the revision of Congress, as had been anticipated. By an act passed May 8, 1792, during that session, material alterations were made in it, among these, the duty was reduced to a rate so moderate, as to have silenced complaint on that head; and a new and very favorable alternative was given to the distiller—that of paying a monthly instead of a yearly rate, according to the capacity of his still, with liberty to take a license for the precise term which he should intend to work it, and to renew that license for a futher term or terms.

This amending act, in its progress through the Legislature, engaged the particular attention of members, who themselves were interested in distilleries, and of others who represented parts of the country in which the business of distilling was extensively carried on.

Objections were well considered, and great pains taken to obviate all such as had the semblance of reasonableness.

The effect has, in a great measure, corresponded with the views of the Legislature. Opposition has subsided in several districts where it before prevailed, and it was natural to entertain, and not easy to abandon a hope, that the same thing would, by degrees have taken place in the four western counties of this State.

But notwithstanding some flattering appearance at particular junctures, and infinite pains, by various expedients, to produce the desirable issue, the hope entertained has never been realized, and is now at an end, as far as the ordinary means of executing laws are concerned.

The first law had left the number and positions of the officers of inspection, which were to be established in each district for receiving entries of stills, to the discretion of the supervisor. The second, to secure a due accommodation to distillers, provides, peremptorily, that there shall be one in each county.

The idea was immediately embraced that it was a very important point in the scheme of opposition to the law, to prevent the establishment of offices in the respective counties.

For this purpose, the intimidation of well-disposed inhabitants was added to the plan of molesting and obstructing the officers, by force or otherwise, as might be necessary. So effectually was the first point carried, (the certain destruction of property and the peril of life being involved,) that it became almost impracticable to obtain suitable places for offices in some

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

77

of the counties, and when obtained, it was found a matter of necessity, in almost every instance, to abandon them.

After much effort, the inspectors of revenue succeeded in procuring the house of William Faulkner, a captain in the army, for an office of inspection in the county of Washington. This took place in August, 1792. The office was attended by the inspector of the revenue in person, till prevented by the following incidents:

Captain Faulkner, being in pursuit of some deserters from the troops, was encountered by a number of people in the same neighborhood where Mr. Johnson had been ill-treated the preceding year, who reproached him with letting his house for an office of inspection, drew a knife upon him, threatened to scalp him, tar and feather him and reduce his house and property to ashes if he did not solemnly promise to prevent the further use of his house for an office. Captain Faulkner was induced to make the promise exacted, and in consequence of the circumstance, wrote a letter to the inspector, dated the 20th of August, countermanding the permission for using his house, and the day following gave a public notice in the Pittsburgh *Gazette* that the office of inspector should be no longer kept there.

At the same time another engine of opposition was in operation. Agreeable to a previous notification, there met at Pittsburgh, on the 21st of August, a number of persons styling themselves: "A meeting of sundry inhabitants of the western counties of Pennsylvania."

This meeting entered into resolutions not less exceptionable than those of its predecessors. The preamble suggests that a *tax on spirituous liquors* is unjust in itself and oppressive upon the poor; that *internal taxes upon consumption* must, in the end, destroy the liberties of every country in which they are introduced; that the law in question, from certain local circumstances, which are specified, would bring immediate distress and ruin upon the western country, and concludes with the sentiment that they think it their duty to persist in remonstrances to Congress, and in every other *legal* measure that may obstruct the *operation* of the law.

The resolutions then proceed: first, to appoint a committee to prepare and cause to be presented to Congress an address stating objections to the law and praying for its repeal; secondly, to appoint committees of correspondence for Washington, Fayette and Allegheny, charged to correspond together and with such committees as should be appointed for the same purpose in the county of Westmoreland, or with any committees of a similar nature that might be appointed in other parts of the United States; and, also, if found necessary, to call together

either general meetings of the people in their respective counties or conferences of the several committees: and lastly, to declare that they will in future consider those who hold offices for the collection of the duty as unworthy of their friendship, that they will have no intercourse nor dealings with them, will withdraw from them every assistance, withhold all the comforts of life which depend upon those duties that as men and fellow-citizens we owe to each other, and will upon all occasions treat them with contempt, earnestly recommending it to the people at large to follow the same line of conduct towards them.

The idea of pursuing legal measures to obstruct the operation of a law needs little comment. Legal measures may be pursued to procure the repeal of a law, but to obstruct its operation presents a contradiction in terms. The operation (or what is the same thing, the execution) of a law cannot be obstructed after it has been constitutionally enacted without illegality and crime. The expression quoted is one of those phrases which can only be used to conceal a disorderly and culpable intention under forms that may escape the hold of the law.

Neither was it difficult to perceive that the anathema pronounced against the officers of the revenue placed them in a state of virtual outlawry, and operated as a signal to all those who were bold enough to encounter the guilt, and the danger to violate both their lives and their properties.

The foregoing proceedings, as soon as known, were reported by the Secretary of the Treasury to the President. The President on the 15th of September, 1792, issued a proclamation "earnestly admonishing and exhorting all persons whom it might concern, to refrain and desist from all unlawful combinations and proceedings whatsoever, having for object, or tending to obstruct the operation of the laws aforesaid, inasmuch as all lawful ways and means would be put in execution for bringing to justice the infractors thereof, and securing obedience thereto; and, moreover, charging and requiring all courts, magistrates, and officers, whom it might concern according to the duties of their several offices, to exert the powers in them respectively vested by law for the purposes aforesaid; thereby, also, enjoining and requiring all persons whosoever, as they tendered the welfare of their country, the just and due authority of government, and the preservation of the public peace, to be aiding and assisting therein, according to law; and likewise directed that prosecutions might be instituted against offenders, in the cases in which the laws would support, and the requisite evidence could be obtained.

Pursuant to these instructions, the attorney general, in co-operation with the attorney of the district, attended a circuit

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

79

court, which was holden at Yorktown, in October, 1792, for the purpose of bringing forward prosecutions in the proper cases.

Collateral measures were taken to procure for this purpose the necessary evidence.

The supervisor of the revenue was sent into the opposing survey, to ascertain the real state of that survey, to obtain evidence of the persons who were concerned in the riot in Faulkner's case, and of those who composed the meeting at Pittsburgh, to uphold the confidence and encourage the perseverance of the officers acting under the law; and to induce, if possible, the inhabitants of that part of the survey, which appeared least disinclined to come voluntarily into the law by arguments addressed to their sense of duty, and exhibiting the eventual dangers and mischiefs of resistance.

The mission of the supervisor had no other fruit than that of obtaining evidence of the persons who composed the meeting at Pittsburgh, and of two who were understood to be concerned in the riot; and a confirmation of the enmity which certain active and designing leaders had industriously infused into a large proportion of the inhabitants, not against the particular laws in question only, but of a more ancient date, against the government of the United States itself.

The then attorney general being of opinion that it was at best a doubtful point, whether the proceedings of the meeting at Pittsburgh contained indictable matter; no prosecution was attempted against those who composed it, though if the ground for proceeding against them had appeared to be firm, it is presumed that the truest policy would have dictated that course.

Indictments were preferred to the circuit court and found against the two persons understood to have been concerned in the riot, and the usual measures were taken for carrying them into effect.

But it appearing afterwards, from various representations supported by satisfactory testimony, that there had been some mistake as to the persons accused, justice and policy demanded that the prosecution should be discontinued which was accordingly done.

This issue of the business unavoidably defeated the attempt to establish examples of the punishment of persons who engaged in a violent resistance to the laws, and left the officers to struggle against the stream of resistance without the advantage of such examples.

The following plan, afterward successively put in execution, was about this time digested, for carrying, if possible, the laws into effect without the necessity of recurring to force:

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

1st. To prosecute delinquents in the cases in which it could be clearly done for non-compliance with the laws.

2d. To intercept the markets for the surplus produce of the distilleries of the non-complying counties, by seizing the spirits on their way to those markets in places where it could be effected without opposition.

3d. By purchases, through agents, for the use of the army, (instead of deriving the supply through contractors, as formerly,) confining them to spirits in respect to which there had been a compliance with the laws.

The motives to this plan speak for themselves. It aimed, besides the influence of penalties on delinquents, at making it the general interest of the distillers to comply with the laws, by interrupting the market for a very considerable surplus, and by at the same time confining the benefit of the large demand for public service to those who did their duty to the public, and furnishing, through the means of payments in cash, that medium for paying the duties the want of which was alleged to be a great difficulty in the way of compliance.

But two circumstances conspired to counteract the success of the plan: one, the necessity towards incurring the penalties of non-compliance of there being an office of inspection in each county, which was prevented in some of the counties by means of the intimidation practiced for that purpose; another, the non-extension of the law to the territory northwest of the Ohio, into which a large proportion of the surplus before mentioned was sent.

A cure for these defects could only come from the Legislature; accordingly in the session which began in November, 1792, measures were taken for procuring a further revision of the laws. A bill containing amendments of those and other defects was brought in, but it so happened that this object, by reason of more urgent business, was deferred till towards the close of the session and finally went off through the usual hurry of that period.

The continuance of the embarrassment incident to this state of things naturally tended to diminish much of the efficacy of the plan which had been devised, yet it was resolved, as far as legal provisions would bear out the officers, to pursue it with perseverance. There was ground to entertain hopes of its good effect, and it was certainly the most likely course which could have been adopted towards attaining the object of the laws by means short of force, evincing, unequivocally, the sincere disposition to avoid this painful resort and the steady moderation which has characterized the measures of the Government.

In pursuance of this plan, prosecutions were occasionally in-

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

81

stated in the mildest forms; seizures were made as opportunities occurred; and purchases on public account were carried on.

It may be incidentally remarked, that these purchases were extended to other places, where, though the same disorders did not exist, it appeared advisable to facilitate the payment of the duties by this species of accommodation.

Nor was this plan, notwithstanding the deficiency of legal provision, which impeded its full execution, with corresponding effects.

Symptoms from time to time appeared, which authorized expectation that, with the aid at another session, of the desired supplementary provisions, it was capable of accomplishing its end, if no extraordinary events occurred.

The opponents of the laws, not insensible of the tendency of that plan, nor of the defects in the laws which interfered with it, did not fail, from time to time, to pursue analogous modes of counteraction. The effort to frustrate the establishment of officers of inspection, in particular, was persisted in, and even increased; means of intimidating officers and others continued to be exerted.

In April, 1793, a party of armed men, in disguise, made an attack in the night upon the house of a collector of the revenue, who resided in Fayette county; but he happened to be from home, they contented themselves with breaking open his house, threatening, terrifying and abusing his family.

Warrants were issued for apprehending some of the rioters upon this occasion, by Isaac Mason and James Findley, assistant judges of Fayette county, which were delivered to the sheriff of that county, who, it seems, refused to execute them; for which he has since been indicted.

This is at once an example of a disposition to support the laws of the Union, and of an opposite one in the local officers of Pennsylvania within the non-complying scene.

But it is a truth too important not to be noticed, and too injurious not to be lamented, that the prevailing spirit of those officers has been either hostile or lukewarm to the execution of those laws; and that the weight of an unfriendly official influence has been one of the most serious obstacles with which they have had to struggle.

In June following, the inspector of the revenue was burnt in effigy in Allegheny county, at a place and on a day of some public election, with much display, in the presence of and without interruption from magistrates and other public officers.

On the night of the 22d of November another party of men, some of them armed and all in disguise, went to the house of the

same collector of Fayette, which had been visited in April, broke and entered it and demand a surrender of the officer's commission and official books; upon his refusing to deliver them up, they presented pistols at him and swore that if he did not comply they would instantly put him to death. At length a surrender of the commission and books was enforced, but not content with this the rioters, before they departed, required of the officer that he should, within two weeks, publish his resignation on pain of another visit and the destruction of his house.

Notwithstanding these excesses, the laws appeared, during the latter periods of this year (1793) to be rather gaining ground. Several principal distillers, who had formerly held out, complied, and others discovered a disposition to comply which was only restrained by the fear of violence.

But these favorable circumstances served to beget alarm among those who were determined, at all events, to prevent the quiet establishment of the laws. It soon appeared that they meditated by fresh and greater excesses, to aim a still more effectual blow at them to subdue the growing spirit of compliance and to destroy entirely the organs of the laws within that part of the country, by compelling all the officers to renounce their offices.

The last proceeding, in the case of the collector of Fayette, was in this spirit: In January of the present year further violences appear to have been perpetrated. William Richiuond, who had given information against some of the rioters, in the affair of Wilson, had his barn burnt with all the grain and hay which it contained, and the same thing happened to Robert Shawhan, a distiller, who had been among the first to comply with the law and who had always spoken favorably of it; but in neither of these instances, (which happened in the county of Allegheny,) though the presumptions were violent, was any positive proof obtained.

The inspector of the revenue, in a letter of the 27th February, writes that he had received information that persons living near the dividing line of Allegheny and Washington, had thrown out threats of tarring and feathering one William Cochran, complying distiller, and of burning his distillery, and that it had also been given out that in three weeks there would not be a house standing in Allegheny county of any person who had complied with the laws, in consequence of which he had been induced to pay a visit to several leading individuals in that quarter as well as to ascertain the truth of the information as to endeavor to avert the attempt to execute such threats.

It appeared afterwards that, on his return home, he had been pursued by a collection of disorderly persons threatening, as they went along, vengeance against him. On their way, these men called at the house of James Kiddoe, who had recently com-

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

83

plied with the laws, broke into his still house, fired several balls under his still and scattered fire over and about the house.

Letters from the inspector, in March, announce an increased activity in promoting opposition to the laws; frequent meetings to cement and extend the combinations against it, and among other means for this purpose, a plan of collecting a force to seize him, compel him to resign his commission and detain him prisoner—probably as a hostage.

In May and June new violences were committed. James Kiddoe the person above mentioned, and William Cochran, another complying distiller, met with repeated injury to their property. Kiddoe had parts of his gristmill, at different times, carried away; and Cochran suffered more material injuries. His still was destroyed; his sawmill was rendered useless, by the taking away of the saw; and his gristmill so injured as to require to be repaired, at considerable expense.

At the last visit a note in writing was left, requiring him to publish what he had suffered in the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, on pain of another visit, in which he is threatened, in figurative but intelligible terms, with the destruction of his property by fire. Thus adding to the profligacy of doing wanton injuries to a fellow citizen, the tyranny of compelling him to be the publisher of his wrongs.

June being the month for receiving annual entries of stills, endeavors were used to open offices in Westmoreland and Washington, where it had been hitherto found impracticable. With much pains and difficulty, places were procured for the purpose. That in Westmoreland was repeatedly attacked in the night by armed men, who frequently fired upon it; but, according to a report which has been made to this Department, it was defended with so much courage and perseverance by John Wells, an auxiliary officer, and Philip Ragan, the owner of the house, as to have been maintained during the remainder of the month.

That in Washington, after repeated attempts, was suppressed. The first attempt was confined to pulling down the sign of the office, and threats of future destruction; the second effected the object in the following mode: About twelve persons, armed and painted black, in the night of the 6th of June, broke into the house of John Lynn, where the office was kept, and after having treacherously seduced him to come down stairs and put himself in their power, by a promise of safety, to himself and his house, they seized and tied him; threatened to hang him; took him to a retired spot in the neighboring wood, and there, after cutting off his hair, tarring and feathering him, swore him never again to allow the use of his house for an office, never to disclose their names, and never again to have any sort of agency in aid of the

excise, having done which, they bound him naked to a tree, and left him in that situation till morning, when he succeeded in extricating himself. Not content with this, the malcontents, some days after, made him another visit, pulled down part of his house, and put him in a situation to be obliged to become an exile from his own home, and to find an asylum elsewhere.

During this time several of the distillers, who had made entries and benefited by them, refused the payment of the duties; actuated, no doubt, by various motives.

Indications of a plan to proceed against the inspector of the revenue, in the manner which has been before mentioned, continued. In a letter from him, of the 10th of July, he observed that the threatened visit had not yet been made, though he had still reason to expect it.

In the session of Congress which began in December, 1793, a bill for making the amendments in the laws, which had been for some time desired, was brought in, and on the fifth of June last, became a law.

It is not to be doubted that the different stages of this business were regularly notified to the malcontents, and that a conviction of the tendency of the amendments contemplated to effectuate the execution of the law had matured the resolution to bring matters to a violent crisis.

The increasing energy of the opposition rendered it indispensable to meet the evil with proportionable decision. The idea of giving time for the law to extend itself, in scenes where the dissatisfaction with it was the effect, not of an improper spirit, but of causes which were of a nature to yield to reason, reflection and experience, (which had constantly weighed in the estimate of the measures proper to be pursued.) had had its effect in an extensive degree. The experiment, too, had been long enough tried to ascertain that, where resistance continued, the root of the evil lay deep and required measures of greater efficacy than had been pursued. The laws had undergone repeated revisions of the legislative representatives of the Union, and had virtually received their repeated sanction, without even an attempt, as far as is now recollectec or can be traced, to effect their repeal; affording an evidence of the general sense of the community in their favor. Complaints began to be loud, from complying quarters, against the impropriety and injustice of suffering the laws to remain unexecuted in others.

Under the united influence of these considerations, there was no choice but to try the efficiency of the laws in prosecuting with vigor, delinquents and offenders.

Process issued against a number of non-complying distillers in the counties of Fayette and Allegheny, and indictments hav

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

85

ing been found at a circuit court holden at Philadelphia in July last, against Robert Smilie and John McCulloch, two of the rioters in the attack which, in November preceding, had been made upon the house of a collector of the revenue in Fayette county, processes issued against them also to bring them to trial, and if guilty, to punishment.

The marshal of the district went in person to serve these processes. He executed his trust without interruption, though under many discouraging circumstances, in Fayette county, but while he was in the execution of it in Allegheny county, being then accompanied by the inspector of the revenue, to wit, on the 15th of July last, he was beset on the road by a party of from thirty to forty armed men, who after much previous irregularity of conduct finally fired upon him, but, as it happened, without injury either to him or to the inspector.

This attempt on the marshal was but the prelude of greater excesses.

About break of day, the 16th of July, in conformity with a plan which seems to have been for sometime entertained, and which probably was only accelerated by the coming of the marshal into the survey, an attack by about one hundred persons armed with guns and other weapons was made upon the house of the inspector in the vicinity of Pittsburgh. The inspector, though alone, vigorously defended himself against the assailants and obliged them to retreat without accomplishing their purpose.

Apprehending that the business would not terminate here, he made application by letter to the judges, generals of militia, and sheriff of the county for protection. A reply to his application from John Wilkins, Jun., and John Gibson, magistrates and militia officers, informed him that the laws could not be executed so as to afford him the protection to which he was entitled, owing to the too general combination of the people in that part of Pennsylvania to oppose the revenue law; adding that they would take every step in their power to bring the rioters to justice and would be glad to receive information of the individuals concerned in the attack upon his house, that prosecutions might be commenced against them; and expressing their sorrow that should the *posse comitatus* of the county be ordered out in support of the civil authority, very few could be gotten that were not of the party of the rioters.

The day following the insurgents re-assembled with a considerable augmentation of numbers, amounting, as has been computed, to at least five hundred, and on the 17th of July renewed their attack upon the house of the inspector, who, in the interval, had taken the precaution of calling to his aid a small

detachment from the garrison of Fort Pitt, which, at the time of the attack, consisted of eleven men who had been joined by Major Abraham Kirkpatrick, a friend and connexion of the inspector.

There being scarcely a prospect of effectual defence against so large a body as then appeared, and as the inspector had everything to apprehend for his person, if taken, it was judged advisable that he should withdraw from the house to a place of concealment; Major Kirkpatrick generously agreeing to remain with the eleven men in the intention, if practicable, to make a capitulation in favor of the property, if not to defend it as long as possible.

A parley took place under cover of a flag, which was sent by the insurgents to the house to demand that the inspector should come forth, renounce his office, and stipulate never again to accept an office under the same laws. To this it was replied that the inspector had left the house upon their first approach, and that the place to which he had retired was unknown. They then declared that they must have whatever related to his office. They were answered that they might send persons, not exceeding six, to search the house, and take away whatever papers they could find appertaining to the office. But not satisfied with this, they insisted unconditionally that the armed men who were in the house for its defense should march out and ground their arms, which Major Kirkpatrick peremptorily refused; considering it and representing it to them as a proof of a design to destroy the property. This refusal put an end to the parley.

A brisk firing then ensued between the insurgents and those in the house, which, it is said, lasted for near an hour, till the assailants, having set fire to the neighboring and adjacent buildings, eight in number, the intenseness of the heat, and the danger of an immediate communication of the fire to the house, obliged Major Kirkpatrick and his small party to come out and surrender themselves. In the course of the firing one of the insurgents was killed and several wounded, and three of the persons in the house were also wounded. The person killed is understood to have been the leader of the party, of the name of James McFarlane, then a major in the militia, formerly a Lieutenant in the Pennsylvania line. The dwelling house, after the surrender, shared the fate of the other buildings, the whole of which were consumed to the ground. The loss of property to the inspector, upon this occasion, is estimated, and it is believed with great moderation, at not less than three thousand pounds.

The marshal, Colonel Presley Neville, and several others, were taken by the insurgents going to the inspector's house. All, except the marshal and Colonel Neville, soon made their escape;

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

87

but these were carried off some distance from the place where the affray had happened, and detained till one or two o'clock the next morning. In the course of their detention the marshal, in particular, suffered very severe and humiliating treatment, and was frequently in imminent danger of his life. Several of the party repeatedly presented their pieces at him with every appearance of a design to assassinate, from which they were with difficulty restrained by the efforts of a few more humane and more prudent.

Nor could he obtain safety or liberty, but upon the condition of a promise, guaranteed by Colonel Neville, that he would serve no other process on the west side of the Allegheny mountain. The alternative being immediate death, extorted from the marshal a compliance with this condition, notwithstanding the just sense of official dignity, and the firmness of character which were witnessed by his conduct throughout the trying scenes he had experienced.

The insurgents, on the 18th, sent a deputation of two of their number (one a justice of the peace) to Pittsburgh, to require of the marshal a surrender of the processes in his possession, intimating that his compliance would satisfy the people, and add to *his safety*; and also, to demand of General Neville, in peremptory terms, the resignation of his office, threatening, in case of refusal, to attack the place and take him by force, demands which both these officers did not hesitate to reject, as alike incompatible with their honor and their duty.

As it was well ascertained that no protection was to be expected from the magistrates or inhabitants of Pittsburgh, it became necessary to the safety, both of the inspector and the marshal, to quit that place, and as it was known that all the usual routes to Philadelphia were beset by the insurgents, they concluded to descend the Ohio, and proceed, by a circuitous route, to the seat of Government, which they began to put in execution on the night of the 19th of July.

Information has also been received of a meeting of a considerable number of persons at a place called Mingo Creek meeting-house, in the county of Washington, to consult about the further measures which it might be advisable to pursue; that at this meeting, a motion was made to approve and agree to support the proceedings which had taken place, until the excise law was repealed, and an act of oblivion passed. But that, instead of this, it had been agreed that the four western counties of Pennsylvania and the neighboring counties of Virginia, should be invited to meet in a convention of delegates, on the 14th of the present month, at Parkinson's, on Mingo Creek, in the county of Washington, to take into consideration the situation of the

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

western country, and concert such measures as should appear suited to the occasion.

It appears, moreover, that on the 25th of July last, the mail of the United States, on the road from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia, was stopped by two armed men, who cut it open and took out all the letters, except those contained in one packet; these armed men, from all the circumstances which occurred, were manifestly acting on the part of the insurgents.

The declared object of the foregoing proceedings is to obstruct the execution and compel a repeal of the laws laying duties on spirits distilled within the United States, and upon stills. There is just cause to believe that this is connected with an indisposition, too general in that quarter, to share in the common burdens of the community, and with a wish among some persons of influence to embarrass the Government. It is affirmed, by well informed persons, to be a fact of notoriety, that the revenue laws of the State itself have always been either resisted or very defectively complied with in the same quarter.

With the most perfect respect, I have the honor to be,
Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

The President of the United States.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 5th August, 1794.

SIR:—The important subject, which led to our conference on Saturday last, and the interesting discussion that then took place, having since engaged my whole attention, I am prepared, in compliance with your request, to state with candor the measures which, in my opinion, ought to be pursued by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The circumstances of the case evidently require a firm and energetic conduct on our part, as well as on the part of the General Government; but as they do not preclude the exercise of a prudent and humane policy, I enjoy a sincere gratification in recollecting the sentiment of regret, with which you contemplated the possible necessity of an appeal to arms. For, I confess, that in manifesting a zealous disposition to secure obedience to the Constitution and laws of our country, I, too, shall ever prefer the instruments of conciliation to those of coercion, and never, but in the last resort, countenance a dereliction of judiciary authority, for the exertion of military force.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

80

Under the influence of this general sentiment, I shall proceed, Sir, to deliver my opinion relatively to the recent riots in the county of Allegheny; recapitulating, in the first place, the actual state of the information which I have received.

It appears, then, that the Marshal of the District having, without molestation, served certain process that issued from a Federal court on various citizens who reside in the county of Fayette, thought it proper to prosecute a similar duty in the county of Allegheny, with the assistance and in the company of General Neville, the Inspector of the Excise for the Western District of Pennsylvania; that while thus accompanied, he suffered some insults and encountered some opposition; that considerable bodies of armed men, having at several times demanded the surrender of Gen'l Neville's commission and papers, attacked and ultimately destroyed his house; that these Rioters (of whom a few were killed and many wounded) having taken the marshal and others prisoners, released that officer, in consideration of a promise, that he would serve no more process on the western side of the Allegheny mountain; that under the apprehension of violence, Gen'l Neville, before his house was destroyed, applied to the Judges of Allegheny county for the protection of his property, but the Judges on the 17th day of July, the day on which his house was destroyed, declared that they could not, in the present circumstances, afford the protection that was requested, though they offered to institute prosecutions against the offenders, and that Gen'l Neville and the Marshal, menaced with further outrage by the Rioters, had been under the necessity of withdrawing from the county. To this outline of the actual information respecting the Riots, the stoppage of the mail may be added as matters of aggravation, and the proposed convention of the inhabitants of the neighboring counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia, as matters of alarm.

Whatever construction may be given, on the part of the United States, to the facts that have been recited, I cannot hesitate to declare, on the part of Pennsylvania, that the incompetency of the judiciary department of her Government to vindicate the violated laws, has not at this period been made sufficiently apparent, and that the military power of the Government ought not to be employed, until its Judiciary authority, after a fair experiment, has proved incompetent to enforce obedience, or to punish infractions of the law. The law, having established a Tribunal, and prescribed the mode for investigating every charge, has, likewise, attached to every offence its proper punishment. If an opponent of the Excise system refuses or omits to perform the duty which that system prescribes to him, in common with his fellow citizens, his refusal or omission ex-

poses him to the penalty of the law; but the payment of the penalty expiates the legal offence. If a Riot is committed in the course of a resistance to the execution of any law, the Rioters expose themselves to prosecution and punishment; but the sufferance of their sentence extinguishes their crime. In either instance, however, if the strength and audacity of a lawless combination shall baffle and destroy the effects of the Judiciary authority to recover a penalty or to inflict a punishment, that authority may constitutionally claim the auxiliary intervention of a military power; but still the intervention cannot commence till the impotency of the judicial authority has been proved, by experiment, nor continue a moment longer than the occasion for which it was expressly required.

That the laws of the Union are the laws of the State, is a constitutional axiom that will never be controverted; that the authority of the State ought to be exerted in maintaining the authority of the Union, is a patriotic position, which I have uniformly inculcated; but, in executing the laws or maintaining the authority of the Union, the Government of Pennsylvania can only employ the same means by which the more peculiarly municipal laws and authority of the State are executed and maintained. Till the Riot was committed, no offence had occurred which required the aid of the State Government; when it was committed, it became the duty of the State Government to prosecute the offenders, as for a breach of the public peace and the laws of the Commonwealth, and if the measures shall be precisely what would have been pursued, had the Riot been unconnected with the system of Federal policy, all, I presume, will be done, which good faith and justice can require. Had the Riot been unconnected with the system of Federal policy, the vindication of our laws would be left to the ordinary course of justice, and, only in the last resort, at the requisition, and as an auxiliary of the civil authority, would the military force of the State be called forth.

Experience furnishes the strongest inducements to my mind for persevering in this lenient course. Riots have heretofore been committed in opposition to the laws of Pennsylvania, but the Rioters have invariably been punished by our courts of Justice. In opposition to the laws of the United States, in opposition to the very laws now opposed, and in the very counties supposed to be combined in the present opposition, riots have likewise formerly occurred; but in every instance supported by legal proof, the offenders have been indicted, convicted and punished before the tribunals of the State. This result does not announce a defect of jurisdiction—a want of Judicial power or

disposition to punish infractions of the law—a necessity for an appeal from the political to the physical strength of the nation.

But another principle of policy deserves some consideration. In a Free country it must ever be expedient to convince the citizens of the necessity that shall at any time induce the Government to employ the coercive authority with which it is invested. To convince them that it is necessary to call forth the Military power for the purpose of executing the laws, it must be shewn that the Judicial power has in vain attempted to punish those who violate them; and, therefore, thinking as I do, that the incompetency of the Judicial power of Pennsylvania has not yet been sufficiently ascertained, I remarked, in the course of our late conference, that I did not think it would be an easy task to embody the Militia on the present occasion. The citizens of Pennsylvania (however a part of them may, for a while, be deluded) are the friends of law and order, but when the inhabitants of one district shall be required to take arms against the inhabitants of another, their general character does not authorize me to promise a passive obedience to the mandates of Government. I believe that, as Freemen, they would enquire into the cause and nature of the service proposed to them, and I believe that their alacrity in performing, as well as in accepting it, would essentially depend on their opinion of its justice and necessity.

Upon great political emergencies the effect of every measure should be deliberately weighed. If it shall be doubted whether saying that the Judiciary power is yet untried, is enough to deter us from the immediate use of military force, an anticipation of the probable consequences of that awful appeal will perhaps enable us satisfactorily to remove or overlook the doubt. Will not the resort to force, inflame and cement the existing opposition? Will it not associate in a common resistance, those who have hitherto peaceably, as well as those who have riotously, expressed their abhorrence of the Excise? Will it not collect and combine every latent principle of discontent arising from the supposed oppressive operations of the Federal Judiciary, the obstruction of the Western Navigation, and a variety of other local sources? May not the magnitude of the opposition on the part of the ill-disposed, or the dissatisfaction at a premature resort to arms on the part of the well-disposed citizens of this State, eventually involve the necessity of employing the militia of other States? And the accumulation of discontent which the jealousy engendered by that movement may produce, who can calculate or who will be able to avert? Nor, in this view of the subject, ought we to omit paying some regard to the ground for suspecting that the British Government has already insid-

iously and unjustly attempted to seduce the citizens on our Western frontier from their duty, and we know that in a moment of desperation, or disgust, men may be led to accept that as an asylum, which, under different impressions, they would shun as a snare.

It will not, I am persuaded, Sir, be presumed, from the expression of these sentiments, that I am insensible to the indignation which the late outrages ought to excite in the mind of a Magistrate entrusted with the execution of the laws. My object at present is to demonstrate that on the principles of policy as well as of law, it would be improper in me to employ the military power of the State while its Judiciary authority is competent to punish the offenders. But should the Judiciary authority prove inefficient, be assured of the most vigorous co-operation with the whole force which the Constitution and laws of the State entrust to me, for the purpose of compelling a due obedience to the Government; and in that unfortunate event, convinced that every other expedient has been resorted to in vain, the public opinion will sanctify our measures, and every honest citizen will willingly lend his aid to strengthen and promote them. The steps which, under my instructions were taken, as soon as the intelligence respecting the Riots was received, will clearly, indeed, manifest the sense which I entertain upon the subject. To every Judge, Justice, Sheriff, Brigade Inspector, in short to every public officer, residing in the western counties, a letter was addressed expressing indignation and regret, and requiring an exertion of their influence and authority, to suppress the tumults, and punish the offenders. The Attorney General of the State was likewise desired to investigate the circumstances of the Riot, to ascertain the names of the Rioters, to institute the regular process of the law for bringing the leaders to justice. In addition to these preliminary measures, I propose issuing a Proclamation, in order to declare (as far as I can declare them) the sentiments of the Government; to announce its determination to prosecute and punish the offenders, and to exhort the citizens at large to pursue a peaceable and patriotic conduct. I propose engaging three respectable citizens to act as commissioners, for addressing those who have embarked in the present combination, upon the lawless nature and ruinous tendency of their proceedings; for inculcating the necessity of an immediate return to the duty which they owe their country, and for promising, as far as the State of Pennsylvania is concerned, a forgiveness of their past transgressions upon receiving a satisfactory assurance that in future they will submit to the laws; and I propose, if all these expedients should be abortive, to convene the Legislature, that the ultimate means of subduing the spirit of insur-

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

93

rection, and of restoring tranquillity and order, may be prescribed by their wisdom and authority.

You will perceive, Sir, that throughout my observations, I have cautiously avoided any reference to the nature of the evidence from which the facts that relate to the Riots are collected, or to the conduct which the Government of the United States may pursue on this important occasion. I have hitherto, indeed, only spoken as the Executive Magistrate of Pennsylvania, charged with a general superintendence and care that the laws of the Commonwealth be faithfully executed, leaving it, as I ought, implicitly to your judgment, to choose, on such evidence as you approve, the measures for discharging the analogous trust which is confided to you, in relation to the laws of the Union. But before I conclude, it is proper, under the impression of my Federal obligations, to add a full and unequivocal assurance that whatever requisition you may make, whatever duty you may impose in pursuance of your constitutional and legal powers, will, on my part, be promptly undertaken and faithfully discharged.

I have the honor to be, with perfect respect,

Sir, Your Excellency's Most Obed't H'ble Serv.,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To the President of the United States.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO JUDGE McKEAN AND GEN.
WM. IRVINE.

PHILADELPHIA, 6th August, 1794.

GENTLEMEN:—The late Riots in the county of Allegheny, requiring the particular attention of the Government, my confidence in your wisdom, patriotism and integrity, has induced me to request that you will undertake to act in the character of commissioners for the purpose of addressing the inhabitants of the western counties in general, and especially those who have been engaged in the Riots, upon the lawless nature and dangerous tendency of such proceedings. Your acceptance of this important trust, I shall consider as a personal obligation, and, I am persuaded, that, whatever may be the result, the candor of the Legislature, and of all of our Fellow Citizens, will do justice to the motives by which we are actuated on the occasion.

The conduct which it may be necessary to pursue, and the topics which it will be proper to discuss, are generally submitted to your discretion; but, permit me to express a wish, that you

will be pleased to exert yourselves, in developing the folly of a riotous opposition to those Governments and laws, which were made by the spontaneous authority of the people, and which by the same legitimate authority may, in a peaceable and orderly course, be amended or repealed. In explaining how incompatible it is with the principles of a Republican Government, how dangerous it is in point of precedent, that a minority should attempt to control the majority, or a part undertake to prescribe to the whole; in demonstrating the painful but indispensable obligation imposed upon the officers of the Government, to employ the public force for the purpose of subduing and punishing such proceedings; and in exhorting the deluded Rioters to return to that duty, a longer deviation from which must be destructive of their own happiness, as well as injurious to the reputation and prosperity of their country. Should these exertions produce, in your opinion, a satisfactory assurance of future submission to the laws, you have my authority, as far as the State of Pennsylvania is concerned, to promise an Act of pardon and oblivion for the past.

While performing the trust which is assigned to you, I am persuaded, Gentlemen, that you will receive the aid of every enlightened and meritorious citizen; and that, on your part, you will cheerfully promote the views of the General Government, by which, I am informed, a similar commission has been issued. I have only, therefore, to add a request, that you will proceed with as much expedition as you conveniently can, and that you will report, at large, all the information, which your enquiries shall enable you to collect, relatively to the interesting object of your appointment.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your Most Obedient,

Humble servant,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To THOMAS MCKEAN, Esq'r., LL. D., Chief Justice of the State of Pennsylvania, and Maj. Gen'l WILLIAM IRVINE.

DAVID BRADFORD * TO THE INHABITANTS OF MO-NONGAHELA, VIRGINIA.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 6, 1794.

GENTLEMEN:—I presume you have heard of the spirited opposition given to the excise law in this State. Matters have been so brought to pass here, that all are under the necessity of bringing their minds to a final conclusion. This has been the question amongst us some days: Shall we disapprove of the conduct of those engaged against Neville the excise officer or approve? Or in other words, shall we suffer them to fall a sacrifice to Federal prosecution, or shall we support them? On the result of this business we have fully deliberated and have determined with head, heart, hand and voice that we will support the opposition to the excise law. The crisis is now come, submission or opposition. We are determined in the opposition. We are determined in future to act agreeably to system, to form arrangements, guided by reason, prudence, fortitude and spirited conduct. We have proposed a general meeting of the four counties of Pennsylvania, and have invited our brethren in the neighboring counties in Virginia to come forward and join us in council and deliberation on this important crisis, and conclude upon measures interesting to the western counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia. A notification of this kind may be seen

* DAVID BRADFORD, a native of Maryland, was a prominent lawyer of Washington county, extensively known and wielded an immense influence. He was admitted to the bar in 1782, and the year after was appointed District Attorney General. He was one of the commissioners for the laying out and sale of lots at Fort McIntosh, now Beaver, in 1792-3, and from his correspondence seems to have been a person of great influence with the State authorities. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution he was a zealous Federalist. When the Convention of the four western counties met at Pittsburgh, September 7, 1791, Mr. Bradford was one of the three representatives from Washington county. He was one of the Committee calling the people to rendezvous at Braddock's Field, August 1, 1794. There, so great was his popularity and eloquence, he was unanimously elected the Major General to command the forces. When Government issued the amnesty proclamation, all the citizens were included except Bradford. No pardon was to be extended to him. He fled to Bayou Sara, in Louisiana Territory, then in possession of Spain, and died there. While a resident of Washington he was courted for his genial manners and warm-hearted disposition. He erected the first stone house at the county town, which is yet standing.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

in the Pittsburgh paper. Parkinson's Ferry is the place proposed, as most central, and the 14th of August the time. We solicit you (by all the ties that an union of interest can suggest) to come forward to join with us in our deliberations. The cause is common to us all; we invite you to come, even should you differ with us in opinion; we wish you to hear our reasons influencing our conduct.

Yours with esteem,

DAVID BRADFORD.

SECRETARY OF STATE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Aug't 7th, 1794.

SIR:—The President of the United States has directed me to acknowledge the Receipt of your letter of the 5th instant and to communicate to you the following reply:

In requesting an interview with you, on the subject of the recent disturbances in the western parts of Pennsylvania, the President, besides the desire of manifesting a respectful attention to the Chief Magistrate of a State immediately affected, was influenced by the hope that a free conference, guided by a united and comprehensive view of the Constitutions of the United States and of Pennsylvania, and of the respective institutions, authorities, rights and duties of the two Governments, would have assisted him in forming more precise Ideas of the nature of the *co-operation*, which could be established between them, and a better judgment of the plan, which it might be advisable for him to pursue, in the execution of his trust in so important and delicate a conjuncture. This having been his object, it is matter of some regret, that the course, which has been suggested by you, as proper to be pursued, seems to have contemplated Pennsylvania in a light too separate and unconnected. The propriety of that course, in most, if not in all respects, would be susceptible of little question; if there were no Federal Government, Federal Laws, Federal Judiciary, or Federal Officers, if important laws of the United States, by a series of violent, as well as of artful expedients, had not been frustrated in their execution for more than three years—if officers immediately charged with that execution, after suffering much and repeated insult, abuse, personal ill treatment, and the destruction of property, had not been compelled for safety to fly the places of their residence, and the scenes of their official duties, if the service of the processes of a court of the United States, had not been resisted, the marshal of the District made and detained for some

time prisoner and compelled for safety also to abandon the performance of his duty, and return by a circuitous route to the Seat of Government; if, in fine, a judge of the United States had not, in due form of law, notified to the President, "that in the counties of Washington and Allegheny, in Pennsylvania, laws of the United States are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings or by the powers vested in the marshal of that District." It is true, your Excellency has remarked that in the plan suggested, you have only spoken as the Executive magistrate of Pennsylvania, charged with a general superintendence and care, that the laws of the Commonwealth be fully executed, leaving it implicitly to the Judgment of the President to choose, on such evidence as he approves, the measures for discharging the analogous trust, which is confided to him in relation to the laws of the Union. But it is impossible not to think that the current of the observations in your letter, especially as to the consequences which may result from the employment of coercive measures previous to the preliminary course which is indicated in it, may be construed to imply a virtual disapprobation of that plan of conduct on the part of the General Government in the actual stage of its affairs, which you acknowledge would be proper on the part of the government of Pennsylvania, if arrived at a similar stage. Let it be assumed here (to be more particularly shewn hereafter) that the Government of the United States is now at that point, where it is admitted, if the Government of Pennsylvania was, the employment of force, by its authority, would be justifiable. and let the following extracts be consulted for the truth of the inference which has been just expressed: "Will not the resort to force, inflame and cement the existing opposition? Will it not associate in a common resistance those who have hitherto peaceably, as well as those who have riotously expressed their abhorrence of the Excise? Will it not collect and combine every latent principle of discontent, arising from the supposed oppressive operations of the Federal Judiciary, the obstruction of the western navigation and a variety of other local sources? May not the magnitude of the opposition on the part of the ill disposed, or the dissatisfaction of a *premature resort to arms*, on the part of the well disposed citizens of the State, eventually involve the necessity of employing the Militia of other States? And the accumulation of discontent, which the jealousy engendered by that movement may produce, who can calculate, or who will be able to avert?"

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

These important questions naturally give birth to the following serious reflections. The issues of human affairs are in the hand of Providence. Those entrusted with them in society have no other sure guide than the sincere and faithful discharge of their duty, according to the best of their judgments. In emergencies great and difficult, not to act with an energy proportioned to their magnitude and pressure, it is as dangerous as any other conceivable course. In the present case, not to exert the means, which the laws prescribe for effectuating their own execution, would be to sacrifice those laws and with them the Constitution, the Government, the principles of social order, and the bulwarks of private right and security. What worse can happen from the exertion of those means?

If, as cannot be doubted, the great Body of the Citizens of the United States are attached to the Constitution, which they have established for the management of their common concerns, if they are resolved to support their own authority in that of the constitutional Laws, against disorderly and violent combinations of comparatively small portions of the community—if they are determined to protect each other in the enjoyment of security to person and property—if they are decided to preserve the character of republican Government, by evincing that it has adequate resources for maintaining the public order—if they are persuaded that their safety and their welfare are materially connected with the preservation of the Union, and consequently of a Government adequate to its exigencies; in fine, if they are disposed to continue that State of respectability and prosperity, which is now deservedly the admiration of mankind—the Enterprise to be accomplished, should a resort to force prove inevitable, though disagreeable and painful, cannot be arduous or alarming.

If in addition to these dispositions in the community at large, the officers of the Governments of the respective States, feeling it to be not only a patriotic, but a constitutional duty (inculcated by the oath enjoined upon all the officers of a State, legislative, Executive & Judicial) to support in their several stations the Constitution of the United States—shall be disposed as occasion may require (a thing as little to be doubted as the former) with sincerity and good faith to co-operate with the Government of the United States, to second with all their influence and weight its legal and necessary measures by a real and substantial concert; then the enterprise to be accomplished can hardly ever be deemed difficult.

But if contrary to the anticipations which are entertained of these favorable dispositions, the great Body of the people should be found indifferent to the preservation of the Government of the Union, or insensible to the necessity of vigorous exertions

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

99

to repel the danger which threatens their most important interests, or if an unwillingness to encounter partial inconveniences should interfere with the discharge of what they owe to their permanent welfare, or if either yielding to the suggestions of particular prejudices, or misled by the arts which may be employed to infuse jealousy and discontent, they should suffer their zeal for the support of public order to be relaxed by an unfavorable opinion of the merits and tendency of the measures which may be adopted, if above all, it were possible, that any of the State Governments should, instead of prompting the exertions of the Citizens, assist directly or indirectly in damping their ardor, by giving a wrong bias to their judgment or by disseminating dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the General Government, or should counteract the success of those proceedings by any sinister influence whatever, then, indeed, no one can calculate, or may be able to avert, the fatal evils with which such a state of things would be pregnant. Then, indeed, the foundations of our political happiness may be deeply shaken, if not altogether overturned.

The President, however, can suppose none of these things. He cherishes an unqualified confidence in the virtue and good sense of the people, in the integrity and patriotism of the officers of the State Governments, and he counts absolutely on the same affectionate support which he has experienced upon all former occasions, and which he is conscious that the goodness of his intentions now, not less than heretofore, merits.

It has been promised to shew more particularly hereafter that the Government of the United States is now at that point where it is confessed if the State Government was, the employment of force on its part would be justifiable. This promise remains to be fulfilled.

The facts already noted establish the conclusion, but to render it palpable, it will be of use to apply them to the positions which your Excellency has been pleased to lay down.

You admit that as the offences committed respect the State, the military power of the Government ought to be employed where its judiciary authority, after a fair experiment, had proved incompetent to enforce obedience or to punish infractions of the law, that if the strength and audacity of a lawless combination shall baffle and destroy the efforts of the judiciary authority, to recover a penalty or inflict a punishment that authority may constitutionally claim the auxiliary intervention of the military power; that in the resort, at the requisition, and as an auxiliary of the Civil authority the military force of the State would be called forth. And you declare that the circumstances

of the case evidently require a firm and energetic conduct on the part both of the State and General Government.

For more than three years, as already observed, certain laws of the United States have been obstructed in their execution by disorderly combinations. Not only officers, whose immediate duty it was to carry them into effect, have suffered violent personal outrage and injury, and destruction of property, at different times, but similar persecution has been extended to private citizens who have aided, countenanced or only complied with the laws. The violences committed have been so frequent and such in their degree as to have been matters of general notoriety and alarm, and it may be added that they have been abundantly within the knowledge and under the notice of the Judges and Marshals of Pennsylvania of superior as well as of inferior jurisdiction. If in particular instances they have been punished by the exertions of the magistrates, it is at least certain, that their efforts have been in the main ineffectual. The spirit has continued and, with some intervals of relaxation, has been progressive, manifesting itself in re-iterated excesses. The judiciary authority of the United States has also, prior to the attempt which preceded the late crisis, made some fruitless efforts. Under a former Marshal, an officer sent to execute process was deterred from it by the manifest danger of proceeding. These particulars serve to explain the extent, obstinacy and inveteracy of the evil.

But the facts which immediately decide the completion of the existing crisis are these. Numerous delinquencies existed with regard to a compliance with the laws laying duties on spirits distilled within the United States and upon Stills. An armed Banditti, in disguise, had recently gone to the house of an officer of the Revenue, in the night, attacked it, broken open the doors, and by menaces of instant death enforced by pistols presented at him, had compelled a surrender of his Commission and books of office. Contemporary acts of violence had been perpetrated in other quarters. Processes issued out of a court of the United States to recover the penalties incident to non-compliance with the laws, and to bring to punishment the violent infractors of them, in the above mentioned case, against two of whom indictments had been found. The marshal of the District went in person to execute these processes. In the course of his duty he was actually fired upon on the high road by a body of armed men. Shortly after, other bodies of armed men (in the last instance amounting to several hundred persons) repeatedly attacked the house of the Inspector of the Revenue with the declared intention of compelling him to renounce his Office and of obstructing the execution of the laws. One of these Bodies of armed men made prisoner of the Marshal of the District, put

him in jeopardy of his life and did not release him till, for safety and to obtain his liberty, he engaged to forbear the further execution of the processes with which he was charged. In consequence of further requisitions and menaces of the insurgents, the Marshal, together with the Inspector of the Revenue, have been since under the necessity of flying secretly and by a circuitous route from the scene of these transactions towards the Seat of Government.

An associate Justice, pursuant to the provisions of the laws for that purpose, has in the manner already stated officially notified the President of the existence of combinations in two of the counties of this State to obstruct the execution of the Laws, too powerful to be suppressed by the Judiciary Authority or by the Powers of the Marshal.

Thus then, is it unequivocally and in due form, ascertained in reference to the Government of the United States. That the Judiciary authority, after a fair and full experiment, has proved incompetent to enforce obedience to, or to punish infractions of the laws, that the strength and audacity of certain lawless combinations have baffled and destroyed the efforts of the Judiciary authority, to recover penalties or inflict punishment, and that this authority, by a regular notification of this state of things, has in the last resort, as an auxiliary of the civil authority, claimed the intervention of the Military Power of the United States. It results from these facts, that the case exists when, according to the position advanced by your Excellency in reference to the State Government, the military power may, with due regard to all the requisite cautions, be rightfully interposed. And that the interposition of this power is called for, not only by principles of a firm and energetic conduct, on the part of the General Government, but by the indispensable duty, which the Constitution and the Laws prescribe to the Executive of the United States.

In this conclusion, your Excellency's discernment, on mature reflection cannot, it is presumed, fail to acquiesce, nor can it refuse its concurrence in the Opinion which the President entertains that he may reasonably expect when called for, the zealous co-operation of the militia of Pennsylvania, that as citizens, friends to law and order, they may comply with the call without anything that can be properly denominated "a *passive* obedience to the *mandates* of Government," and that as freemen, judging rightly of the cause and nature of the service proposed to them, they will feel themselves under the most sacred of obligations to accept and to perform it with alacrity. The theory of our political institutions knows no difference between the obligations of our citizens in such a case, whether it relate to the Gov-

ernment of the Union or of a State, and it is hoped and confided that a difference will be as little known to their affections or opinions.

Your Excellency, it is also presumed, will as little doubt, on the like mature reflection, that in such a case, the President could not, without an abdication of the undoubted rights and authorities of the United States and of his Duty, postpone the measures for which the laws of the United States provide, to a previous experiment of the plan which is delineated in your letter.

The people of the United States have established a Government for the management of their general interests. They have instituted Executive Organs for administering that government, and their Representatives have established the rules by which those organs are to act, when their authority in that of their government is attacked by lawless combinations of the citizens of part of a State, they could never be expected to approve that the care of vindicating their authority, of enforcing their laws, should be transferred from the officers of their own government to those of a State, and this, to wait the issue of a process so undeterminate in its duration, as that which it is proposed to pursue; comprehending a further and full experiment of the Judiciary authority of the State, a proclamation "to declare the sentiments of its Government, announce a determination to prosecute and punish offenders, and to exhort the citizens at large to pursue a peaceable and patriotic conduct;" the sending of commissioners "to address those who have embarked in the present combinations, upon the lawless nature and ruinous tendency of their proceedings, to inculcate the necessity of an immediate return to the Duty which they owe their country, and to promise, as far as the State is concerned, forgiveness of their past transactions, upon receiving a satisfactory assurance, that in future, they will submit to the laws;" and finally, a call of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, "that the ultimate means of subduing the Spirit of Insurrection and of restoring tranquility and order may be prescribed by their wisdom and authority."

If there were no other objection to a transfer of this kind, the very important difference which is supposed to exist in the nature and consequences of the offences that have been committed in the contemplation of the laws of the United States and of those of Pennsylvania, would alone be a very serious obstacle.

The paramount considerations, which forbid an acquiescence in this course of proceeding, render it unnecessary to discuss the probability of its success, else it might have been proper to

test the considerations, which have been mentioned as a ground of hope, by the inquiry, what was the precise extent of the success of past experiments, and especially, whether the execution of the Revenue Laws of Pennsylvania within the scene in question, was truly and effectually accomplished by them, or whether they did not rather terminate in a tacit compromise, by which appearances only were saved.

You are already, Sir, advised that the President, yielding to the impressions which have been stated, has determined to take measures for calling forth the militia, and that these measures contemplate the assembling a Body of between twelve and thirteen thousand men, from Pennsylvania and the neighboring States of Virginia, Maryland and New Jersey. The recourse thus early to the militia of the neighboring States proceeds from a probability of the insufficiency of that of Pennsylvania alone, to accomplish the object, your Excellency having in your conference with the President, confirmed the conclusion, which was deducible from the known local and other circumstances of the State, by the frank and express declaration which you made of your conviction of that insufficiency, in reference to the number which could be expected to be drawn forth for the purpose.

But while the President has conceived himself to be under an indispensable obligation to prepare for that eventual resort, he has still consulted the sentiment of regret which he expressed to you, at the possible necessity of an appeal to arms, and to avert it, if practicable, as well as to manifest his attention to the principle, that "a firm and energetic conduct does not preclude the exercise of a prudent and humane policy," he has (as you have been also advised) concluded upon the measure of sending, himself, Commissioners to the discontented counties, to make one more experiment of a conciliatory appeal to the reason, virtue and patriotism of their inhabitants, and has also signified to you how agreeable would be to him, your co-operation in the same expedient, which you have been pleased to afford. It can scarcely be requisite to add, that there is nothing he has more at heart, than that the issue of this experiment, by establishing the authority of the laws, may preclude the always calamitous necessity of an appeal to arms. It would plant a Thorn in the remainder of his path through life to have been obliged to employ force against fellow citizens, for giving solidity and permanency to blessings, which it has been his greatest happiness to co-operate with them in procuring for a much loved country.

The President receives with much pleasure the assurance you have repeated to him, that whatever requisition he may make, whatever duty he may impose, in pursuance of his constitu-

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

tional and legal powers, will on your part be promptly undertaken and faithfully discharged; and acknowledging, as an earnest of this and even more, the measures of co-operation which you are pursuing, he assures you in return that he relies fully on the most cordial aid and support from you in every way, which the Constitutions of the United States & of Pennsylvania shall authorize and present or future exigencies may require.

And he requests that you will construe, with a reference to this assurance of his Confidence, whatever remarks may have been made in the course of this reply to your letter; if it shall have happened that any of them have erred through a misconception of the sentiments and views which you may have meant to communicate.

With perfect respect,

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's mo. ob. serv.,

ED'W RANDOLPH,

Secretary of State.

His Excellency Gov'r MIFFLIN.

SECRETARY OF WAR TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *August 7th, 1794.*

SIR:—The President of the United States, after the most solemn deliberation, has deemed it incumbent upon him to issue the proclamation herein enclosed, and to take other legal measures for causing the laws of the United States to be duly observed in the western parts of the State of Pennsylvania according to the purport of the said proclamation.

In pursuance of this determination, he has directed me to request your Excellency forthwith to issue your orders for organizing and holding in readiness to march at a moment's warning, a Corps of the Militia of Pennsylvania, amounting to Five thousand two hundred non-commissioned officers and privates, with a due proportion of commissioned officers, according to my letter of the 19 May last, armed and equipped as completely as possible, with the articles in possession of the State of Pennsylvania, or of the Individuals who shall compose the Corps.

If, however, it should be impracticable to arm and equip completely the said Corps, the deficiency will be furnished by the United States, on information thereof being transmitted to this office—as will, also, tents, camp kettles and other articles, of Camp Equipage, and Musket Cartridges, Artillery, and the Ammunition and apparatus thereunto belonging.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

105

It is desired that the Corps should consist of Four thousand five hundred Infantry, Five hundred Cavalry and Two hundred Artillery. This is mentioned as a general idea, but your Excellency will regulate its composition according to the facility with which troops of different descriptions may be obtained.

As soon as this Corps shall be in readiness, your Excellency will please to notify the same to this office. The time and place of rendezvous will be hereafter designated. The President defers naming them at present, and until the effect of certain pacific measures, which he is about trying with the deluded insurgents, shall be known.

An arrangement for furnishing rations and other necessary supplies will be hereafter notified.

The force to be called out will be according to the following Schedule :

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.
New Jersey,	1,500	500	100
Pennsylvania,	4,500	500	200
Maryland,	2,000	200	150
Virginia,	3,000	300	..
	11,000	1,500	450
			12,950

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Your Excellency's obedient Servant,

H. KNOX,
Sec'y of War.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

PROCLAMATION OF PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

By Authority, By the President of the United States of America.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, Combinations to defeat the execution of the laws laying duties upon Spirits distilled within the United States and upon Stills, have from the time of the commencement of those laws existed in some of the Western parts of Pennsylvania:

And whereas, The said combinations proceeding in the manner subversive equally of the just authority of government, and of the rights of individuals, have hitherto effected their dangerous and criminal purpose, by the influence of certain irregular meetings, whose proceedings have tended to encourage and uphold the spirit of opposition, by misrepresentations of the laws, cal-

culated to render them odious by endeavours to deter those who might be so disposed from accepting offices under them, through fear of public resentment and of injury to person and property; and to compel those who had accepted such offices, by actual violence, to surrender or to forbear the execution of them, by circulating vindictive menaces against all those who should otherwise directly or indirectly aid in the execution of the said laws, or who yielding to the dictates of conscience and to a sense of obligation should themselves comply therewith, by actually injuring and destroying the property of persons who were understood to have so complied, by inflicting cruel and humiliating punishments upon private citizens for no other cause than that of appearing to be the friends of the laws, by intercepting the public officers on the highways, abusing, assaulting and otherwise ill-treating them, by going to their houses in the night, gaining admittance by force, taking away their papers and committing outrages; employing for these unwarrantable purposes the agency of armed banditti, disguised in such manner, as for the most part to escape discovery:

And whereas, The endeavours of the Legislature to obviate objections to the said laws by lowering the duties and by other alterations conducive to the convenience of those whom they immediately effect, (though they have given satisfaction in other quarters,) and the endeavours of the Executive Officers to conciliate a compliance with the laws, by explanations, by forbearance, and even by particular accommodations founded on the suggestion of local considerations, have been disappointed of their effect by the machinations of persons whose industry to excite resistance has increased with every appearance of a disposition among the people to relax in their opposition and to acquiesce in the laws, insomuch that many persons in the said Western parts of Pennsylvania have at length been hardy enough to perpetrate acts, which I am advised, amount to treason, being overt acts of levying war against the United States; the said persons having on the sixteenth and seventeenth of July last past, proceeded in arms on the second day, amounting to several hundred, to the House of John Neville, Inspector of the revenue for the fourth survey of the district of Pennsylvania, having repeatedly attacked the said House with the persons therein, wounding some of them; having seized David Lenox, Marshal of the district of Pennsylvania, who previous thereto had been fired upon while in the execution of his duty by a party of armed men, detaining him for some time prisoner, till, for the preservation of his life and the obtaining of his liberty, he found it necessary to enter into stipulations to forbear the execution of certain official duties touching processes issuing out

of a Court of the United States, and having finally obliged the said inspector of the revenue and the said Marshal from considerations of personal safety to fly from that part of the County, in order by a circuitous route to proceed to the seat of Government, avowing as the motives of these outrageous proceedings, an intention to prevent, by force of arms, the execution of the said laws, to oblige the said inspector of the revenue to renounce his said office, to withstand by open violence the lawful authority of the United States, and to compel thereby an alteration in the measures of the Legislature and a repeal of the laws aforesaid:

And whereas, By a law of the United States, intitled "An Act to provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions," it is enacted that whenever the laws of the United States shall be opposed, or the execution thereof obstructed in any State by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the Marshal by that act, the same being notified by an associate Justice or a district Judge, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to call forth the Militia of such State to suppress such combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed. And if the Militia of a State where such combinations may happen, shall refuse or be insufficient to suppress the same, it shall be lawful for the President, if the Legislature shall not be in session, to call forth and employ such number of the Militia of any other State or States most convenient thereto, as may be necessary; and the use of the militia so to be called forth may be continued, if necessary, until the expiration of thirty days after the commencement of the ensuing session: *Provided, always,* That whenever it may be necessary, in the judgment of the President, to use the Militia force hereby directed to be called forth, the President shall forthwith, and previous thereto, by Proclamation, command such insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within a limited time:

And whereas, James Wilson, an associate justice, on the fourth instant, by writing under his hand, did, from evidence which had been laid before him, notify to me, that "in the counties of Washington and Allegheny, in Pennsylvania, laws of the United States are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the Marshal of the district."

And whereas, It is, in my Judgment, necessary under the circumstances of the case, to take measures for calling forth the Militia in order to suppress the combinations aforesaid, and to cause the laws to be duly executed, and I have accordingly de-

terminated so to do, feeling the deepest regret for the occasion, but withal, the most solemn conviction, that the essential interest of the Union demand it, that the very existence of the Government and the fundamental principles of social order are materially involved in the issue, and that the patriotism and firmness of all good citizens are seriously called upon as occasion may require, to aid in the suppression of so fatal a spirit;

Wherefore, and in pursuance of the proviso above recited, I, GEORGE WASHINGTON, President of the United States, do hereby command all persons, being insurgents, as aforesaid, and all others whom it may concern, on or before the first day of September next, to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes. And I do, moreover, warn all persons whomsoever, against aiding, abetting or comforting the perpetrators of the aforesaid treasonable acts; and do require all officers and other citizens, according to their respective duties and the laws of the land, to exert their utmost endeavors to prevent and suppress such dangerous proceedings.

In Testimony, whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my Hand. Done at the City of Philadelphia the seventh day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the Nineteenth.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

By the PRESIDENT,
EDM. RANDOLPH.

PROCLAMATION OF GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PENNSYLVANIA, ss:

In the name and by the authority of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, by THOMAS MIFFLIN, Governor of the
 { SEAL } *said Commonwealth.*

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, Information has been received that several lawless bodies of armed men have, at sundry times, assembled in the county of Allegheny, within the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and being so assembled, have committed various cruel and aggravated acts of riot and arson; and more particularly, that on the 17th ultimo, one of the said lawless bodies of armed men attacked the dwelling house of John Nevill, Esq., Inspector

of the Revenue for the fourth survey of the district of Pennsylvania; and after firing upon and wounding sundry persons employed in protecting and defending the said dwelling house, set fire to, and totally burned and destroyed the same, together with the furniture and effects therein, and the barns, stables, and other buildings thereto adjoining and appurtenant:

And whereas, It appears from the Proclamation of the President of the United States, bearing date this day, as well as from other evidence, that the outrages and criminal proceedings aforesaid have been undertaken and prosecuted by certain unlawful combinations of persons, who thereby design to obstruct and have actually obstructed the execution of the laws of the United States; and that by reason thereof, in pursuance of the authority in him vested, he has resolved to call forth the militia, for the purpose of suppressing the said unlawful combinations, and of enforcing the execution of the laws so obstructed as aforesaid:

And whereas, Every good and enlightened citizen must perceive how unworthy it is thus riotously to oppose the Constitution and Laws of our country, (the Government and Laws of the State being herein as much affected as the Government and Laws of the United States) which were formed by the deliberate will of the People, and which (by the same legitimate authority) can, in a regular course, be peaceably amended or altered. How incompatible it is with the principles of a Republican Government, and dangerous in point of precedent, that a minority should attempt to control the majority, or a part of the community undertake to prescribe to the whole! how indispensable, though painful an obligation is imposed upon the officers of government, to employ the public force for the purpose of subduing and punishing such unwarrantable proceedings, when the judiciary authority has proved incompetent to the task; And how necessary it is, that the deluded rioters aforesaid should be bro't to a just sense of their duty, as a longer deviation from it, must inevitably be destructive of their own happiness, as well as injurious to the reputation and prosperity of their country:

And whereas, Entertaining a just sense of my federal obligations, and feeling a perfect conviction of the necessity of pursuing immediate measures to suppress the spirit of insurrection, which has appeared as aforesaid, and to restore tranquility and order—I have heretofore given instructions to the proper officers of the Commonwealth, to investigate the circumstances of the said riots, to ascertain the names of the rioters, and to institute the regular process of the law for bringing the offenders to justice;

Now, therefore, I have deemed it expedient, also to issue this proclamation, hereby publicly announcing my determination,

by all lawful means, to cause to be prosecuted and punished, all persons whomsoever, that have engaged or shall engage in any of the unlawful combinations or proceedings aforesaid: *And further declaring*, That whatever requisition the President of the United States shall make, or whatever duty he shall impose in pursuance of his constitutional and legal powers, for the purpose of maintaining the authority, and executing the laws of the United States—will, on my part, be promptly undertaken and faithfully discharged: And all judges, justices, sheriffs, coroners, constables and other officers of the Commonwealth, according to the duties of their respective stations, are hereby required and enjoined to employ all lawful means for discovering, apprehending, securing, trying and bringing to justice, each and every person concerned in the said riots and unlawful proceedings.

Given under my Hand and the Great Seal of the State, at Philadelphia, this seventh day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and of the Commonwealth the Nineteenth.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

By the Governor:

A. J. DALLAS, Secretary of the Commonwealth.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. HARMAR.

PHILADELPHIA, 8th Aug., 1794.

SIR.—The President of the United States having deemed it incumbent upon him, after the most solemn deliberation, to issue his proclamation, dated the 7th inst., and to take other legal measures for causing the laws of the United States to be duly observed in the Western parts of the State of Pennsylvania, according to the purport of the said proclamation, has issued his requisition, for forthwith organizing and holding in readiness, to march at a moment's warning, a corps of the militia of Pennsylvania, amounting to 5,200 non-commissioned officers and privates, with a due proportion of commissioned officers, according to the letter of the Secretary at war, dated the 19th of May last and communicated to you in my letter of the 21st of the same month; the corps to be armed and equipped as completely as possible with the articles in possession of the state of Pennsylvania or of the individuals who compose it.

You will, therefore, Sir, forthwith issue general orders for calling into actual service, and to be held in readiness to march at a moment's warning, the part of the militia specified in the

enclosed roll, by the classes most convenient to the citizens and best adapted to a prompt compliance with the President's requisition; the part so called not exceeding four classes of the militia of the respective brigades.

Should it be impracticable to arm and equip completely the said corps, you will give me the earliest possible notice thereof, that I may inform the President, who will direct the deficiency to be furnished by the department of war, as well as tents, camp-kettles and other articles of equipage, and musket cartridges, artillery and the apparatus thereunto belonging.

The time and place of rendezvous will be hereafter designated; and the arrangements for furnishing rations, and other necessary supplies, will be seasonably notified.

On this occasion, sir, I must entreat the pointed attention, as well on our part as on the part of the corps that is to be drafted, for the purpose of manifesting a just sense of the obedience which is due to the laws of our country, and the patriotic zeal with which the freemen of Pennsylvania will on every emergency, maintain the government that they have established. It is to be seriously lamented, that an occasion should ever arise for arming one part of the community against another; but if every conciliatory measure that can be devised to rescue the inhabitants of the western counties from their delusion should be abortive, the officers of government might well be charged with an abandonment of their trust, if they omitted to employ any other legitimate means for enforcing obedience and submission to the laws. In that unhappy event, the issue must be, whether upon the pure principles of a republican government, the minority shall be allowed by violence to supersede the will of the majority; to substitute the law of arms for the law of reason, and fatally to convert the peace, happiness and order, which we now enjoy, into a scene of war, wretchedness & anarchy. If I am at all acquainted with the general character and feelings of my fellow citizens, they will not hesitate to decide this great and interesting question upon the principles of patriotism, which in this case are likewise the genuine principles of self-love, and should the awful necessity of an appeal to arms be matured beyond the power of amicable accommodation, I expect from every good citizen that firm and active support, by which the freedom and independence of our country were acquired and by which they must ever be preserved.

Still, however, I indulge an anxious hope, that the liberal forbearance of government, and the virtuous reflections of those, who at present oppose its legitimate measures, will avert the storm that threatens and enable us to embrace as brethren, those

who we must otherwise, for the sake of every social blessing, but with grief and commiseration, encounter as enemies.

You will be pleased, Sir, to omit no proper step for placing the corps in a state of readiness to march; and as soon as it is so, you will communicate the same to me.

I am, Sir, Your most obedient servant,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To JOSIAH HARMAR, Esq., Adjutant General of the Militia of Pennsylvania.

Roll designating the quota of the several brigades towards forming a detachment of 5,200 Militia, Officers included, agreeably to the requisition of the President of the United States, contained in a letter from the Secretary of War, dated the 7th day of August, 1794:

Major General—WILLIAM IRVINE, 6th Division.

Brig. Generals—THOMAS PROCTOR, 1st Division; FRANCIS MURRAY, 2d Division; JAMES CHAMBERS, 6th Division.

DIVISIONS.

	Proportion of Cavalry.	Proportions of Artillery.	Total non-com. & priv. in due proportions.
I. DIVISION:			
1st. Brigade—City of Phila.,	60	83	559
2d Brigade—Co. of Philadelphia	50		544
II. DIVISION:			
1st Brigade—Co. of Bucks	50	46	504
2d Brigade—do. Montgomery	46		332
III. DIVISION:			
1st Brigade—Co. of Chester	58		378
2d Brigade—do. Delaware	20	16	38
IV. DIVISION:			
1st Brigade—Co. of Lancaster	60	30	568
2d Brigade—do. York	22		550
V. DIVISION:			
1st Brigade—Co. of Berks	26		484
2d Brigade—do. Dauphin	38	25	278
VI. DIVISION:			
1st Brigade—Co. Cumberland	50		363
2d Brigade—do. Franklin			281

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

113

VII. DIVISION:

1st Brigade—Co. Northampton	20	374
	500	200
Major General,		5,196
Brig. Generals,		1
		3
		5,200

The foregoing detachment to constitute one division, to be formed into the three following Brigades, and to be in readiness to march at a moment's warning:

Major General—WILLIAM IRVINE,

1. Brigade.

Brig. Gen.—THOMAS PROCTOR.

Philadelphia City	559
Philadelphia County	544
Montgomery	333
Chester	378
Delaware	36
	1,849

2. Brigade.

Brig. Gen.—FRANCIS MURRAY.

Bucks	504
Berks	434
Northampton	374
Dauphin	273
	1,585

3. Brigade.

Brig. Gen.—JAMES CHAMBERS.

Lancaster	568
York	550
Cumberland	363
Franklin	281
	1,762
	5,196

Total commis., officers,
non-com. do., musicians
& priv. In due propor-
tions.
Proportion of Cavalry.
Proportion of Artillery.

SECOND PROCLAMATION OF GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PENNSYLVANIA, SS:

In the name and by the authority of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, by THOMAS MIFFLIN, Governor of the Commonwealth,
SEAL.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, It appears in and by a Proclamation of the President of the United States bearing even date herewith, that certain acts have been perpetrated in the western parts of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, which he is advised amount to treason, being over acts of levying war against the United States; that James Wilson, an Associate Justice, on the fourth instant, by writing under his hand, did, from evidence which had been laid before him, notify to the President that in the counties of Washington and Allegheny, in Pennsylvania, laws of the United States are opposed and the execution thereof obstructed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings or by the powers vested in the Marshal of the district; and that in the judgment of the President it is necessary, under the circumstances of the case, to take measures for calling forth the Militia in order to suppress the combinations aforesaid and to cause the laws to be duly executed :

And Whereas, It appears to me expedient, that on this extraordinary occasion, the General Assembly should be convened for the purpose of taking the premises into their serious consideration of devising the necessary means to maintain the peace and dignity of the commonwealth and of providing more effectually than the existing laws provide for organizing, arming and equipping the Militia, in order to insure a prompt and faithful compliance with the orders of government, and of such requisitions as the President shall make in pursuance of his constitutional and legal powers. Therefore, and by virtue of the authority in such case to me given, in and by the Constitution of the Commonwealth, I have issued this Proclamation, hereby convening the General Assembly to meet at the State House in the City of Philadelphia on Monday the first day of September next, and of which meeting all persons therein concerned are required to take due notice.

Given under my Hand and the Great Seal of the said Commonwealth at Philadelphia, this seventh day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and of the Commonwealth the nineteenth.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

By the Governor:

A. J. DALLAS, Secretary of the Commonwealth.

ORDERS OF GEN. HARMAR.*

—

PHILADELPHIA, Aug 8th, 1794.

SIR:—The Governor having issued orders for calling into actual service, and holding in readiness to march at a moment's warning a body of 5,200 militia, (in pursuance of the requisition of the President of the United States, contained in a letter from the Secretary at War, dated the 7th instant,) I have subjoined a copy of these orders to guide your conduct in organizing the quota consisting of 559, officers and privates included, to be drafted from your brigade; and I entreat, in the most earnest manner, that you will, with all possible dispatch, execute the business committed to you upon this important occasion. If it should be impracticable to arm and equip completely the above quota, either with the public arms and equipments in your custody, or with such as belong to the individuals who compose it, you will be pleased to take the earliest opportunity of letting me know your situation in that respect, in order that a proper application may be made to supply the deficiency.

It is unnecessary, I am persuaded, to add to the instructions of the Governor, either to explain the nature of the service or the necessity of exercising all your diligence to promote it: It may be proper to request, however, that you will be pleased to

* **JOSIAH HARMAR** was born in Philadelphia 1753. He was educated chiefly at Robert Proud's school. Made captain 1st Pennsylvania regiment in October, 1776; was its Lieutenant-Colonel in 1777, and until the close of the Revolution. He was in Washington's army in the campaigns of 1778-80; served under Greene in the South, 1781-2, and was made Brevet-Colonel First United States regiment September 30, 1783. In 1784 he took to France the ratification of the definitive treaty. As Indian agent of the North-West Territory, he was present at the treaty at Fort Stanwix, January 20, 1785. He was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of Infantry under the Confederation, August 12, 1784; Brevet Brigadier General by resolve of Congress, July 31, 1787, and General-in-Chief of the army, September 29, 1789. He commanded an expedition against the Miami Indians September 30, 1790, and partially defeated, October 22, 1790. Resigned January 1, 1792 and appointed Adjutant General of Pennsylvania, serving in that position during the whole of Governor Mifflin's administration. He was active in preparing and furnishing the Pennsylvania troops for the defence of the frontiers in 1793-4, and during the insurrection of 1794. He died at Philadelphia, August 20, 1813.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

employ the most expeditious conveyance, to report when your quota shall be in readiness to march.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JOSIAH HARMAR,

Adjutant General.

To LEWIS NICHOLA, Esq., Brigade Inspector of the Philadelphia City Brigade of the Militia of Pennsylvania.

APPOINTMENT OF UNITED STATES COMMISSIONERS.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *August 8, 1794.*

GENTLEMEN:—In pursuance of instructions from the President of the United States, you, or any one or more of you, are hereby authorized and empowered, forthwith, to repair to the counties on the western side of the Allegheny mountain, in the State of Pennsylvania, there to confer with such bodies or individuals as you may approve, concerning the commotions, which are referred to in the proclamation of the President of the United States, bearing date the 7th day of August instant, and whatsoever promise or engagement you shall make in behalf of the Executive of the United States, the same will be ratified in the most ample manner.

{ L. S. } Given under my hand and the seal of office of the
Department of State, the eighth day of August,
one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

EDMUND RANDOLPH,

Secretary of State.

To JAMES ROSS, JASPER YEATES, WILLIAM BRADFORD.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE UNITED STATES COMMIS-
SIONERS.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *August 8, 1794.*

GENTLEMEN:—The recent events in the neighborhood of Pittsburgh, have called the attention of the President to the formation of some plan by which the insurrection may be suppressed.

The intelligence which has been transmitted, having been laid before Judge Wilson, he has granted a certificate, declaring that the opposition to the laws of the United States, in the counties of Washington and Allegheny, cannot be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or the power of the marshal.

You, or any one or more of you, are, therefore, authorized and appointed, forthwith to proceed to the scene of the insurrection, and to confer with any bodies of men or individuals, with whom you shall think proper to confer, in order to quiet and extinguish it. There is reason to believe that a collection of discontented individuals will be found at Mingo creek, on the fourteenth instant, and, as the object of their assembling is undoubtedly to concert measures relative to this very subject, it is indispensably necessary that you should press thither with the utmost expedition. It is uncertain whether they will remain together for a long or short time; therefore, the being on the ground on the day first named for their meeting, is necessary to prevent a miscarriage.

These are the outlines of your communication:

1st. To state the serious impressions which their conduct has excited in the mind of the Executive, and to dilate upon the dangers attending every Government where laws are obstructed in their execution.

2nd. To inform them that the evidence of the late transactions has been submitted to a judge of the Supreme Court, and that he has granted the above mentioned certificate, whence a power has arisen to the President to call out the militia to suppress the insurrection. (See the act of May 2, 1792.)

3d. To represent to them how painful an idea it is to exercise such a power, and that it is the earnest wish of the President to render it unnecessary by those endeavors which humanity, a love of peace and tranquility, and the happiness of his fellow citizens dictate.

4th. You will then explain your appointment as commissioners, in a language and with sentiments most conciliatory, but reconcilable to the self-respect which this Government ought to observe.

5th. Whether you are to proceed further, and in what manner, must depend upon your judgment and discretion at the moment, after an estimate of the characters with whom you are conversing, their views, their influence, &c.

6th. Whensoever you shall come to the point at which it may be necessary to be explicit, you are to declare that, with respect to the excise law, the President is bound to consider it as much among the laws which he is to see executed, as any other. That as to the repeal of it, he cannot undertake to make any stipulation, that being a subject consigned by the Constitution to the Legislature, from whom alone a change of legislative measures can be obtained. That he is willing to grant an amnesty and perpetual oblivion for everything which has past; and cannot doubt, that any penalty to which the late transactions may

have given birth, under the laws and within the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania, may be also wiped away—but upon the following conditions:

That satisfactory assurances be given that the laws be no longer obstructed in their execution by any combinations, directly or indirectly, and that the offenders against whom process shall issue for a violation of or an opposition to the laws, shall not be protected from the free operation. Nothing will be enforced concerning the duties of former years, if they will fairly comply for the present year.

7th. If they speak of the hardship of being drawn to the federal courts at a distance, to that no other reply can be made than this: That the inconvenience, whatsoever it may be, was the act of their own representatives, and is continued as being still their sense; that, however, on all occasions which will permit the State courts to be used without inconvenience to the United States, or danger of their being frustrated in the object of the suits and prosecutions, the State courts will be resorted to, but the choice of jurisdictions must always depend upon the discretion of the United States, and therefore, nothing more specific can be said at present.

8th. Whensoever you shall choose to speak of the ulterior measures of Government, you will say that orders have already issued for the proper militia to hold themselves in readiness, and that everything is prepared for their movement (as will be seen by the proclamation) and is known to yourselves from the communications of the Government, but that these movements will be suspended until you return.

9th. These are said to be the *outlines*, you will fill them up and modify them so as most effectually to prevent, if possible, the last dreadful necessity which the President so much deprecates; and you may in particular assure any individuals of pardon who will expiate their offence by a compliance with the law.

10th. You will keep the Executive minutely and constantly informed of all your proceedings, and will use expresses whensoever you think proper at the public expense.

11th. You will be allowed eight dollars per day and your expenses, and may employ a proper person to act as your clerk, who shall be paid whatsoever you may certify him to deserve. The sum of one thousand dollars is advanced to you on account.

12th. William Bradford is empowered to add the name of Thomas Smith, or any other proper person, if either J. Ross or J. Yeates shall refuse or be unable to attend.

EDMUND RANDOLPH,
Secretary of State.

TO JAMES ROSS, JASPER YEATES, WILLIAM BRADFORD.

GEN. WILKINS TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

PITTSBURGH, August 8th, 1794.

SIR:—I received a few lines from you, Directed to A. Tannehill & myself, Requesting that we Would Exart ourselves In Bringing to Justice those who were concerned in Burning Gener'l Nevel's Buildings. I can, at present, say no more than that Our Laws, Property & all suffers the moment the Smalest attempt is made In Bringing forward any one person who Opposes the Excise Law. The people in this Part of the united States Seem determined. I hope mild Measures, by the heads of Government, may be adopted; if otherwise, God alone knows the Event. I Suppose you will, through Sundry Chanals, hear such Reports as may convince you & His Excellency the Governor, / that it is not in our power to put your orders into Execution.

I'm, with Esteem, your

Most obedient Hum. Ser't,

JNO. WILKINS.

To A. J. DALLAS, Esq., Sec'y, Philadelphia.

H. H. BRACKENRIDGE * TO TENCH COXE.

PITTSBURGH, August 8th, 1794.

SIR:—Have received no papers from you; your letter by the post is the first I have heard from you. I take the opportunity

* HUGH HENRY BRACKENRIDGE, was a native of Campbelton, Scotland, where he was born, in 1748. At the age of five he came with his father to Pennsylvania. He became a tutor at Princeton, having graduated at that College in 1771, and was master of an academy in Maryland when the Revolution broke out. He removed to Philadelphia, and having studied divinity became a chaplain in the army. Relinquishing the pulpit for the bar, he edited for a time, the *U. S. Magazine*. In 1781 he settled at Pittsburgh. In 1786 was sent to the Legislature to attain the establishment of the county of Allegheny. Was made a judge in 1789, and from 1799, until his death, was judge of the Supreme Court of the State. The part he took in the Insurrection made him prominent. His course, in that affair, he vindicated in his "History of the Whiskey Insurrection," published the year after. Washington, Hamilton and Mifflin well understood his position. He published a poem on the "Rising Glory of America," 1774; "Eulogium of the Brave who fell in the contest with Great Britain, delivered at Philadelphia, July 4, 1779;" "Modern Chivalry, or the Adventures of Capt. Farrago," 1796, an admirable satire; "Oration, July 4, 1793;" "Gazette Publications collected," 1806. He died at Carlisle on the 25th of June, 1816.

to give you, in return, a summary of the present state of this Country, with respect to the opposition that exists to the Excise law. It has its Origin, not in any Anti-Federal spirit, I assure you. It is chiefly the principles and operations of the Law itself that renders it obnoxious. Be this as it may, the facts are these:

The opposition which, for some time, showed itself in resolves of Committees, in representations to Government, in Masked attacks on Insignificant Deputy Excise Officers—for only such would accept the Appointment—did at length, on the appearance of the Marshal, in this County, to serve process, break out in an open and direct attack on the Inspector of the Revenue himself, General Neville. These circumstances you will, by this time, have heard from the General himself, and from the Marshal, Major Lenox. Subsequent to their departure from the country, notice was given of a meeting on the Monongahela River, about 18 miles from the Town of Pittsburgh. Six delegates, of whom I was one, were sent from this Town. Nothing material was done at this meeting, but the measure agreed upon of a more general meeting, on the 14th August, near the same place, to take into view the present State of affairs of the Country.

Subsequent to this the Mail was intercepted. Characters in Pittsburgh became Obnoxious by letters found in which sentiments constructed to evince a bias in favour of the Excise Law were discovered. In consequence of this it was thought necessary to demand of the Town that those persons should be delivered up or expelled or any other obnoxious character that might reside there; also, that the Excise Office, still kept in Pittsburgh, or said to be kept there, should be pulled down; the House of Abraham Kirkpatrick burnt or pulled down, other Houses also that were the property of persons unfavourable to the cause. For this purpose, Circular letters were sent to the Battalions of the Counties, detachments from which met on Braddock's Field to the amount of at least five thousand Men on the second of the month. It was dreaded, on the part of the Town, that from the rage of the people involving the town in the general odium of abetting the excise law, it would be laid in Ashes. And I aver that it wou'd have been the case, had it not been for the prompt and decisive resolutions of the Town to march out and meet them as Brethern, and comply with all demands. This had the effect, and the Battalion marched into Town on the third, and during their delay there and Cannontown in the neighbourhood, with a trifling exception of a Slight damage done to the property of Abraham Kirkpatrick, in the possession of his Tenant, which was afterward compensated, behaved with all the regularity and order of the French or

American Armies in their March through a Town during their Revolution with Great Britain.

The Town of Pittsburgh will send delegates to the meeting of the 14th instant. What the result will be I know not. I flatter myself nothing more than to send Commissioners to the President with an address, proposing that he shall delay any attempt to Suppress this Insurrection, as it will be stiled, until the meeting of Congress. This will be the object, simply and alone, with all that labor to avert a Civil War.

On the part of the Government, I wou'd earnestly pray a delay, untill such address and Commissioners may come forward. This is my object in writing to you this letter, which I desire you to communicate, either by the *Gazette* or otherwise.

It will be said, this insurrection can be easily suppressed. It is but that of a part of four Counties. Be assured, it is that of the greater part, and I am induced to believe, the three Virginia counties this side the Mountain will fall in. The first measure, then, will be the Organization of a New Government, comprehending the three Virginia Counties and those of Pennsylvania to the Westward, to what extent I know not. This event, which I contemplate with great pain, will be the result of the necessity of self defense. For this reason, I earnestly and anxiously wish that delay on the part of the government may give time to bring about, if practicable, good Order and Subordination. By the time the Congress meets, there may be a favourable issue to the Negotiation with regard to the Navigation of the Mississippi, the Western posts, &c. A suspension of the excise law during the Indian War, a measure I proposed in a publication three years ago in Philadelphia, may perhaps suffice. Being then on an equal footing with other parts of the Union, if they submitted to the law, this Country might also.

I anticipate all that can be said with regard to the example, &c. I may be mistaken, but I am decisive in opinion that the United States cannot effect the operation of the Law in this Country. It is universally odious in the Neighbouring parts of all the Neighbouring States, and the militia, under the Law in the hands of the President, cannot be called out to reduce an opposition. The Midland Counties, I am persuaded, will not even suffer the militia of more distant parts of the Union to pass through them.

But the Excise Law is a branch of the Funding System, detested and abhorred by all the Philosophic Men & the yeomanry of America, those that hold certificates excepted. There is a growling, lurking discontent at this system, that is ready to burst out and discover itself everywhere. I candidly and decidedly tell you, the Chariot of Government has been driven Jehu-like, as to the

finances; like that of Phæton, it has descended from the middle path, and is like to Burn up the American Earth.

Should an-attempt be made to suppress these people, I am afraid the question will not be, whether you will March to Pittsburgh, but whether they will March to Philadelphia? accumulating in their course and swelling over the banks of the Susquehanna like a torrent, irresistible and devouring in its progress. There can be no equality of Contest between the rage of a Forrest and the abundance, indolence and opulence of a City. If the President has evinced a prudent and approved delay in the case of the British Spoilations, in the Case of the Indian Tribes, much more humane and politic will it be to consult the internal peace of the Government, by avoiding force, until every means of accommodation are found unavailing. I deplore my personal situation. I deplore the situation of this Country, should a Civil War ensue.

An application to the British is spoken of, which may God avert. But what will not despair produce?

Your most obed't h'ble serv't, &c.,

H. H. BRACKENRIDGE.

TENCH COXE, Esq., Philadelphia.

CONFERENCE AT THE PRESIDENT'S.

Saturday, the 9th [2d?] August, 1794.

PRESENT:

The President,	The Governor,
The Secretary of State,	The Chief Justice,
The Secretary of the Treasury,	The Attorney General of the
The Secretary at War,	State,
The Attorney General of the U. S.	The Secretary of the Commonwealth.

The President opened the business by stating that it was hardly necessary to prepare the subject of the conference, as it was generally understood, and the circumstances which accompanied it were such as to strike at the root of all law & order; that he was clearly of opinion that the most spirited & firm measures were necessary to rescue the States as well as the general government from impending danger, for if such proceedings were tolerated there was an end to our Constitutions & laws. He then observed that there were some papers besides those already communicated to the Gov'r which would throw additional light on the subject, and he presented them to the Secretary of State who read them aloud.

The papers consisted of letters from Gen'l Nevil, Presley Nevil, Maj. Lenox and Capt. Butler, a Deposition of Col. Menges and a deposition of the Post Rider whose mail had been stopped. In some of the letters were inclosed sundry extracts from the Pittsburgh *Gazette* which had been published in the papers of Phila.

The President declared his determination to go every length that the Constitution and Laws would permit, but no further; he expressed a wish for the co-operation of the State Government, and he enquired whether the Governor could not adopt some preliminary measures under the State Laws, as the measures of the Gen'l Gov't would be slow, and depended on the certificate of Judge Wilson, to whom the documents had been delivered for his consideration.

The Secretary of State read the act of Congress under which the Gen'l Gov't were proceeding and repeated the enquiries, whether some more expeditious, preliminary course, could not be pursued, referring to a particular act of the state.

The officers of the State Government remaining silent for some time, the Att'y Gen'l of the U. S. turned to the act of the 22d Sept., '88, authorizing calls of the Militia on sudden emergencies, but the Secretary of the Comm'th referred him to a note in the index, subjoined to title militia, and suggested his opinion that the law referred to was repealed, whereupon the Att'y Gen'l of the U. S. asked the Sec'y of the Com'th, what was his opinion respecting the power of the Governor to call out the Militia on such occasions, to which the secretary replied, that as an individual he had no objection to give a private opinion—that independent of the law referred to, or any other special law, the executive Magistrate was charged with the care of seeing the laws faithfully executed, and that upon the requisition of the civil authority declaring it incompetent to the task, the very nature of the Executive Magistrate's duty and obligations, required that he should aid the civil authority by an exertion of the military force of the Government.

The intention of proceeding against the Rioters in Allegheny co.. being declared by the President, the Chief Justice expressed it as his positive opinion, that the judiciary power was equal to the task of quelling and punishing the riots, and that the employment of a military force, at this period, would be as bad as anything that the Rioters had done—equally unconstitutional and illegal.

The opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury was introduced by argument upon the general necessity of maintaining the Government in its regular authority. He referred to the various co-operating sources of opposition to the Constitution and laws of the U. S., (The Judiciary, excise, Mississippi navigation,

erecting a new State, &c., &c.,) and insisted upon the propriety of an immediate resort to Military force. He said that it would not be sufficient to quell the existing riot to restore us to the state in which we were a few weeks back; for, before the present outrages, there was equal opposition to the laws of the U. S., though not expressed in the same manner; but that now the crisis was arrived when it must be determined whether the Government can maintain itself, and that the exertion must be made, not only to quell the rioters, but to protect the officers of the Union in executing their offices, and in compelling obedience to the laws.

The Secretary of the Com'th stated, as information, that in a conversation with Judge Addison, the Judge had declared it, as his opinion that if the business was left to the courts, the rioters might be prosecuted and punished, and the matter peaceably terminated; but that a resort to military force, would unite in the resistance, the peaceable as well as the riotous opponents of the excise, upon the Idea that the military was intended to dragoon them equally into submission. He also stated that similar riots against the excise had been punished in the State courts.

The secretary of the Treasury observed, that the Judge alluded was among those who had most promoted the opposition in an insidious manner, that perhaps it would lead to a disagreeable animadversion to point out the particulars of the Judge's conduct; but that they were stated at large in a report to the President, which the President said was the case.

[Here the minutes of the conference suddenly terminate]

GEN. GIBSON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

BRUSH CREEK, 7 MILES WEST OF GREENSBURG,
Aug. 9th, 1794.

SIR:—I make no doubt, Before your Excellency receives this, you will have rece'd from J. Bryson, Esq'r, a particular account of the disasters of our County. I am now so far on my way to Philadelphia, under a Guard of the Committee, who are to Escort me to the Town of Greensburg, where I shall, I hope, have the honour of Waiting on you in person.

I am with Respect, your Excellency's very humble Serv't,

JNO. GIBSON.

THOS. MIFFLIN, Esqr., Governor of Penn'a, Philadelphia.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 9th August, 1794.

SIR:—I have the honor to inclose, for your information, a copy of the instructions which have been issued, in compliance with your requisition (communicated to me in a letter from the Secretary at War, dated the 7th instant) for organizing and holding in readiness to march, at a moment's warning, a corps of the Militia of Pennsylvania, amounting to Five thousand and two hundred non-commissioned officers and privates, with a due proportion of commissioned officers.

I am, with perfect respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's

Most Obed't H'ble Serv't

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To the President of the United States.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 12th August, 1794.

SIR:—The Secretary of State has transmitted to me, in a letter dated the 7th of August, (but only received yesterday,) your Reply to my letter of the 5th instant.

For a variety of reasons it might be desirable, at this time, to avoid an extension of our correspondence upon the subject to which those letters particularly relate, but the nature of the remarks contained in your reply, and the sincerity of my desire to merit, on the clearest principles, the confidence, which you are pleased to repose in me, will justify, even under the present circumstances of the case, an attempt to explain any ambiguity, or to remove any prejudice that may have arisen, either from an inaccurate expression or an accidental misconception of the sentiments and views, which I meant to communicate.

That the course which I have suggested as proper to be pursued in relation to the recent disturbances in the Western parts of Pennsylvania, contemplates the state, in a light too separate and unconnected, is a position that I certainly did not intend to sanction, in any degree, that could wound your mind with a sentiment of regret. In submitting the construction of the facts, which must regulate the operation of the General Government, implicitly to your judgment; in cautiously avoiding any reference to the nature of the evidence from which those facts are

collected or to the conduct which the Government of the United States might pursue; in declaring that I spoke only as the Executive Magistrate of the State, charged with a general superintendence and care, that its laws be faithfully executed; and above all, in giving a full and unequivocal assurance, that whatever requisition you may make; whatever duty you may impose, in pursuance of your constitutional and legal powers, would, on my part, be promptly undertaken and faithfully discharged. I thought that I had manifested the strongest sense of my Federal obligations, and that, so far from regarding the State in a separate and unconnected light, I had expressly recognized the subjection of her individual authority to the national jurisdiction of the Union.

It is true, however, Sir, that I have only spoken as the executive Magistrate of the State; but, in that character it is a high gratification to find that, according to your opinion, likewise, "the propriety of the course which I suggested, would, in most, if not in all respects, be susceptible of little question." Permit me, then, to ask, in what other character could I have spoken, or what other language did the occasion require to be employed? If the co-operation of the Government of Pennsylvania was the object of our conference, your constitutional requisition as the Executive of the Union, and my official compliance as the Executive of the State, would indubitably ensure it; but, if a preliminary, a separate, an unconnected conduct was expected to be pursued by the Executive Magistrate of Pennsylvania, his separate and unconnected power and discretion must furnish the rule of proceeding; and, by that rule, agreeable to the admission which I have cited, "the propriety of my course would, in most, if not in all respects, be susceptible of little question." It must, therefore, in justice, be remembered, that a principal point in our conference, related to the expediency of my adopting, independent of the General Government, a preliminary measure (as it was then termed) under the authority of an act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, which was passed on the 22d of September, 1783, and which the Attorney General of the United States thought to be in force; but which had, in fact, been repealed on the 11th of April, 1793.

Upon the strictest idea of co-operative measures, however, I do not conceive, Sir, that any other plan could have been suggested consistently with the powers of the Executive Magistrate of Pennsylvania, or with a reasonable attention, on my part, to a systematic and energetic course of proceeding. The complicated nature of the outrage which was committed upon the public peace, gave a jurisdiction to both Governments, but in the mode of prosecuting, or in the degree of punishing the offenders that

circumstance could not, I apprehend, alter or enlarge the powers of either. The State (as I observed in my last letter) could only exert itself in executing the laws or maintaining the authority of the Union, by the same means which she employed to execute and maintain her more peculiarly municipal laws and authority, and hence I inferred, and still venture to infer, that, if the course which I have suggested is the same that would have been pursued, had the Riot been unconnected with the system of Federal policy, its propriety cannot be rendered questionable, merely by taking into our view (what I have never ceased to contemplate) the existence of a Federal Government, Federal laws, Federal Judiciary and Federal officers. But would it have been thought more consonant with the principles of co-operation had I issued orders for an immediate, a separate and an unconnected call of the Militia, under the special authority which was supposed to be given by a law or under the general authority which may be presumed to result from the Constitution? Let it be considered that you had already determined to exercise your legal powers in drafting a competent force of the Militia, and it will be allowed, that if I had undertaken, not only to comply promptly with your requisition, but to embody a distinct corps for the same service, an useless expense would have been incurred by the State, an unnecessary burthen would have been imposed on the citizens, and embarrassment and confusion would, probably, have been introduced instead of system and co-operation. Regarding it in this point of light, indeed it may be natural to think, that in the Judiciary, as well as the Military Department, the subject should be left entirely to the management, either of the State or of the General Government; for "the very important difference which is supposed to exist in the nature and consequences of the offences that have been committed in the contemplation of the laws of the United States and of those of Pennsylvania," must, otherwise, destroy that uniformity in the distinction of crimes and the apportionment of punishments which has always been deemed essential to a due administration of justice.

But let me not, Sir, be again misunderstood. I do not mean, by these observations, to intimate an opinion or to express a wish, that "the care of vindicating the authority or of enforcing the laws of the Union, should be transferred from the officers of the General Government to those of the State;" nor, after expressly avowing that I had cautiously avoided any reference to the conduct which the Government of the United States might pursue on this important occasion, did I think an opportunity could be found to infer, that I was desirous of imposing a suspension of your proceedings, for the purpose of waiting the issue of the process, which I designed to pursue. If, indeed "the

Government of the United States was at that point, where, it was admitted, if the Government of Pennsylvania was, the employment of force by its authority would be justifiable," I am persuaded, that, on mature consideration, you will do me the justice to suppose that I meant to condemn or to prevent the adoption of those measures on the part of the General Government, which, in the same circumstances, I would have approved and promoted on the part of Pennsylvania. The extracts that are introduced into the letter of the Secretary of State, in order to support that inference, can only be justly applied to the case which was immediately in contemplation, the case of the State of Pennsylvania, whose Judiciary authority had not then, in my opinion, been sufficiently tried; they ought not, surely, to be applied to a case which I had cautiously excluded from my view, the case of the United States, whose Judiciary authority had, in your opinion, proved inadequate to the execution of the laws and the preservation of order. And if they shall be thus limited to their proper object, the justice and force of the argument which flows from them, can never be successfully controverted or denied. While you, Sir, were treading in the plain path designated by a positive law, with no other care than to preserve the forms which the Legislature had prescribed, and relieved from the weight of responsibility, by the legal operation of a Judge's certificate, I was called upon to act, not in conformity to a positive law, but in compliance with the duty which is supposed to result from the nature and constitution of the Executive Office.

The Legislature had prescribed no forms to regulate my course; no certificate to inform my judgement; every step must be dictated by my own discretion, and every error of construction or conduct, would be charged on my own character. Hence, arose an essential difference in our situations, and, I am confident, that, on this ground alone, you will perceive a sufficient motive for my considering the objection, in point of law, to forbear the use of Military force, till the Judiciary authority has been tried, as well as the probable effects, in point of policy, which that awful appeal might produce.

For, Sir, it is certain, that at the time of our conference, there was no satisfactory evidence of the incompetency of the Judicial authority of Pennsylvania, to vindicate the violated laws. I, therefore, could not, as Executive Magistrate, proceed upon a Military plan; but, actuated by the genuine spirit of co-operation, not by a desire to sully the dignity or to alienate the powers of the General Government, I still hoped and expected to be able on this, as on former occasions, to support the laws of the Union, or to punish the violators of them by an exertion

of the civil authority of the State Government, the State Judiciary and the State officers. This hope prompted the conciliatory course, which I determined to pursue, and which, so far as respects the appointment of Commissioners, you have been pleased to incorporate with your plan. And if, after all, the purposes of justice could be attained, obedience to the laws could be restored, and the horrors of a civil war could be averted, by the auxiliary intervention of the State Government, I am persuaded, you will join me in thinking, that the idea of placing the State in a separate and unconnected point of view, and the idea of making a transfer of the powers of the General Government, are not sufficiently clear or cogent to supersede such momentous considerations.

Having thus, generally, explained the principles contained in my letter of the 5th instant, permit me (without adverting to the material change that has since occurred in the State, of our information relatively to the Riots, and which is calculated to produce a corresponding change of sentiment and conduct,) to remark, that many of the facts that are mentioned by the Secretary of State, in order to shew that the Judiciary authority of the Union, after a fair and full experiment, had proved incompetent to enforce obedience or to punish infractions of the laws were, before that communication, totally unknown to me. But still, if it shall not be deemed a deviation from the restriction that I have determined to impose upon my correspondence, I would offer some doubts which in that respect occurred to my mind, on the evidence, as it appeared at the time of our conference. When I found that the Marshal had, without molestation, executed his office in the county of Fayette, that he was never insulted or opposed, till he acted in company with Gen'l Nevill, and that the virulence of the Rioters was directly manifested against the person and property of the latter gentleman, and only incidentally against the person of the former, I thought there was ground yet to suppose (and as long as it was reasonable, I wished to suppose) that a spirit of opposition to the officers employed under the Excise law, and not a spirit of opposition to the officers employed in the administration of justice was the immediate source of the outrages which we deprecate. It is true that these sources of opposition are equally reprehensible, and that their effects are alike unlawful, but on a question respecting the power of the judiciary authority to enforce obedience or to punish infractions of the law, it seems to be material to discriminate between the cases alluded to and to ascertain, with precision, the motives and the object of the Rioters.

Again: As the Associate Judge had not, at that time, issued his certificate, it was proper to scrutinize, with strict attention, the nature of evidence on which an act of Government was to be founded. The constitution of the Union, as well as of the State, had cautiously provided, even in the case of an individual, that "no warrant should issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized." And a much higher degree of caution might reasonably be exercised in a case that involved a numerous body of citizens in the imputation of Treason or Felony, and required a substitution of the Military for the Judicial instruments of coercion. The only affidavits that I recollect to have appeared at the time of our conference, were those containing the hearsay of Colo. Menges and the vague narrative of the Post Rider. The letters that had been received from a variety of respectable citizens, not being written under the sanction of an oath or affirmation could not acquire the legal force and validity of evidence from a mere authentication of the signatures of the respective writers. Under such circumstances doubts arose, not whether the means which the laws prescribe for effectuating their own execution should be exerted, but whether the existence of a specific case to which specific means of redress were appropriated by the laws, had been legally established; not whether the laws, the Constitution, the Government, the principles of social order, and the bulwarks of private right and security, should be sacrificed, but whether the plan proposed, was the best calculated to preserve those inestimable blessings: and recollecting a declaration, which was made in your presence, "that it would not be enough for a Military force to disperse the insurgents, and to restore matters to the situation in which they were two or three weeks before the Riots were committed, but that the force must be continued for the purpose of protecting the Officers of the Revenue, and securing a perfect acquiescence in the obnoxious law." I confess, Sir, the motives to caution and deliberation strike my mind with accumulated force. I hope, however, that it will never seriously be contended, that a military force ought now to be raised with any other view but to suppress the Rioters; or that, if raised with that view, it ought to be employed for any other. The dispersion of the Insurgents is, indeed, obviously the sole object for which the Act of Congress has authorized, the use of the Military force on occasions like the present; for, with a generous and laudable precaution, it expressly provides that even before that force may be called forth, a proclamation shall be issued commanding the Insurgents to disperse, and retire peaceably to their respective abodes, within a limited time.

But the force of these topics I again refer implicitly to your decision, convinced, Sir, that the Goodness of your intentions know, not less than heretofore, merits an affectionate support from every description of your Fellow Citizens. For my own part, I derive a confidence from the heartfelt integrity of my views, the sincerity of my professions, which renders me invulnerable by any insinuation of practising a sinister or deceitful policy.

I pretend not to infallibility in the exercise of my private judgment or in the discharge of my public functions, but in the ardor of my attachment and in the fidelity of my services to our common country, I feel no limitation, and your Excellency, therefore, may justly be assured that in every way which the constitution of the United States and of Pennsylvania shall authorize, and present or future exigencies may require, you will receive my most cordial aid and support.

I am, with great respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's Most obed. Serv.,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To the President of the United States.

ORDERS OF GOV. THOMAS S. LEE OF MARYLAND.

By the Commander-in-Chief of the militia of the State of Maryland:

GENERAL ORDERS.

WHEREAS, By a proclamation issued by the president of the United States, and dated at Philadelphia on the 7th day of August, 1794, it appears that combinations to defeat the execution of certain revenue laws of the United States, have, for some time past, existed in some of the western parts of the State of Pennsylvania, which combinations, proceeding at length to open insurrection, have produced several acts of outrage and violence, not only against the officers charged with the execution of those laws, but also against such other persons as, under the dictates of conscience, or a sense of obligation, have either aided in the execution or acquiesced in the operation of the said laws:

And whereas, By the second section of a law of congress, recited in the aforesaid proclamation, the President of the United States is authorized in certain cases and under certain restrictions, to call forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union and suppress insurrections; and the president having, as it appears by the said proclamation, determined to employ the means so

intrusted to him for enforcing obedience to the said laws; and having, through the secretary for the department of war, issued his requisition for organizing and holding in readiness to march at a moment's warning, a corps of the militia of this State, amounting to two thousand three hundred and fifty non-commissioned officers and privates, with a due proportion of commissioned officers, which requisition, made to me in quality of commander-in-chief of the militia of Maryland, it is incumbent on me to comply with and to bring to effect. I have, therefore, thought proper to issue the following orders:

The commanding officers of the several regiments and those of the extra battalions of militia shall, immediately on receipt of these orders, proceed to enroll, from each regiment, two sergeants, two corporals, and forty-one privates; and from each extra battalion, one sergeant, one corporal, and twenty privates, to be held in constant readiness for marching at a moment's warning to the places of rendezvous hereafter to be prescribed; the said enrollments to be made in the first place of such as may voluntarily offer their services, and completed (if any shall be still wanting) by a draught, to be made by lot from among the whole remaining number belonging to the regiment or battalion in which are comprehended, not only those persons who shall actually have attached themselves to particular companies, but likewise all who, by the prescriptions of the law for regulating and disciplining the militia of this State, are liable to be enrolled, and those who, although enrolled in corps of cavalry or artillery, shall not voluntarily offer themselves as dragoons or artillerists for the present service:

And whereas, A certain proportion of the body of militia so required is, by direction of the president, signified as aforesaid through the secretary of war, to be composed of cavalry and artillery, neither of which necessarily attached to the regiments of infantry, the several brigadier generals of the militia shall, on the receipt of these orders, call on the persons commanding troops of cavalry, and companies of artillery, within their districts, to make return to them, without delay, of their respective commands, in point of number and equipment, distinguishing such as shall voluntarily desire to be enrolled for this service, and the commanders of such corps in the districts for which there are hitherto no brigadiers commissioned, shall make similar returns to the lieutenant colonel commandant of infantry most convenient to them; and the several commanders of regiments shall, under the direction of their brigadiers, be active in ascertaining the number and names of such persons not hitherto enrolled in cavalry or artillery, as may be disposed to serve in either.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

133

Difficult as the task may be of making so sudden a draught from a militia so recently, and as yet so incompletely, organized, I expect, from the zeal and patriotism of the gentlemen who have accepted of commands in it, that the difficulties that may occur will in no instance prevent this requisition from being substantially complied with. Copies of the enrollments of infantry, by the field officers, and of cavalry and artillery, by the brigadiers, or superior officers of districts, are hereby strictly ordered to be made to me in the city of Annapolis, on or before the sixth day of September next.

Given at the city of Annapolis, this fourteenth day of August, 1794.

THOMAS S. LEE.

GEN. GIBSON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

CARLISLE, August 14th, 1794.

I arrived here last night, having met on my way down to this place Judge Yeates and Mr. Bradford ten miles east of Bedford on Tuesday last, in the morning, and judge McKean and Gen'l Irwin near to Littleton, the same day in the evening. On my arrival at Greensburg I found a number of people assembled to choose delegates to attend the General Meeting to be held this day. On my allighting at a tavern they surrounded the house and ordered me to quit the town in half an hour or I must abide the consequences. I then came to Gen'l Jack's and remained the remainder of the day with him. I am much afraid, from the present disposition of the people, nothing Good will result from the present meeting. Gen'l Jack assures me, in the County of Westmoreland the people have made choice of the most violent men to represent them at the Gen'l Meeting, and that nothing less than the repeal of the Excise Law will satisfy them. I wish they may even treat the commissioners with common decency. I shall remain here until the return of the next post from Pittsburg, as I have left Mrs. Gibson and the family there. Should any violent measures be adopted by the Gen'l Meeting she will leave that place, and I shall return to meet her. Inclosed is the Resolves of the Committee and their passport to me.

Should any thing offer in which I can serve my Country, at the Risque of my Life or Fortune, I hope your Excellency will command me.

I have honour to be your Excellency's

most obedient humble serv't,

JNO. GIBSON.

RESOLVES OF THE COMMITTEE OF PITTSBURGH, RESPECTING GEN. GIBSON AND COL. NEVILLE.

At a meeting of the Committee (of twenty-one) of the Town of Pittsburgh, on Monday morning, 4th Augu't, 1794, Report was made to them by the Committee of four, who were a part of the committee of Battallions on Braddock's fields, the 2d Inst., Vizt: That in Committee on Braddock's fields, it was stated on the part of the Committee of four, that the three prescribed persons of the Town of Pittsburgh, Vizt: Abraham Kirkpatrick, James Brison and Edward Day were expelled the Town and had disappeared.

It was then taken into view what other persons were obnoxious as being suspected of being friendly to the Excise Law, as might appear from letters by them written or otherwise; and on certain letters being read which had been intercepted in the Mail from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia, vizt: one from Colo. Presly Neville* to his father, containing in a certain paragraph, words unfavorable to the opposers of the Excise Law, tho' no persons in particular were named; but this being considered a sufficient evidence of his enmity to the cause, it was resolved that he should be expelled the Country within ten Days.

Also one letter from Gen'l John Gibson to the Governor of Pennsylvania, which in certain Paragraph evinc'd a like disposition, by a mistatement made by him in information, which information was thought not to be exact, and which he had too hastily credited; it was resolved that he should be subject to the like sentence, and that the committee of Pittsburgh should carry into effect these measures, necessary for the public safety.

Resolved, therefore, That notice of their respective sentences be forthwith given to these persons, and that they depart accordingly, and that a Guard be ordered for each of them to conduct them to a proper distance.

Resolved also, That a copy of this minute be given to each of those persons as a passport from the country.

In behalf of the committee,

JAMES CLOW, *Chairman.*

* PRESLEY NEVILLE, son Gen. John Neville, was born September 6, 1775, at Winchester, Va. He was educated at the University of Pennsylvania, where he graduated in 1775. He served in the Revolution as aid to Gen. Lafayette, and at the capture of Charleston, was made prisoner. He was afterward Brigade Inspector of the Militia for Allegheny county. He was a member of the Assembly. Col. Neville married a daughter of Gen. Daniel Morgan. Was a prominent merchant of Pittsburgh for twenty-five years. He died in Clermont county, Ohio, on the first of December, 1818.

PASSPORT TO GEN. GIBSON BY THE PITTSBURGH COMMITTEE.

PITTSBURGH, *August 4, 1794.*

This is to certify to all whom it may concern, That the bearer hereof, Gen'l John Gibson, has been directed to depart the country, by order of the Committee of the Battalions of Washington, Fayette, Westmoreland & Allegany counties, assembled on Braddock's fields the 2d Inst.—which sentence the Committee to Pittsburgh were to carry into effect, & to furnish him with a guard to a proper distance. Let him therefore pass in safety and without molestation.

By order of the Committee of Pittsburgh,

JAMES CLOW, *Chairman.*

MEETING AT PARKINSON'S FERRY.

August 14, 1794.

At a meeting of delegates duly elected by the respective counties of Westmoreland, Fayette, Allegheny, Washington and that part of Bedford county lying west of the Allegheny mountain, in Pennsylvania, and by the county of Ohio in Virginia, convened at Parkinson's Ferry on Monongahela river, in order to take into consideration the situation of the Western Country.

Edward Cook was placed in the chair, Albert Gallatin appointed Secretary of the Meeting.

The transactions relative to the excise law that lately took place in the western country were stated; Whereupon, the following resolutions were, after having been debated and amended, adopted by the meeting:

1. *Resolved*, That taking citizens of the United States from their respective vicinage, to be tried for real or supposed offenses, is a violation of the rights of the citizens, is a forced and dangerous construction of the Constitution, and ought not under any pretense whatever, to be exercised by the judicial authority.

2. That a standing committee, to consist of one member from each township, be appointed for the purposes hereinafter mentioned, viz: To draft a remonstrance to Congress praying a repeal of the excise law, at the same time requesting that a more equal and less odious tax may be laid, and giving assurance to the representatives of the people that such tax will be cheerfully paid by the people of these counties.

To make and publish a statement of the transactions which have lately taken place in this country relative to the excise law & of the causes which gave rise thereto, and to make a representation to the President on the subject.

To have power to call together a meeting either of a new representation of the people, or of the deputies here convened for the purpose of taking such further measures as the future situation of affairs may require, and in case of any sudden emergency to take such temporary measures as they may think necessary.

3. That we will exert ourselves, and that it be earnestly recommended to our fellow citizens to exert themselves in support of the municipal laws of the respective States, and especially in preventing any violence or outrage against the property and person of any individual.

4. That a committee, to consist of three members from each county, be appointed to meet any commissioners that have been, or may be appointed by the government, and report the result of this conference to the standing committee.

COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE.

Westmoreland County—John Kirkpatrick, George Smith and John Powers.

Allegheny County—Hugh H. Brackenridge, Thomas Moreton and Mr. Lucas.

Washington—David Bradford, James Marshall, James Edgar.

Fayette—Albert Gallatin, Edward Cook, James Lang.

Bedford County—Herman Husbands.

Ohio County, Virginia—William Sutherland.

Ohio and Bedford counties not fully represented at the meeting.

GENERAL ORDERS OF GOV. LEE OF VIRGINIA.

GENERAL ORDERS.

RICHMOND, August 16, 1794.

The President of the United States having required, for immediate service, a second detachment of militia from this commonwealth, amounting to three thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry, exclusive of commissioned officers, The Commander-in-Chief directs the same to be forthwith appointed. The several divisions will furnish this corps in conformity to the detail to be transmitted from the Adjutant General's office, which will be regulated by the contiguity of the divisions to the

point of service by regard to the protection of the frontiers from the Indian enemy, and by attention to the safety of the seaboard in case of sudden war.

Major General Morgan will command the detachment, which is to be divided into two brigades, the first to be conducted by Brigadier Darke, the second by Brigadier Mathews.

The Commander-in-Chief anticipates the most honorable testimony in favor of the Virginian name, from the promptitude and zeal which he assures himself will be displayed by his brother soldiers on this deeply interesting occasion, and flatters himself that the detachment will be distinguished throughout their tour of duty, as well by their order in camp, as by their gallantry in the field. The time and places of rendezvous will be communicated in due season to the commanding officer, and the troops will be fully supplied with arms, camp equipage, and all necessary apparatus.

The principles which determine the rank of the general officers being established, their application will take place as soon as the requisite information is received, and the result will be immediately published in general orders.

In the meantime, to complete the settlement of rank, the Commander-in-Chief directs that a Board of General Officers consisting of Major Gen. Clark, and the Brigadiers Meade, Young, Marshal and Guerrant, assemble in the city of Richmond on the 26th instant, to ascertain the rank of the field officers, on which day the Adjutant General is directed to attend for the purpose of presenting every document and information in his possession relating to the subject.

The report of this board will be considered definite, and filed in the Adjutant General's office.

The Major Generals and Brigadiers are requested to appoint the Aid-de-Camps and Brigade Majors to which they are respectively entitled, and make communication thereof to the Adjutant General, who is required to report the same to the Commander-in-Chief without delay.

It is very important to the community that the cavalry, artillery and light companies be completed immediately, and always held complete. The Major Generals will be pleased never to lose sight of this object, for which purpose they are to require from their respective Brigades quarterly returns of the condition of the troops above mentioned, and are authorized to pursue any other measures in their judgment calculated to preserve the same in full strength and capacity.

By order of

HENRY LEE,
Commander-in-Chief.

SECRETARY OF STATE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

August 28th, 1794.

The Secretary of State presents his Compliments to Governor Mifflin, and has the honor to send him herein enclosed copy of a Letter from Messrs. Ross, Yeates & Bradford, dated at Pittsburgh, the 17th instant, which has already been communicated to him verbally.

THE UNITED STATES COMMISSIONERS TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

PITTSBURGH, 17th August, 1794.

SIR:—We think it of importance to take the earliest opportunity of stating to you the present situation of the Western part of Pennsylvania, & to request some *eventual* instructions on certain points which are likely to arise in the prosecution of our mission.

The meeting which assembled at Parkinson's Ferry, on the 14th instant, is said to have been composed of near 200 Members. The following is the best account of its proceedings that we have been able to collect:

All the Townships in the four Counties were represented, except four. Herman Husbands & one Philson attended as Deputies from Berlin, in Bedford County, but whether they were really & generally elected for that purpose is not ascertained. There was a feeble and partial deputation from Ohio County, in Virginia.

On the first day there assembled at the same place a considerable Body of men besides the Deputies, amounting to about 200 from different parts, but principally from Washington. After the verification of their authorities and the choice of their Officers, the meeting was opened by a speech made by David Bradford, who entered into a detail of the late disturbances, giving high encomiums to the conduct of those who destroyed Genl. Neville's house, and producing and reading the letters which had been intercepted when the Post was robbed of the Pittsburgh Mail. Some resolutions were then suggested, but these were superseded by others offered by James Marshall, of Washington, one of which proposed the erecting a Committee of Safety, for the purpose of organizing and calling forth the strength of the Country in order to resist *hostilities*, if necessary. The phrase-

ology of this resolution was softened down by some observations made by Mr. Gallatin, who observed that the word *hostilities* was wholly improper, & that it was not right to exhibit a determination to resort to force unless in their own defence. The resolve was therefore, modelled into the form in which it stands in the copy already transmitted to you, but its substance we apprehend to be the same, being intended to have in being a body invested with the popular authority of the Country.

The meeting having been informed of the appointment of Commissioners, elected a Committee of 12 to confer with them, and report to the Standing Committee which was adjourned to meet on the first Tuesday in September, at Redstone. Some were earnest for an immediate decision & some for an adjournment to an early day. But Mr. Gallatin observed, that it was plain, the Executive could give them no relief—that the President could not repeal or even suspend the excise acts, & that their policy was to gain time and protract the business until the meeting of Congress, and then endeavour to obtain a repeal of the acts. After the resolves were agreed on, the Proclamations of the President & of the Governor were mentioned, and it was proposed that the Secretary should read them, which was accordingly done. Some pause ensued, when a member rose and said that Proclamations could kill nobody, & as their business was done he thought it best to go home.

This was accordingly agreed to, & the meeting broke up on the 15 about 2 o'Clock. The Committee of conference agreed to meet the commissioners at this place on Wednesday next.

From the information we could collect there appears to us to have been three parties at that meeting, One which was at that time disposed to renounce all connection with the Government, & to maintain the present opposition by violence, without further appeals to Congress. This was not very numerous nor open; but one John Corbly, a baptist Preacher, openly declared to the meeting that it was too *humiliating* to offer any further petitions or remonstrances to Congress, & objected to the resolve on that subject. A second party are disposed to remain a part of the union, but at the same time to resist at all hazards the execution of the excise acts. These were numerous and violent, & evidently overawed the third or moderate party, which consisted of men of property, who, whatever might be their opinions of the excise, are disposed to submit to the national will rather than hazard the convulsions of a civil contest. The threats which have been expressed against all who countenance the excise, the banishment of some reputable citizens on that account, & the destruction of property, have produced an apparent unanimity of sentiment. We know, with certainty, that

many reputable citizens have been obliged to turn hypocrites, & even to appear as the leaders of these *enragees*. The Civil authority affords them no protection, as they dare not trust each other they have no point where they can rally in their own defence. Although a real majority (as we believe) of the meeting consisted of this Class of men, they did not dare to exert their influence, nor even venture to move for the recall of those whom the violent party had banished, altho' this was a matter they had much at neart. One of them had prepared a remonstrance demanding a repeal of the excise act, an act of oblivion, & a suspension of all measures of coercion until the sense of Congress was known, as the most moderate measure that could have been carried. The coming of the Commissioners prevented this from being offered.

We have some reason to believe that a majority of the Committee of 12 consist of men of this description. They will not, therefore, dare to express their real opinions, & we think they will not give any opinion to us, alledging that all they have to do is to hear & report. It is possible that even the Standing Committee may treat it in the same way, & refer the determination to a general meeting to be called in October or November. Mr. Gallatin's opinion, already mentioned, points to this policy. We shall endeavour to press on the Committee of conference, in the most solemn manner, the necessity of an immediate decision, & that they must call on the Standing Committee instantly, if they will not decide themselves.

We have great doubts whether we ought to stay in this country after the 1st September, or confer with any bodies assembled in in this manner after that day. But at the same time if the Committee should deny their power to call the body, or refuse to do it, we wish to be instructed whether we ought to wait the meeting on the 2d September.

We have it in contemplation to declare to the Committee that if they will not decide we will call county meetings & take the collective sense of the people for ourselves. We can hold our resolution of leaving the Country in suspense until the 1st September, before which day an Express may reach us. We consider our movement under these circumstances as an important & delicate one, & beg clear & definite instructions.

Our opinion at present is, that it is not possible to procure, by any conciliatory means, a determination to acquiesce in the execution of the excise acts; and that in the present disposition of the people nothing short of the repeal of them, accompanied by a general amnesty & act of oblivion, will satisfy them. We see not any prospect of enforcing the execution of the laws but by the physical strength of the nation. But no possible exer-

tions on our parts to prevent the calamity of a civil contest shall be spared.

The Proclamations seemed to excite neither indignation nor surprise. The insurgents had contemplated the measure, as a thing of course; and even so early as the meeting at Braddock's field conversed on the subject, and ventured to predict that Gen'l Morgan would command the militia that should be sent.

It is very probable that it will be every day more & more necessary to have the means of a speedy & safe communication with the seat of Government. We, therefore, take the liberty of suggesting the propriety of keeping relay horses—one at this place, one at Bedford, one at Carlisle & one in the City of Philadelphia. Under these impressions we have directed the purchase of a horse at Bedford, which we will either sell on our return or dispose of to the Quarter Master.

We beg that the public prints may be transmitted to us by the Post, or other safe conveyance, and have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Obed't & hum. Servants,

JAMES ROSS,
J. YEATES,
WM. BRADFORD.

GEN. WM. IRVINE* TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

PITTSBURGH, Aug't 1784, 1794.

DEAR SIR:—I had no opportunity before this, by an express, of the Commissioners on the part of the Union, to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 7th. It did not come to hand till the 11th, about an hour before the Chief Justice arrived at Carlisle. It suited me extremely ill to come on this business; indeed I was really unwell; it will interfere much with my private concerns, as well as in a matter blended with public affairs. The Excise is odious in Cumberland and Mifflin Counties; many persons there will take offence, or at least make use to my prejudice of my accepting this mission, but I make a rule of doing what I think right, and trust to events for consequences.

As we have but this moment got here, I cannot give you much news; not a word can be yet said officially. The Commissioners on the part of the Union, or some person for them, I understand, have forwarded a Copy of the resolutions entered into on the 14th to the President, which was the only one that was to be got. One of these are to appoint a Committee to meet the Commissioners here on Wednesday next.

* WILLIAM IRVINE was born at Fermanagh, Ireland, November 3, 1741. Educated at the University of Dublin, he studied medicine, and was sometime surgeon in the English Navy. After the peace of 1763 he removed to Pennsylvania and settled at Carlisle. He was a member from Cumberland county of the Convention which met at Philadelphia on the 15th of July, 1774, and recommended a general Congress. He was a representative in the succeeding conferences of the Province. In 1776 he raised and commanded the Sixth Penn'a regiment, and was captured at Trois Rivières, Canada. On the 3d of August was released on parole; exchanged May 6, 1778. The same year he was appointed Colonel of the Second Penn'a regiment, and the 12th of May, 1779, a brigadier general. He served under Wayne during that and the following year. In the autumn of 1781 he was stationed at Fort Pitt, intrusted with the defence of the north-western frontier. In 1784 he served as a member of the council of censors. In 1785 he was appointed by the president of Penn'a an agent to examine the public lands of the State, and suggested the purchase of the "Triangle," thus giving to Penn'a an outlet upon Lake Erie. He was member of the old Congress of 1786-8, and of the Constitutional Convention of 1790. In 1794 Gov. Mifflin appointed him, with chief justice McKean, a commissioner to go to the Western counties. He served as member of Congress from 1793 to 1795. He was president of the Penn'a Society of the Cincinnati. He died at Philadelphia on the 29th of July, 1804.

I much dread nothing can be done; the 1st of September is too short a time; if a suspension of the law, or of the execution of it could be granted, or even connived at by the Executive till the meeting of Congress, the thing might possibly be managed, but I can not say positively, yet think it might; the Idea of a civil war is dreadfull, and I fear things are gone too far. The law will not be submitted to in the time limitted, but time might do wonders; what think you of some such modification or alternative as this? The United States to estimate the neat proceeds annually of the Excise exported from the State or district, the State to make provision for paying it to the Union regularly, and levy such tax to raise it as will be more agreeable to the Citizens than Excise. Excuse this very hasty scroll and confused hints.

I am, dear Sir,
Yours,

WM. IRVINE.

I can not imagine what the gentlemen sent an express for, unless for new instructions. They have not communicated any thing to us yet of their views or plans.

To ALEX. J. DALLAS, Esq.

JOHN WILKINS TO GEN. WILLIAM IRVINE.

PITTSBURGH, Aug't 19, 1794.

DEAR SIR:—I here give you a true statement, as far as it came within my knowledge, of the assembling of people on Braddock's Fields on Friday, the first inst., and their march through this place on Saturday, the 2d inst.

In the beginning of that week, we were informed that the Pittsburgh Mail had been taken from the Post, and in consequence of letters found therein, Expresses were riding through all the Four Counties, warning the men to turn out with their arms, and to appear on Braddock's Fields, Friday, at one o'clock, under the penalty of having their property destroyed by fire.

That day were to march from thence to Pittsburgh, (or Sodom, as they called the Town,) and destroy it by fire, as also to take the Garrison. This news we repeatedly heard, but at length some of their particular friends, as was supposed, came into Town and give certain intelligence, that the intention of the people was to destroy all the Town, without respect to persons or property.

In consequence of which a Town meeting was called, to consult on what measures were to be taken on this alarming crisis. Thursday evening and the Court House, were the time and place appointed.

* * * Just as the people were meeting at the Court House, four gentlemen arrived in Town from Washington Co. Supposing they were come with some dispatches or accounts from the people, we appointed three gentlemen to wait on them; after some time, the three returned and informed us, that those four gentlemen from Washington Co. had been sent by the people to offer us proposals, which were, that we immediately banish Major Kirkpatrick, Mr. Bryson, Major Butler, and a certain Day, and to march to Braddock's Fields in the morning, and join the army which was to assemble there, otherwise our town must be consumed. These were the terms; the four gentlemen were not empowered to make the least alterations; they further told us, that they must make report to the people on Braddock's Fields to-morrow, early in the day, as also our answer. We inquired how many might be expected to meet on the Field; they told us, that on a moderate calculation, seven or eight thousands; these gentlemen further told a few of us, privately, that it was with great difficulty the people were brought to offer us any terms. When Mr. Ross and a few gentlemen in and near Washington, understood the business for which the people were assembling, they proposed joining them, in order the better, to divert them from such a horrid action. They said, that after Mr. Ross joined the people, he and some more labored among their committees night and day, until they at last got them to make this offer to the people of Pittsburgh.

Thus hearing our sentence, and the conditions, we did not long deliberate, we were no match; no relief could be given from the garrison, they were busy laying in provisions and fortifying, in order to protect themselves and the stores.

The Committee of Twenty-one (you see on the hand-bill) was immediately appointed; we waited on the gentlemen proscribed, all but Major Butler; told them our situation. Mr Bryson and Major Kirkpatrick declared themselves happy in thinking that their departing the town, would be a means of saving it, and that they would go in the morning. Mr Day appeared displeased and obstinate; however, he agreed also to go in the morning; the committee then drew up their resolves you see in the papers. Mr. Scull printed all night, in order to have a sufficient number to distribute amongst the people on Braddock's Field's, hoping this, together with our other compliance to their orders, would moderate the rage of the people for that time and save the town; for the four gentlemen also told us privately that they much

doubted all we could do would not stop the rage of the people, when assembled on the field. * * * * * By the time the business was finished, it was about 2 o'clock in the night. I then came home, my family were in tears, and I believe most of the women in town were in tears; the people appeared (by the lights) to be all stirring, and I believe the most of them hiding property, I also began to hide or bury property; the County Books and Treasury, the books belonging to my office, as Justice, my private Books, and money left in my hand by other people, a little money of my own, together with other small property I buried that night. I concluded the House and remainder of my property would be consumed, as my son John was so threatened by the people for buying Excise Whiskey. * * * I rather suspected that if they did not burn all the town, that, at least, the property of the obnoxious people would be consumed, and as his store was in one end of my house, all would go together. In the morning the greatest confusion prevailed amongst the people, all sorts of labour and business ceased, all the men preparing to march, the women in tears, some leaving the town, some hiding property, and some so shocked as not to know what to do. * * * At nine o'clock, Major Kirkpatrick and Mr. Brison set out on their journey; I conveyed them to the river, and saw them arrive at Robinson's; our parting was distressing, to see our fellow-citizens banished as in a moment from their all, without a hearing, and for what we know without a just cause, was too much for any human heart to bear.

At ten, we were all ready to march; the four gentlemen from Washington advised Gen. Gibson, Col. Nevil, and my son John, not to go, for their lives were in danger; they all wished to go and run chance; Gibson and Nevil was prevailed upon to stay. I myself, with some others, insisted on my son going and take chances; for, that if he did not, he certainly would be proscribed, and perhaps his property consumed, and that his presence might silence the clamours of the people; he wished to go, and declared he would rather fall a sacrifice than be banished, his family and his property destroyed; he went; just as I was mounting my horse, a boy brought and delivered me a letter from his Excellency the Governor, requiring me to use all my exertions in bringing those rioters to justice; this was another blow, to pretend to act as a justice in this case was impossible. I was then going to meet the very men I was ordered to seize and bring to justice. * * * * I was obliged to hide the letter, it being found with me, was sufficient pretence of banishment and destruction of property, which, at that moment, I wished to save,

but he got in unperceived; none of the rest of the guard got in.
* * * * * * * * * The Major agreed to go with Woolf; accordingly got out of the gate, and clear of the party who was watching.

This business took me almost all that night. The next day being Monday, everything appeared to get into the old channel, People's minds to be at ease, and they began to follow their occupations, since which, nothing material has happened but what is within your knowledge.

I have thus made free, with an old friend, in troubling him with a short and true relation of that week's proceedings. I, in hast, ran over it, which may, in part, account for the incorrectness; it is only intended for your private perusal; it is dangerous to either write or say anything in this country at present, if found out or comes to the ears of the public, if disagreeable to the violent party, fire, desolation or banishment is immediatley announced. After you leave this country and a safe passage offers, I will give you further information how the business is carried on.

I'm with esteem,

Your humble servant,

JOHN WILKINS.

General WILLIAM IRVINE.

CHARGE OF JUDGE PETERS* OF THE U. S. COURTS.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury:

As your being called on at this time as Grand Jurymen was occasioned by the particular circumstance of a prisoner who

*RICHARD PETERS was born at Blockley, near Philadelphia, June 22, 1744. He received his education in the city of Philadelphia, studied law, and met with considerable success in the profession. At the commencement of the Revolution he became captain of a company of volunteers, but shortly after transferred by Congress to the board of war of which he was secretary from June 13, 1776 to Dec., 1781; member of the Old Congress, 1782-3. In 1785 he visited England in the interests of the Episcopal Church to obtain the consent of the British prelates to ordain as Bishops three priests of the Church in America, which proved successful. President Washington appointed him, in 1789, Judge of the U. S. district court of Pennsylvania, which position he occupied until his death, August 21, 1828. Judge Peters was the first President of the Philadelphia Agricultural Society, and the first officer of the company which built the permanent bridge over the Schuylkill at Philadelphia. He was the author of "Admiralty Decisions in the U. S. Dist. Court of Penn'a, (1780-1807,) 1807.

has been long confined, and (except the case in which he is concerned,) I know of no business likely to come before you. I shall not detain you with a lengthy discussion upon your duties. These are so well understood that it is in general unnecessary to dwell on them. I shall content myself with a general account of the crimes which seem to be cognizable here. The laws on this subject are not so accurate as it is to be hoped, at some future day they will be made. The criminal side of this Court is confined in its jurisdiction to the less offences, and is somewhat similar, as to crimes against the laws of the United States and the laws of nations, which are a part of them, to the courts of quarter sessions in the State, save that by the effect of the disjunctive *or*, in the judiciary law, no crime is cognizable here to which a double punishment is expressly annexed. This will appear by a recital of the words of the judiciary law, which relate to the powers of this Court on its criminal side. "The District Courts shall have exclusively of the several States cognizance of all crimes and offenses that shall be cognizable under the authority of the United States, committed within their respective districts, or upon the high seas, where no other punishment than whipping not exceeding 30 stripes, a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars, *or* a term of imprisonment not exceeding six months is to be inflicted." But where multiplied punishments are not in express terms annexed by law to a crime, but it is left after a conviction by a jury to the discretion of the court to affix one or more punishments under the limitations before mentioned, I conceive that a crime under this situation may be properly taken cognizance of in this court.

Assaults, battersies, and false imprisonment, committed on the high seas or in ports or havens, in this district, to which the Admiralty extends—conspiracies against private persons or the, authorized measures of government—misdemeanors of various descriptions—and generally, every offense impeding the course of the law, and prejudicial to the welfare of society, are objects of enquiry and punishment here, if committed on the high seas, or navigable waters, out of the body of a country, or in forts, garrisons, or places under the immediate government of the United States. Some of these and other offences, if committed on land, and especially those opposed to the legal measures of the general government, and the constitution and laws of the Union, are also cognizable here, if the fines and punishments are within the limits before stated.

I include not, among the misdemeanors cognizable here, the crime of insurrection and impeding or resisting with an armed force the laws of the Union. Levying war against the United States, or adhering to their enemies, are declared by the con-

stitution, to be *Treason*,—A crime of too high a nature and of too deep a dye to fall within the jurisdiction of this court,—an offense compared with which the *Crimen laesæ Majestatis* against single and hereditary rulers weighs lightly.

What is an offense against the person of a despot, who is but an elevated individual, to one against the peace, the constitution and laws of a great and free people? Hereditary governors have too generally interests separate from their subjects; and if they have them not by original right, they too frequently assume them by usurpations. But in a republic there is but one great and leading interest, to wit: that of the whole nation. And in our republic the majority of our national representatives are the judges, legally authorized to declare, under the guards in the constitution, what this general interest is and how it shall be directed. Local interest and particular convenience must yield to this. The parts must make sacrifices to the will and to the ordinances of the whole. These local and temporary sacrifices are fully compensated by the protection and general advantages received from the government in which every one partakes, and has as great a weight as it is entitled to. The parts are no more to the whole than individuals in society, who must give up portions, both of their personal rights and peculiar advantages to the community of which they are members. There is an end of all government under a republican form, if the minority undertake, by violence, to control the general will when constitutionally promulgated. If any measures are thought unequal & to press severely on any particular description or district of citizens, let them decently, yet firmly remonstrate, write and speak against them, with the freedom they possess, and I hope will ever enjoy. Let them, so far as in them lies, change the representation in the government by all peaceable and constitutional means. But while a law exists, warranted by the constitution, it must be unequivocally obeyed and respected. If it be inconvenient or burthensome, the merit of obedience is the greater. But let none of our citizens, by warring against the laws, endeavor to extinguish our most important rights, which they lose sight of while blinded and bewildered by local, and perhaps, mistaken interests or prejudices. If constitutional exertions to repeal or alter general measures fail, the minority must submit. Whatever differences of opinion there may have been, while a law was in progress, when it is completed it becomes the act of the whole. Resistance is an attempt to establish the tyranny of the few over the will of the many. Actions, such as this, palpably contradict all professions of patriotism and regard for liberty in its salutary and legal sense.

It is possible that laws may be made by our legislature, bearing hard on individuals or numbers of citizens, tho' I say not that they have done so. For it is not without due consideration that I believe, that where partial evils are suffered, they are more than counterbalanced by either general or local benefits. If the government cannot at once do justice to the claims of any portion of the nation, and especially where it depends on circumstances not to be commanded, a patience must be exercised, sometimes mortifying and difficult enough, yet the bounden duty of good citizens.

It is better to bear temporary evils, and wait for a change constitutionally effected, than to tear up all government by the roots. The condition of those who are really aggrieved, if any such there be, is never hopeless. It is in the nature of a republican government that all have their turn. If measures are extensively disagreeable or mischievous, those who were for a time in a minority become, without, public convulsions, by the force of truth and conviction, part of the majority, and sharing the power, assist in regulating the state of things. In a country of such extent it is scarcely possible to frame laws exactly suitable to every part. Perhaps, in a general system, different laws, or the same law, may be found disagreeable to different parts of the nation. But if each is to resist on this account our code of laws would be reduced to nothing, and thus, while, with our lips, we are celebrating the heroes and patriots who have achieved our revolution, we should blast by our actions, its choicest fruits, and reap sickly & noxious harvests, from fields which they have sowed under difficulties and dangers, and which many of them have enriched with their blood.

How shameful would it be, if the satellites of despotism should outdo, in zeal for the personal interests or aggrandizement of a monarch, republicans in their attachment to their laws. Our love for the laws should absorb all other attachments. It is the corner stone in the temple of republican virtue. Montesquieu has long ago told us, in his chapter on education in a republican government: That "it is in a republican government that the whole power of education is required. The fear of despotic governments rises naturally of itself amidst threats and punishment; the honour of monarchies is favored by the passions, and favors them in turn. But virtue is a self-renunciation which is always arduous and painful. This virtue may be defined *the love of the laws* and of our country. As this love requires a constant preference of public to private interest, it is the source of all the particular virtues, for they are nothing more than this very preference itself. This love is peculiar to democracies. In these alone the government is

"entrusted to private citizens. Now, government is like anything else; to preserve it we must love it. Has it ever been heard that kings were not fond of monarchy, or that despotic princes hated arbitrary power? Everything, therefore depends on establishing this love in a republic."

We are among the very few nations of the earth who enjoy a legitimate government founded without alloy, on the authority of the people. We are envied on this account by multitudes, and even cordially disliked by not a few of the devotees to other systems of government. These, as they are mortified by our unparalleled prosperity, would be highly gratified by our disgrace—let us continue to disappoint them. The eyes of the world are upon us. At this important crisis in the affairs of nations, it particularly behooves us to support our government, and set an example of obedience to law recommedatory beyond everything else of its form and evinsive of its energy. Thousands of the oppressed of all countries will continue to fly to us, if they do not perceive our laws are trampled on, and thereby all security for person and property destroyed. Should we verify the prognostics of the enemies to free government (who fondly dwell on our discords and magnify our failings,) by suffering the demon anarchy to dissolve and shake to pieces the goodly fabric we have raised, how miserable would be our destiny—how bitter, yet how just our reproach!

But no ill-advised & partial opposition can produce a result so ruinous and deplorable. The interest and happiness of the friends to law and order in this district, as well as in the nation at large, impel them to support the laws to which they are fully competent. They will be animated by a grateful recollection of the achievements of those who affected our revolution—a revolution which yet beats warmly in our bosoms—let none of us misapply their laudable motives by enlisting them under the guilty banners of sedition. They have constantly afforded us the bright example of supporting laws made by our own authority, while they resisted mandates attempted to be forced on us, by men who were not our Representatives, and who (unlike those of our choice) would have reaped advantages without sharing burthens. Heaven has benignly favored us with one of its choicest gifts, by affording us the singular opportunity of forming a constitution for ourselves on enlarged and salutary principles. These principles are those of genuine freedom and liberty well defined. As it is our duty, so may it be our good fortune and our pride, to transmit them unsullied and unimpaired to our latest posterity.

If many of the foregoing observations are produced by recent circumstances, which I can truly say, I have a stronger disposi-

tion to deplore than to aggravate, they flow from a sense of duty in this court, which is charged, on another side of it, with the cognizance of breaches of many of the most important laws of our country, and among them of that which has, unfortunately, given rise to some late unjustifiable, disgraceful and much to be lamented disturbances, which I indulge a sincere and anxious hope may yet be pacifically composed. If they are not, our character, if not our existence as a free people depends on the exertions we make with our whole power to quell a spirit so destructive to every principle of social order and government—attended with consequences so fatal to our peace, safety and happiness, and calculated as well in itself as in its mischievous example to involve not only those who are the objects of or concerned in such enormities, but the whole community in desolation, anarchy and ruin.

If by these remarks, in which no doubt I have been anticipated by every good citizen, I have trespassed too long on your patience, I can only offer as my apology my zeal and love for the law, my duty and my reverence for a constitution and government founded on the authority of a people of whom I esteem it my greatest happiness to be one.

GEN. WILLIAM IRVINE TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

PITTSBURGH, August 20, 1794.

DEAR SIR:—The council of sixty are not to meet until the first Tuesday in Sept. Unless they can be prevailed on to assemble sooner, longer time will tend to impede if not frustrate the intended operations of government. I think myself the time limited is too short, for a return of reason and the exercise of good sense which many men in this country possess, besides many might possibly wish for an opportunity to withdraw themselves from measures which they never heartily approve, that cannot bring themselves to do under circumstances that might admit of a construction of fear. It is now twelve o'clock, and we have not yet heard of more than three delegates being in town, but the morning has been very rainy. It is expected they will all appear in the course of the day. What mode of proceeding in business will be adopted, I cannot say. The Commissioners can only determine for themselves. No personal insults have been offered. You know I did not apprehend any. I mention it to remove all doubt on this head.

I do not mean now either to condemn or justify the proceedings here, but I may safely venture to say, that the people on the west of the mountain labour under hardships if not grievances that are not known, or at least not understood in other parts of the United States, in more instances than the Excise; but in this particularly it can be demonstrated that they labour under peculiar hardship; for instance, carrying a man to Philadelphia or Yorktown to be tried for crimes, real or supposed, or on litigation respecting property, perhaps under the value of fourty shillings. This is really intollerable. Other parts of the Union, for varions reasons, are differently circumstanced, except the back parts of Virginia and North Carolina, they are pretty similar and therefore complain loudly. To the eastward they have large distillerys, only of Rum. These are generally in large towns on the seacoast, the operation of the Excise is therefore similar to impost, and is not felt nor even seen by the people at large. I believe it will be found, too, that some of the officers here have behaved shamefully, yet there is nothing in all this to justify the measures adopted for redress. But I hope it will at length appear that the violent measures originated in accident and not in a premeditated plan. It is said that the Marshal had served several processes in Fayette and Washington counties. Indeed all he had to serve but one without molestation or opposition, so far from it that many proposed to enter their stills and even pay the arrearages if he would promise to have prosecutions stayed which he could not engage, but promised to recommend the measure. When Mr. Lenox was near the last place, in company with Mr. Neville, a number of reapers who were in a neighbouring field took the alarm and a renounter ensued, some person ran immediately to a house where the Brigade Inspector was holding an appeal for a Battalion of Militia, and cried aloud "the Federal Sheriff was taking away people to Philadelphia," on which between thirty and fourty flew instantly to arms, being then after dark, and it is supposed they had drank freely as is not unusual on such occasions. This was in the night of the 15th of July, and they reached Mr. Neville's plantation early the next morning. I need not trouble you with a detail of what followed, that has already been published.

Your ob't serv't,

WILLIAM IRVINE.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST CONFERENCE.

PITTSBURGH, *August 20, 1794.*

A report of the proceedings of the committee, appointed at the meeting at Parkinson's Ferry, on the 14th of August, 1794, to confer with the commissioners on the part of the Executive of the Union, and on the part of the Executive of Pennsylvania, on the subject of the late opposition to the laws of the Union and violation of the peace of the State government.

ON THE PART OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE UNION.

William Bradford, Attorney General of the United States.

Jasper Yeates, Associate Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

James Ross, Senator in the Congress of the United States.

ON THE PART OF THE EXECUTIVE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Thomas McKean, Chief Justice of the State of Pennsylvania.

William Irvine, Representative in the Congress of the United States.

COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE.

<i>Westmoreland County.</i>	<i>Washington County.</i>
John Kirkpatrick,	David Bradford,
George Smith,	John Marshall,
John Powers.	James Edgar.

<i>Fayette County.</i>	<i>Allegheny County.</i>
Edward Cook,	Thomas Morton,
Albert Gallatin,	John Lucas,
James Lang.	H. H. Brackenridge.

Ohio County, (Virginia.)

William McKinley, William Sutherland, John Stevenson.

The committee having met on the 20th, proceeded to the election of a chairman, upon which Edward Cook was nominated and took his place.

A question was made, whether the proposed conference with commissioners from the government should be private or public. It was determined that it should be private, as less liable to interruption, and as leading the commissioners from the government to give a more frank and full communication of their sentiments and intentions, and that after the preliminary arrangements, the correspondence as to what was material, would be in writing, which the committee were not at liberty to communicate to the public immediately, but to report to the com-

mittee of safety, which was to meet on the first Tuesday of September.

It was moved and directed that two members be appointed to wait upon the commissioners on the part of the Union and of the State government, and to adjust with them the place and time of conference.

Thomas Morton and James Edgar were appointed.

Agreeable to arrangement, a conference took place at ten o'clock next day, and was opened by a communication on the part of the commissioners of the Union, stating with all the solemnity due to the occasion the extreme pain it had given to the Executive to have heard from time to time of the deviations from the constitutional line of expressing a dislike of particular laws to those means of violence and outrage which would lead to the having no laws at all; that in the case of the present infractions, they were solemnly called upon by the constitution to exert the force of the Union to suppress them; but that in the first instance all those lenient measures of accommodation were about to be tried, that the great reluctance of the Executive to have recourse to force, had induced it to use; that for this purpose they had been commissioned with certain powers from the Executive, in order that, if possible, short of bloodshed, submission to the laws might be obtained and peace restored; that in the meantime the most effectual and decisive measures had been taken, that should a pacification be found impracticable by an address to the patriotism and reason of the people, submission must be enforced, and however painful, the strength of the Union drawn out to effect it; that the militia were actually draughted and their march delayed only until the first of September next, within which time it behooved the people of this country to make up their minds and give answer that the government might know what to expect.

On the part of the commissioners from the Executive of Pennsylvania, it was stated, that it was in like manner with great pain that it had been heard by the State government, that a resistance to the laws of the Union, and violations of the public peace, had taken place within this particular jurisdiction; violations of so flagrant a nature as the invasion of personal security in a domestic habitation of an officer of government; the burning down his mansion house; reducing him to the necessity of relinquishing the country by a flight at an unreasonable hour, and by a circuitous route of many hundred miles through a wilderness; the attacking the Marshal; expelling an Associate Judge, the Prothonotary of the county, &c., and above all, invading the cabinet of government, in the intercepting of the public mail, and violating the right of the citizen by breaking

the repository of his private thoughts, which ought to have been considered as sacred as in his secretaire; that the laws of the Union were a part of the laws of Pennsylvania; and the State government, on principles of delicacy and honor, could not avoid taking a very sensible part in defending them, independent of that obligation under which it was by the constitution; but that these outrages were breaches of the municipal law, and as such the State government was under the indispensable necessity of taking notice of them, and by every necessary coercion repressing them; that for this purpose the Governor had determined to give the most prompt and decided assistance to the general government, in the requisition of militia, and had thought it proper to call the assembly, in order to make provision for any further force that the exigency of repressing the insurrection might require; but that it must be peculiarly distressing to be under the necessity of arming against a country always heretofore respectable for its obedience to the laws; a country which had been peculiarly the object of attention with the present Executive; nevertheless, it was impossible to avoid it, unless order, by the voluntary act of the citizens, could be restored; that to effect this object the Governor had commissioned them to co-operate in their good offices with the commissioners on the part of the Union, and for this purpose, inasmuch as the consciousness of having violated the laws might lead to a further violation as a means of impunity, they were authorized on an accommodation with commissioners of the United States, and an assurance of a disposition to preserve peace, to stipulate and engage a free and full indemnity for what was past, so far as regarded the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and that it would give them, personally, great pleasure indeed, if by these means a return could be facilitated to this country to the bosom of peace and happiness.

On the part of the committee a narrative was given of the grounds of that uneasiness and discontent which have existed in this country, and have grown up at length to that popular fury which has shown itself in the late transactions.

To this the commissioners replied, and then proceeded to state more particularly the nature of their powers, and that certain assurances were necessary previous to their exercise, all which having been reduced to writing the documents will speak for themselves.

They also declared their expectations that the committee would declare their sense on this subject.

It was answered by the committee that it was their duty to hear and report, for to this purpose were they appointed, but no power lay with them to stipulate for the people.

It was stated on the part of the commissioners that such was their situation, that they could not dispense with requiring from the committee, at least to recommend what opinion they themselves should form on the subject of the propositions made, as otherwise they could have no encouragement to go on, and wait the result of the opinion of the people of the country.

This was thought reasonable, and it was agreed on the part of the committee that it should be so.

It was then agreed that the propositions of the commissioners should be received in writing, and the conference was adjourned.

PROPOSITIONS OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PITTSBURGH, *August 21st, 1794.*

At a conference between Thomas McKean and William Irvine, Commissioners appointed by the Governor of Pennsylvania, in behalf of the said State, and Messieurs Kirkpatrick, Smith, Powers, Bradford, Marshall, Edgar, Cook, Gallatin, Lang, Brackenridge, Morton & Lucas, appointed at a meeting of Committees from the several townships within the Counties of Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette and Allegheny, for the purpose, in behalf of the said counties, had at Pittsburgh, in presence of three Commissioners appointed by the President of the United States, August 20th, 1794.

It is insisted upon, as a preliminary, by the Commissioners for the State, that the gentlemen Conferees for the four Counties, each for himself, will sign an instrument in writing engaging, that they will at all times be obedient & submit to the laws of the State, and also of the United States of America; and that they will jointly and severally recommend the like obedience & submission to our fellow citizens within the said Counties, & moreover, engage to use their utmost exertions & influence to ensure the same.

Secondly. It is proposed that the Committee of sixty, denominated the Committee of safety for the said Counties, shall jointly & severally give satisfactory assurances to the Commissioners of the State, in an instrument in writing, signed by them, of the same import and effect with the preceding article, and that on or before the — day of Aug't, instant.

Third. In case the above articles are bona fide complied with, and the people of said counties shall keep the peace and be of good behavior until the first day of June next, the Commissioners for the State, conformably to the power and author-

ity delegated to them by his Excellency, Thomas Mifflin, Esquire, Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, do promise an act of free and general pardon and oblivion, of all treasons, insurrections, arsons, riots and other offences inferior to riots, committed, perpetrated, concurred or suffered by any person or persons complying as above said, within the said four Counties of Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette & Allegheny, since the fourteenth day of July last past, so far as the same concerns the State of Pennsylvania or the government thereof.

THO. McKEAN,
WM. IRVINE.

THE U. S. COMMISSIONERS TO THE COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE.

PITTSBURGH, *August 21st, 1794.*

GENTLEMEN:—Having had a Conference with you on the important subject that calls us into this part of Pennsylvania, we shall now state to you in writing, agreeably to your request, the nature and Object of our mission hither. Considering this as a crisis infinitely interesting to our fellow citizens, who have authorized you to confer with us, we shall explain ourselves to you, with that frankness and sincerity, which the solemnity of the Occasion demands.

You well know that the president of the United States is charged with the execution of the laws. Obedience to the national will being indispensable in a republican government, the people of the United States have solemnly enjoined it as his duty, "to see that the laws are fully executed," and when the ordinary authorities of government are incompetent for that end, he is bound to exert those high powers, with which the nation has invested him, for so extraordinary an Occasion.

It is but too evident, that the insurrections which have lately prevailed in some of these western counties, have suppressed the usual exercise of the civil authority; and it has been formally notified to the president, by one of the associate judges, in the manner the laws prescribe, that "in the counties of Washington and Allegany, in Pennsylvania, laws of the United States are opposed and the execution thereof obstructed, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of Judicial proceedings or the powers vested in the marshals of that district." He therefore perceives, with the deepest regret, the necessity to which he may be reduced, of calling forth the national force, in order to support the national authority, and

to cause the laws to be executed; but he has determined previously, to address himself to the patriotism and reason of the people of the western counties, and to try the moderation of government, in hopes that he may not be compelled to resort to its strength. But we must not conceal from you, that it is also his fixed determination, if these hopes should be disappointed, to employ the force—and if it be necessary, the whole force of the Union—to secure the execution of the laws. He has, therefore, authorized us to repair hither, and by free conferences and the powers vested in us, to endeavour to put an end to the present disturbances, and the opposition to the execution of the laws, in a manner that may be finally satisfactory to all our fellow citizens.

We hope that this moderation in the government will not be misconstrued by the citizens, to whom we are sent. The president, who feels a paternal solicitude for their welfare, wishes to prevent the calamities that are impending over them—to state to them clearly, the inevitable consequences of further resistance; to recall them to their duty, and to prove to the whole world, that if military coercion must be employed, it is *their* choice and not his.

The powers Vested in us, will enable us so to arrange the execution of the acts for raising a revenue on distilled spirits and stills, that little inconvenience will arise therefrom to the people; to prevent as far as is consistant with the public interests, the commencing prosecutions under those acts, at a distance from the places where the delinquents reside; to suspend prosecutions for the late offences against the United States, and even to engage for a general pardon and oblivion of them.

But gentlemen, we explicitely declare to you, that the exercise of these powers must be preceded by full and satisfactory assurances of a sincere determination in the people, to obey the laws of the United States, and their eventual operation must depend upon a correspondent acquiescence in the acts which have been opposed.

We have not, and coming from the executive, you well know that we cannot, have any authority to suspend the laws or to offer the most distant hopes that the acts, the execution of which has been obstructed, will be repealed; on the contrary, we are free to declare to you our private opinions, that the national councils, while they consult the general interests of the republic, and endeavour to conciliate every part by local accommodations to citizens who respect the laws, will sternly refuse every indulgence, to men who accompany their requests with threats, and resist by force, the public authority.

Upon these principles, we are ready to enter with you into the detail necessary for the exercise of our powers; to learn what local accommodations are yet wanting; to render the execution of the laws convenient to the people; to concert with you measures for restoring harmony and order, and for burying the past in oblivion, and to unite our endeavours with yours, to secure the peace and happiness of our common country.

It is necessary, however, to apprise you, thus early, that at present, we do not consider ourselves as authorized, to enter into any conferences on this subject, after the first of September ensuing. We therefore hope the business will be so conducted, that some definite answer may be given us before that day.

We cannot believe, that in so great a crisis, any attempts will be made to temporize and procrastinate by those who sincerely love their country and wish to secure its tranquility.

We also declare to you, that no indulgence will be given to any future offender against the United States, and that they who shall hereafter, directly or indirectly oppose the Execution of the laws, must abide the consequences of their conduct.

JAMES ROSS,
J. YEATES,
WM. BRADFORD.

To the Committee of Conference assembled at Pittsburgh.

THE COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE TO THE UNITED STATES COMMISSIONERS.

PITTSBURGH, August 22d, 1794.

GENTLEMEN:—Having in our conference, at considerable length, stated to you the grounds of that discontent which exist in the minds of the people of this country, and which has lately shown itself in acts of opposition to the excise law, you will consider us as waiving any question of the constitutional power of the President to call upon the force of the Union to suppress them. It is our object, as it is yours, to compose the disturbance.

We are satisfied that in substance you have gone as far as we could expect the Executive to go. It only remains to ascertain your propositions more in detail, and to say what arrangement it may be in your power to make with regard to convenience in collecting the revenue under the excise law; how far it may be consistent with the public interest, to prevent commencing

prosecution under those laws at a distance from places where the delinquents reside; on what conditions or circumstances prosecutions for the late violations shall be suspended; that is to say, whether on the individual keeping the peace or on its being kept by the country in general, and also with regard to the general amnesty, whether the claiming the benefit of it by an individual, shall depend on his own future conduct or that of the whole community.

We have already stated to you, in conference, that we are empowered to give you no definitive answer with regard to the sense of the people on the great question of acceding to the law, but that in our opinion, it is the interest of the country to accede, and that we shall make this report to the committee, to whom we are to report, and state to them the reasons of our opinion, that so far as they have weight they may be regarded by them. It will be our endeavor to conciliate, not only them, but the public mind in general to our views on this subject. We hope to be assisted by you, in giving all that extent and precision, clearness and certainty, to your propositions, that may be necessary to satisfy the understandings and engage the acquiescence of the people.

It is to be understood, that in acceding to the law, no inference is to be drawn or construction made that we will relinquish a constitutional opposition, but that we will undeviatingly and constantly pursue every legal means and measures for obtaining a repeal of the law in question.

As we are disposed with you to have the sense of the people taken on the subject of our conference, as speedily as may be, with that view we have resolved to call the committee to whom our report is to be made at an earlier day than had been appointed, to wit: on Thursday, the 28th instant, but have not thought ourselves authorized in changing the place, at Redstone Old Fort, on the Monongahela.

By order of the committee.

EDWARD COOK,*
Chairman.

To the Commissioners on the part of the Union.

* EDWARD COOK, of Westmoreland, was a native of Pennsylvania. He was a member of the committee of Conference which met at Carpenter's Hall June, 1776, and also of the Constitutional Convention of that year. In command of rangers for frontier defence in 1781. Appointed sub-lieutenant of Westmoreland county 1780-1, and lieutenant Jan. 5, 1782. Nov. 21, 1786, appointed a justice with jurisdiction including the county of Washington, and Aug. 17, 1791, associate judge of Fayette county. In 1796-8, treasurer of Westmoreland county. He was a man of influence and was chosen chairman of the Mingo Creek meeting.

PROPOSITIONS SUBMITTED BY THE U. S. COMMISSIONERS.

PITTSBURGH. Aug. 22d, 1794.

The Commissioners appointed by the President of the United States to confer with the citizens in the Western parts of Pennsylvania, having been assured by the Committee of conference to their determination to approve the proposals made, & to recommend to the Standing Committee appointed by the meeting at Parkinson's Ferry, a Submission to the acts of Congress, upon the principles stated, do now proceed to declare what assurances of submission will be deemed full and satisfactory, and to detail the Engagements which they have power to make:

1. It is Expected and required by the said commissioners, that the citizens composing the said standing committee do, on or before the first day of September next, explicitly declare their determination to submitt to the Laws of the United States, and that they will not, directly or indirectly, oppose the Execution of the acts for raising a Revenue on distilled spirits and stills.

2. That they do explicitly recommend to the people, by a Resolution to that Effect, a perfect and entire acquiescence under the Execution of the said acts.

3. That they do, in like manner, recommend that no farther violence, injuries or threats be offered to the persons against the property of any officer of the United States, or citizens complying with the Laws; and do declare their determination to support (as far as the laws require) the civil authority in affording the protection due to all officers and citizens.

4. That measures be taken to ascertain, by meetings in election districts or otherwise, the determination of the people to submitt to the said laws, or resist them, and that satisfactory assurances be given to the said commissioners, that the people have so determined to submitt, on or before the 14th of September next.

The said commissioners do promise and engage, if a full & perfect compliance with the above requisitions shall take place, in the manner following, to wit:

I. No prosecution for any Treason or other Inditable offence against the United States, committed in the fourth survey of Pennsylvania, before this day shall be commenced, or proceeded on, until the tenth day of July next.

II. If there shall be a general and sincere acquiescence in the Execution of the said acts, until the said tenth day of July next, a general pardon an oblivion of all such offences shall be granted;

excepting therefrom, nevertheless, every person who shall, in the mean time, willfully obstruct, or attempt to obstruct the Execution of any of the laws of the United States, or be in any wise aiding or abetting therein.

III. Congress having, by an act passed on the fifth day of June last, authorized the State courts to take cognizance of offences against the said acts for raising a revenue upon distilled spirits and stills, the President has determined that he will direct suits against such delinquents, to be prosecuted therein, if upon experiment, it be found that local prejudices do not obstruct the faithful administration of Justice; but it is to be understood, that of this he must be the Judge, & that he has no authority to part with any power vested in the Executive of the United States.

IV. Certain beneficial arrangements for adjusting delinquencies & prosecutions, for penalties, now depending, shall be made and communicated by the officers appointed to carry the said acts into Execution.

Given under our Hands at Pittsburgh, this 22d day of Aug't, 1794.

JAMES ROSS,
J. YEATES,*
WM. BRADFORD.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 22nd August, 1794.

SIR:—In the Secretary of the Treasury's Report, dated the 5th instant, and published with your assent, relatively to the opposition which has been given to the execution of the laws for laying duties on spirits distilled within the United States and upon stills, the following passage occurs:

*JASPER YEATES was a native of Philadelphia, where he was born April 9, 1745. His parents removed to Lancaster in 1764. He was educated principally at the Philadelphia College. In 1774 he was a member of the Lancaster County Committee of Observation, and also of the Penn'a Convention to ratify the Constitution of the United States. He was Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania from 1791 to 1817, the greater portion of which he was in the different circuits of the State. His mind was vigorous, and his opinions bold. He was one of the Commissioners appointed by President Washington to confer with the western insurgents. He died at Lancaster 14th March, 1817. He published "Reports of Cases in the Supreme Court of Penn'a," 1791-1808, 4 vols. His reports are the second of the series immediately succeeding those of Mr. Dallas.

"This is at once an example of a disposition to support the laws of the Union, and of an opposite one, in the local officers of Pennsylvania within the non-complying scene. But it is a truth, too important not to be noticed, and too injurious not to be lamented, that the prevailing spirit of those officers has been either hostile or lukewarm to the execution of those laws, and that the weight of an unfriendly official influence has been one of the most serious obstacles with which they had to struggle."

Desirous of manifesting in every way a zealous co-operation in the views of the General Government, permit me to request, that you will direct the evidence on which the above charge is founded to be communicated to me, in order that I may take the proper steps to vindicate the honor of the State Government and to remove the delinquent officers. If any officer whose commission depends on the will of the Executive Magistrate, has evinced "a spirit hostile to the execution of the laws" of the Union, or has obstructed their operation by "the weight of an unfriendly official influence," I do not hesitate to promise the severest animadversion upon so criminal a conduct, and where the commission does not depend upon my grant, I will earnestly recommend the subject to the attention of the Legislature. In its present form, however, the charge is so indiscriminate that those citizens who may be involved in its obloquy, do not enjoy a fair opportunity for defence, nor does the Government possess the means to discover the proper objects for its indignation and censure.

I am, with perfect respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's Most obed't H'ble Serv.,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To the President of the United States.

REPORT OF THE PENN'A COMMISSIONERS TO THE GOVERNOR.

PITTSBURGH, August 22d, 1794.

SIR:—We arrived at this Borough on Sunday last and at the Inn where we alighted met with the three Commissioners appointed by the President of the United States. On the road we had frequent conversations with Individuals of respectable characters concerning the business assigned us, and meetwith discouragement from every one. There has been a Convention of Committees from every township, excepting four, in the four Western counties of this State and from the neighbourhood of a small

village called Berlin, in the county of Bedford, being to the Westward of the Allegheny mountain, and also from part of the county Ohio, in the State of Virginia, at Parkinson's ferry on the fourteenth instant, where several resolutions were passed, a copy of which had taken by *James Ross, Esquire*, and by the Commissioners of the United States, transmitted to the President, but no duplicate retained. However we had learned the contents from some of the Convention whom we met on the road before we reached Greensburgh; and since we have been here, have been informed by the Commissioners of the United States from memory, that the account we had received was accurate. The Resolves, alluded to, have been printed here this day, which is the first time we have seen them; the paper in which they have been published, Your Excellency will receive herewith.

On Monday we endeavored to ascertain the facts that led immediately to the Riots in this county on the 16th & 17th of last month at General Nevil's Estate, and the result is as follows: The Marshal for the District of Pennsylvania had process to serve upon divers persons residing in the counties of Fayette and Allegheny, and had executed them all (above thirty) without molestation or difficulty, excepting one, which was against a Mr. Shaw; he, or some other person went to the place where Doctor Beard, the Brigade Inspector for Washington county, was hearing Appeals made by some of the Militia of a Battalion, who had been called upon for a proportion of the quota of this State of the eighty thousand men, to be in readiness agreeably to an Act of Congress; there were upwards of fifty there with their fire-arms, to whom it was related, that the Federal Sheriff (as they stiled the Marshall) had been serving writs in Allegheny county & carrying the people to Philadelphia for not complying with the Excise laws and that he was at General Nevil's house. It was then in the night of the 15th of last month, between thirty & forty flew instantly to their arms and marched towards Mr. Nevil's, about twelve miles distant, where they appeared early next morning. Your Excellency has already heard the tragical event.

It should be added that the Delinquents against whom the Marshal had process told him, they would enter their stills and pay him the excise together with the costs of suit. Major Lennox applauded their prudent conduct, and told them, that tho' he had not authority to comply with their wishes, yet if they would enter their stills with the Inspector & procure his certificate and send it to Philadelphia, upon payment of the money due with the costs he was persuaded all further prosecutions would be stayed.

If this detail is true, it is evident the outrages committed at Mr. Nevil's were not owing to deliberate preconcerted measures, but originated in an unbridled gust of passion artfully raised among young men, who may have been at the time too much heated with strong drink.

On Monday Evening Mr. Attorney General Bradford informed us, that the Gentlemen appointed by the President would be glad to have a conference with those appointed by the Governor respecting our respective missions. To this we cheerfully agreed, observing that tho' our views might be the same, the means adopted might otherwise counteract or militate with each other. Accordingly we met on Tuesday morning and verbally communicated our respective powers, which were found to be in substance the same. It was agreed, that we would jointly confer with a Committee, named for that purpose, at the Convention on the 14th instant at Parkinson's ferry, and who are to report to a committee of sixty, called a committee of safety, on the first Tuesday of next month, and that after the conference we should withdraw and then severally make our proposals in writing, and request an answer thereto also in writing.

It rained on Wednesday, from morning until the afternoon, which delayed the arrival of the Committee of twelve, until it was late, some of them having rode near sixty miles. They sent three gentlemen of their number to the Commissioners to notify their arrival, and fix a time & place for the conference, which, it was agreed, should be next morning at ten o'clock, at the Inn of Mr. McMasters, and conducted in private. We met accordingly, & conversed together freely for several hours. The supposed grievances were numerous, but they dwelt principally on their being sued in the courts of the United States, and compelled to attend trials at the distance of three hundred miles from their places of abode, before Judges & Jurors, who are strangers to them, and by whom the credit due to witnesses entirely unknown, could not be properly estimated; and the inability to pay the excise, owing to the restrained state of their trade & commerce. Every argument against an excise was urged, and the excessive ferment & rage, at present, among the inhabitants, were not omitted in the sequel, which were painted in such colors as clearly evidenced an apprehension, in the gentlemen themselves, respecting the safety of their own persons and property, if they should even recommend what they conceived to be best for people, in the deplorable situation to which they have brought themselves. We adjourned till four o'clock, when we again met, and the Commissioners for the Government of the Union, presented their positions in writing; we also presented ours, being short & explicit; a copy of which we have the honor to inclose herewith.

The Gentlemen took them into consideration, and are to give an answer some time to day.

Impressed with the Idea that the spirit of the people, in these counties, may be diffused into other counties and States, we have urged the necessity of a speedy termination of this business, and to that end the calling the committee of sixty together, at an earlier day than the one fixed upon; tho' the Gentlemen press us to allow time for the people to cool, yet we believe they will gratify us in this request. We are acquainted personally with the Committee of twelve, and think them well disposed, and yet we are constrained to tell you that our prospects of a happy conclusion of this arduous mission have hitherto been very faint; however, we are not altogether without a hope of success. Just now we have received an answer in writing to our propositions, which do not come up quite to our wishes, but we expect from what has been said, that we shall be able to accommodate the business with them.

As the Post is just setting out, we have not time to furnish a copy of the answer, and must conclude by subscribing ourselves, with great regard,

Your Excellency's

Most obedient

and most humble servants,

THO. M'KEAN,

WM. IRVINE.

To His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

THE COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE TO THE PENN'A COMMISSIONERS.

PITTSBURGH, Aug't 22d, 1794.

GENTLEMEN:—The Committee of conference having made up their opinions, and expressed it to the Commissioners on the part of the Union, that it is the interest of this country, that on the terms of accommodation proposed by them, there should be a submission to that law, which has been the occasion of certain acts of opposition lately said to be committed within the Jurisdiction of Pennsylvania, it will, of course, be the opinion of this Committee, that acts of opposition shall cease, and they will be disposed to recommend this temper and principle to others. They will report it particularly to the Committee of safety, to whom they are to make report, and they will state the reasons which have influenced themselves in being disposed

to wish a general subordination to the laws of the Union. But the signing any instrument of writing, will have the air of a recognizance, and of having broke the peace or being disposed to do it on their part; whereas in fact we expect to be considered as a body well affected to the peace of the country, and coming forward, not only on behalf of those who may have violated the peace, but of the great body of the Country who have organised themselves in Committees in order to preserve it.

As to what the Committee of sixty may do, must remain with themselves; we shall make report to them of the proposition.

We wish it to be understood, that it will be one thing for us or them to declare our sentiments and to support them by arguments, and another to subscribe our names to any writing in any other manner, than as other public bodies, by their official Representative of Chairman or President.

We would request, therefore, that the proposition be reconsidered, and that some other evidence of submission to the laws may be accepted from the people, which may substantially have the same effect without a form which may be misunderstood by them, and in which they may not so readily acquiesce. It is also our wish and expectation, that the proposition of an amnesty may extend to the County of Bedford. It is our Idea also, that it will have a good effect in reconciling the public mind to have the amnesty considered as absolute at this time, liable to be forfeited only as to its benefits, by the future violation of the laws by the individual.

By order of the Committee,

EDWARD COOK, *Chairman.*

To THOMAS MCKEAN & WILLIAM IRVINE, Commissioners on the part of Pennsylvania.

THE PENN'A COMMISSIONERS TO THE COMMITTEE
OF CONFERENCE.

PITTSBURGH, *August 22d, 1794.*

GENTLEMEN:—We received your answer, signed Edward Cook, Chairman, of this day's date, and observe that you have, in a degree, confined yourselves to a subordination to the laws of the *Union*; these we consider as part of the laws of Pennsylvania, but independent of a breach of the laws of the United States, you cannot be insensible that the laws, the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania have been more essentially violated in the County of Allegheny; and tho' from a

knowledge of your characters and a confidence in your dispositions, we rest assured of your chearfull obedience to the laws of the State, and that you will inculcate the like among your fellow citizens, yet we would have been pleased had it been expressed.

Your objections to signing your names respectively to your answer, we have considered; and tho' the signing the name as Chairman, Speaker or President, in regular constituted bodies, implies the consent of the majority which binds the whole; yet it means no more, and in the present body of twelve, one-half of the number present may not have acquiesced in the act, and yet it may be formally true. For this reason we wished for your respective signatures, or that it had been written, signed by the *Unanimous* consent of the Committee, or otherwise to have ascertained the number.

We have never before heard it suggested, that a person's signing his name to any instrument implying an engagement or promise to do a lawfull act, had the air of a recognizance; nor did we ever mean that it could be supposed that any gentleman of this Committee was implicated in the late riots in the Counties; we only wished to have the weight that your names and characters would give to the effectual quieting the present uneasiness among the people.

When we were Commissioned to the present pacific and humane service, it was not known to the Governor that any aggressions of the nature you allude to had been committed in the County of Bedford, & of course our powers do not extend to them, but if no future violation of the peace shall happen on a similar occasion, it is more than probable his Excellency will extend his pardon to what has passed since, and which may require amnesty.

We cannot grant a general pardon as yet; but when we shall receive reasonable assurances that the inhabitants of these Counties have returned to their duty, to an obedience to the laws, and that peace, order & tranquility have been restored, we shall rejoice in having the opportunity of granting it without a day's delay.

We are, Gentlemen,
your most obed't servants,

THO. McKEAN,
WM. IRVINE.

To the Committee of conference of the Counties of Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette and Allegheny.

COMMITTEE OF OHIO COUNTY, VIRGINIA, TO THE
UNITED STATES COMMISSIONERS.

PITTSBURGH, *August 23, 1794.*

GENTLEMEN:—We have seen, by your letter of this day, that you have been well assured that the people of Ohio county did not generally authorize us to represent them. All we have to say on that subject is, that we were authorized fully and generally by such persons as met on that occasion. Whether any of the inhabitants were dissatisfied with our being appointed for that purpose, or whether there were any who did not wish an appointment to take place at all, we know not; but we pretend to have no other design than that of representing such of the citizens of Ohio county as sent us here.

Waiving, however, the mere personal subject, we think it a duty we owe our fellow citizens, to wish (and we know it to have been the opinion of the whole committee of conference) that no distinction should be made between offenses committed upon the same occasion, arising from the same source, and perpetrated at the same time whether they happened in Pennsylvania or in Virginia; and we, therefore, hope you will conceive it upon full examination to be part of your present pacific mission to satisfy the minds of the people of Virginia as well as those of Pennsylvania, and that you will give assurances that the same proofs which you require from the people of Pennsylvania of their determination to submit to the laws shall be deemed sufficient, when given by the people of Ohio county, to induce you to recommend to the President to extend a similar pardon to any offenses committed there against the United States, and that, whatever objects you may have, to consider us in the same point of view with the other members of the committee of conference, you will not require different conditions from, or propose different terms to, the citizens of the two States, &c.

We have the honor to be, with respect, gentlemen,

Your most obedient and very humble servants,

ROB'T STEPHENSON,
WILLIAM SUTHERLAND,
WILLIAM MCKINLEY,

To the Commissioners for the United States.

THE UNITED STATES COMMISSIONERS TO THE COMMITTEE OF OHIO COUNTY, VIRGINIA.

PITTSBURGH, *August 23d, 1794.*

GENTLEMEN:—Having conversed with you on the subject of your letter of this date, we declare to you, that if the same declarations and assurances are made by you, which it is required should be made by the citizens to be assembled at Redstone, and if satisfactory assurances are also given to us of a sincere determination of those individuals, in Ohio county, who sent you hither, to submit to the laws for raising a revenue on distilled spirits and stills, on or before the 14th September next, in such case we will recommend to the President of the United States your petition, requesting that a pardon may be granted for any indictable offense against the United States, committed in Ohio county, since the 15th day of July last, and before the present day, on the same terms offered to the inhabitants of the fourth survey of Pennsylvania. But, as certain bonds have been lately taken by force from Zacheus Biggs, the collector of the said revenue in Ohio county, it is to be clearly understood that said pardon shall not extend to prevent any civil remedy against those who have destroyed the said bonds, or are parties to them.

Given under our hands, August 23, 1794.

JAMES ROSS,
J. YEATES,
WM BRADFORD.

To Messrs. ROBERT STEPHENSON, WILLIAM SUTHERLAND and WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

REPLY OF THE COMMITTEE OF OHIO COUNTY, VIRGINIA, TO THE U. S. COMMISSIONERS.

PITTSBURGH, *August 23, 1794.*

GENTL:—Having Considerd your Letter of this Deate, since the Departur of the speachel Comatie delegated from Westmoreland, Washington, Featt & Aleganie countis in Pensilvanea, & Considering ourSelves a Justifyable repsentation of those inhabtents of Ohio County, by whome we were Deligated, & a part of that speachell Comitee to whom your prposals wear mead and Accented yesterday and the day posding, and relying on the faith alr'dy pledged by you, and Accepted by the Speachell Coma-

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

173

tee, we d'clin entering any further on this Bussens untell we Consult our Constatituents & the Cometee of Safety.

We are, Gentl., with esteem,

your most Obed. Humble Serv't.

ROBERT STEPHENSON,
WILLIAM SUTHERLAND,
WM. MCKINLEY.

THE COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PITTSBURGH, *August 23, 1794.*

GENTLEMEN:—We are satisfied with the explanation given of what was intended by requiring our individual signatures to any assurance we should have given of our own disposition to preserve peace, or to conciliate that temper in others.

We are certainly disposed to preserve peace, and to recommend it to others, not only with regard to the laws of the Union, on the terms of accommodation settled with the commissioners from thence, but more especially with regard to the laws of our respective States, and Pennsylvania in particular; we are unanimous in declaring our resolutions to support the laws, so that no impediment shall exist to the due and faithful administration of justice, and we can with the more confidence engage this on behalf of our fellow citizens, as at a general meeting of the representatives of townships, on the 14th of August inst., a resolution to this effect was expressed by the unanimous voice of the meeting; and in fact we can assure you, though it may have been otherwise construed, that a great and leading object of that meeting was the establishment of peace amongst ourselves, and subordination to the State government.

By order of the committee,

EDWARD COOK, *Chairman.*

The Commissioners on behalf of the State.

DELIBERATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE.

PITTSBURGH, *August 23, 1794.*

The Committee deliberating on the foregoing, the great and solemn question was considered whether we should accede or

reject, in other words, whether we should have peace or a civil war.

It was considered that a convulsion at this time might effect the great interests of the Union, that, notwithstanding an unworthy debt was accumulated in the hands of monied men, by means of the funding system, yet the foreign debt was justly due, and also a considerable part of the domestic, for which actual service had been rendered or value given, that it might affect the payment of these two species of debt, to countenance an opposition which might communicate itself to other branches of the revenue. That a convulsion of this nature becoming general, might affect a nation of Europe struggling at this moment for life and liberty, by impeding the United States in making those remittances in payment of the debt due to them, which their situation essentially demanded; that a convulsion, even in this country, might affect the negociations pending, in which our interests were essentially concerned—the free navigation of the Mississippi—the delivery of the western ports and our protection from a frontier enemy. That it might give offense to our fellow citizens elsewhere, who might excuse a sudden outrage, but might resent a formed system undertaken without their consent; more especially, as they might not yet know the local and peculiar grievances of this country, and be disposed to make a proper allowance for the consequences; that the constitutional means of remonstrance might not yet be altogether exhausted, and so it might become us still yet to persevere; that even a contest with the United States, should it be successful, must involve this country, for a time at least, in ruin. That for this reason, every man ought to lay his hand on his heart and answer, whether he would think himself justifiable in countenancing the idea of a war; he ought to make up his mind, and be sure that on every principle he was justifiable, having a confidence not only of right, but of power also.

For these and other reasons, it was thought adviseable to concede, as contained in the answer to the commissioners.

THE COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNION.

PITTSBURGH, Aug't 28d, 1794.

GENT.—We presume it has been understood by you that the conference on our part consists of members not only from the counties of Pennsylvania, West of the Allegheny Mountain, but also from Ohio County, in Virginia, and your propositions

made in general by your first letter being addressed to this Conference, the Ohio County was considered as included, yet in your propositions made in detail by your last you confine them to the survey within Pennsylvania. We would request an explanation in **this particular.**

We have only farther to say, we shall make a faithful report of **your propositions** and recommend them to the people, and however they may be received, we are persuaded nothing more could have been done by you or us to bring this business to an accommodation.

Signed, by order of the Committee,

ED. COOK, *Chairman.*

The Commis'rs on behalf of the Union.

THE PENNSYLVANIA COMMISSIONERS TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH *August 23d, 1794.*

SIR:—We wrote your Excellency yesterday by post; since then we transcribed the answer from the Committee to our propositions for an accommodation, and have inclosed a copy herewith and also our reply and their rejoinder, from which you will perceive that things are in as good a train as can be expected in so short a time. If no unforeseen misfortune intervenes we hope such measures will be adopted at the meeting of the Council of safety on thursday next, as will put an end to the troubles in this Country. It is not yet determined whether the Commissioners will attend that meeting.

We have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obe't servants,

THO. McKEAN,
WM. IRVINE.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

WM. FINDLEY TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

PITTSBURGH, *August 23, 1794.*

DEAR SIR:—The haste in which I write will not permit me to be particular with respect to the late outrages in this country. I am happy, however, to be able to inform you, the spirit of outrage has in a great measure subsided, though the aversion

to Excises is too deep-rooted ever to be eradicated. Information respecting the source of the disturbances has generally been erroneous. They were not the result of a preconcerted plan as has been suggested, therefore, not conducted with system.

The flame, however, spread with an infatuation almost incredible; for some time the voice of reason could not be heard nor durst scarce be uttered. There's nothing of Lenox having been up until I heard of it by the outrages, but though I lived out of reach of the first paroxysms, the same spirit soon prevailed in my neighborhood. I endeavored, however, to have Moderate men sent to the Monongahella meeting, and I went myself and advised as many of my friends with me as I could, besides the persons elected, concluding that every sensible man would have influence with some friend or other.

Messrs. Yates and Bradford came to Greensburgh the morning of the meeting, and wrote by express to me of their pacific intentions and authority, which being communicated to the meeting, had a salutary effect; and a Committee of discreet men were appointed to confer with the Commissioners at Pittsburgh, but unfortunately, the news Papers came next Morning with the President's Proclamation and the Orders for an armed force as a Substitute for Judicial Proceedings; this irritated and inflamed those even who had been formerly moderate and regular, and greatly increased the difficulty of accommodation, I have attended the meetings at Monongahella and Pittsburgh, and Probably will go to the concluding meeting at Redstone. My appearing in the first instance was contrary to the advice of friends, but I thought the crises too serious to stand upon points of personally delicacy. Mr. Gallatin has been a Member of those meetings and exceedingly usefull. Mr. Smily has not appeared.

I am with sincere esteem, Yours, &c.,

WM. FINDLEY.

The Bearer, Mr. Ritchy, can inform you fully of Particulars—a final accommodation, I believe, will be the result.

THE U. S. COMMISSIONERS TO THE COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE.

PITTSBURGH, *August 23d, 1794.*

GENTLEMEN:—Having received your assurances of your approbation of the propositions made by us, and your determination to recommend them to the people, we have nothing further to add, except to reply to that part of your letter

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

177

which relates to the gentlemen from Ohio county. The whole tenor of our letter of the 21st inst. shows that we had come among you in consequence of the disturbances which had prevailed in the western parts of Pennsylvania, to prevent the actual employment of military coercion there as contemplated by the President's proclamation, and that the late offenses referred to, were the insurrections which had prevailed in some of the western counties. We, therefore, cannot extend our propositions.

In addition to this, we were well assured that the people of Ohio county have not generally authorized those gentlemen to represent them, and we cannot at present undertake to make any definite arrangements with them.

We are, however, willing to converse with those gentlemen on the subject, and we have no doubt that on satisfactory proofs of their determination to support the laws of their country, and of an entire submission to them by those from whom they came being given, the President will, upon our recommendation, extend a similar pardon to any late offense committed against the United States; if any such have been committed. We are willing, on receiving such assurances from them, to recommend such application accordingly

JAMES ROSS,
J. YEATES,
WM. BRADFORD.

To the Committee of Conference.

GOV. MIFFLIN TO GEN. HARMAR.

PHILADELPHIA, August 27, 1794.

SIR:—As the period limited by the President's proclamation, for the dispersion of the Insurgents in the western parts of Pennsylvania, will expire on the first day of September next, I am anxious to ascertain the progress which has been made in drafting the corps of Five thousand two hundred Militia, agreeably to my instructions of the 8th instant. You will be pleased, therefore, to make an immediate report on the subject; and by every possible exertion stimulate the Brigade Inspectors to complete the organization of their respective quotas. The reputation of the State, as well as of its officers, is involved in a prompt and

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

effectual compliance with the President's requisition on this important occasion.

I am, Sir,

Your most obed. Serv.,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To JOSIAH HARMAR, Esq., Adjutant General of the Militia of Pennsylvania.

GEN. HARMAR TO THE BRIGADE INSPECTORS.

By Authority.

PHILADELPHIA, 27th August, 1794.

SIR:—As the period limited by the President's Proclamation, for the dispersion of the insurgents, in the western parts of Pennsylvania, will expire on the first day September next, the Governor has expressed the greatest solicitude that the corps of five thousand two hundred Militia, to be drafted in pursuance of the General Orders of the eighth instant, may be in readiness to march on that day. I must, therefore, entreat an immediate report of the progress which has been made in drafting and organizing your quota.

The eyes of our fellow citizens throughout the Union, as well as in Pennsylvania, are fixed upon our conduct. You must be sensible, therefore, that the slightest appearance of a want of zeal, or energy, to embark in support of the violated authority of the laws, will produce that reproach and disgrace, which, as public Officers, it is our duty if possible to prevent, and which it will be our misfortune, more than any other part of the Community, to encounter. But, I am persuaded, Sir, that reflections of this kind are unnecessary to stimulate you, or the Militia of your brigade, to the performance of an essential duty. The occasion is interesting to every man, who feels his obligations to society, and is desirous to preserve from the fury of Anarchy, as well as from the encroachments of despotism, the independence of a Freeman.

The Governor, therefore, directs me to repeat his confidence in your exertions, and in the patriotism of every well disposed citizen; but as he is anxious that the public disposition may be displayed by the most expeditious compliance with the President's requisition, he has thought it proper thus to renew the communication of his sentiments.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

JOSIAH HARMAR,

Adjutant General of the Militia of Pennsylvania.

To——— Brigade Inspector of the

THE U. S. COMMISSIONERS TO THE COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE.

PITTSBURGH, *August 27, 1794.*

GENTLEMEN:—Since your departure from Pittsburgh, we have transmitted information of our proceedings to the Secretary of State, and it being evident from them, that the satisfactory proof of a sincere submission cannot be obtained before the first of September, we may undertake to assure you that the movement of the militia will be suspended until further information is received from us.

We also authorize you to assure the friends of order, who may be disposed to exert themselves to restore the authority of the laws, that they may rely upon all the protection the government can give, and that every measure necessary to repress and punish the violence of ill-disposed individuals who may dissent from the general sentiment, (if there should be any such,) will be promptly taken in the manner the law directs.

We are, gentlemen,

Your Most Obedient servants,

JAMES ROSS,
J. YEATES,
WM. BRADFORD.

RESOLUTIONS AT RED STONE OLD FORT.

At a meeting of the standing Committee of the Western Counties, held at Brownsville, (Red Stone old fort,) on the 28th & 29th of Aug't, 1794, the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to confer with the Commissioners on the part of the United States, and of the State of Pennsylvania, with instructions to the said Committee, to try to obtain from the said Commissioners such further modification in their proposals as they think will render them more agreeable to the people at large, and also to represent the necessity of granting further time to the people before their final determination is required.

Whereupon, John Probst, Rob't Dickey, John Nesbitt, Herman Husband, John Corbly, John Marshall, David Phillips, John Heaton, John McClelan, William Ewing, Geo. Wallace, Sam'l Wilson and Richard Brown were appointed.

Resolved, That the said Committee shall publish and communicate throughout the several counties, the day at which the sense of the people is expected to be taken.

Resolved, That on the day thus published, the following question be submitted to the citizens duly qualified to vote, according to the Election law of the State, of the Counties of Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette, Allegheny and that part of Bedford which lies west of the Allegheny mountain, in Pennsylvania, and of Ohio County, in Virginia:

Will the people submit to the laws of the United States upon the terms proposed by the Commissioners of the United States?

Resolved, That the determination of the inhabitants of each County, shall be communicated to a Committee, to consist of one member from each County, who shall meet for that purpose at Parkinson's ferry within two days after the sense of the people shall have been taken, and shall transmit the general result to the Commissioners of Government.

Signed by order of the Committee,
EDWARD COOK, *Chairman.*

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND CONFERENCE.

At a conference between the commissioners from the United States and the State of Pennsylvania on the one part, and Messrs. Probst, Dickey, Nesbit, Marshall, Philips, McClelland, Wallace and Wilson, conferees, appointed by the standing committee at Brownsville, (Redstone Old Fort,) on the 28th and 29th days of August, 1794, it was agreed, that the assurances required from the citizens in the fourth survey of Pennsylvania, should be given in writing and their sense ascertained in the following manner:

That the citizens of the said survey (Allegheny county excepted) of the age of eighteen years and upwards, be required to assemble on Thursday, the 11th instant, in their respective townships at the usual place for holding township meetings; and that between the hours of twelve and seven, in the afternoon of the same day, any two or more of the members of the meeting who assembled at Parkinson's Ferry on the 14th ultimo, resident in the township, or a justice of the peace of said township, do openly propose to the people assembled the following questions: Do you now engage to submit to the laws of the United States, and that you will not hereafter, directly or indirectly, oppose the execution of the acts for raising the revenue upon distilled spirits and stills? And do you also undertake to support, as far

as the laws require, the civil authority in affording the protection due to all officers and other citizens? Yea, or nay?

That the said citizens, resident in Allegheny county, shall meet in their respective election districts on the said day, and proceed in the same manner as if they were assembled in townships.

That a minute of the number of yeas and nays be made immediately after ascertaining the same.

That a written or printed declaration of such engagement be signed by all those who vote in the affirmative of the following tenor, to wit:

I do solemnly promise henceforth to submit to the laws of the United States, that I will not, directly or indirectly, oppose the execution of the acts for raising a revenue on distilled spirits and stills; and that I will support, as far as the law requires, the civil authority in affording the protection due to all officers and other citizens.

This shall be signed in the presence of the said members or justices of the peace, attested by him or them, and lodged in his or their hands.

That the said persons, so proposing the questions stated as aforesaid, do assemble at the respective county court house, on the 13th inst., and do ascertain and make report of the numbers of those who voted in the affirmative in the respective townships or districts, and of the number of those who voted in the negative, together with their opinion whether there be such a general submission of the people in their respective counties, that an office of inspection may be immediately and safely established therein; that the said report, opinion and written or printed declarations, be transmitted to the commissioners, or any one of them, at Uniontown, on or before the 16th instant.

If the said assurances shall be bona fide given in the manner prescribed, the commissioners on the part of the United States do promise and engage in the manner following, to wit:

1. No prosecution for any treason or other indictable offence against the United States, committed within the fourth survey of Pennsylvania, before the 22d day of August last, shall be commenced or prosecuted before the 10th day of July next, against any person who shall, within the time limited, subscribe such assurance and engagement as aforesaid, and perform the same.

2. On the said 10th day of July next, there shall be granted a general pardon and oblivion of all the said offenses, excluding therefrom, nevertheless, every person who shall refuse or neglect to subscribe such assurance and engagement in manner aforesaid, or shall, after such subscription, violate the same, or wilfully obstruct or attempt to obstruct the execution of the said acts, or be aiding or abetting therein.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

3. Congress having, by an act passed on the 5th day of June last, authorized the State courts to take cognizance of offenses against the said acts for raising a revenue upon distilled spirits and stills, the President has determined that he will direct suits against such delinquents to be prosecuted therein, if, upon experiment, it be found that local prejudices or other causes do not obstruct the faithful administration of justice; but it is to be understood, that of this, he must be the judge, and that he does not mean by this determination to impair any power vested in the Executive of the United States.

4. Certain beneficial arrangements for adjusting the delinquencies and prosecutions for penalties now depending, shall be made and communicated by the officers appointed to carry the said acts into execution.

JAMES ROSS,
J. YEATES,
WM. BRADFORD.

Signed in behalf of the committee representing the fourth survey of Pennsylvania, unanimously by the members present.

JOHN PROBST.
ROBERT DICKEY,
JOHN NESBIT,
DAVID PHILLIPS,
JOHN MARSHALL,
SAMUEL WILSON,
GEORGE WALLACE,
JOHN McCLELLAND.

PITTSBURGH, Sept. 2, 1794.

We, the underwritten, do also promise, in behalf of the State of Pennsylvania, that in case the assurances now proposed shall be bona fide given and performed until the 10th day of July next, an act of free and general pardon and oblivion of all treasons, insurrections, arsons, riots and other offenses inferior to riots, committed, counseled or suffered by any person or persons within the four western counties of Pennsylvania, since the 14th day of July last past, so far as the same concerns the said State or the government thereof, shall be then granted, excluding therefrom every person who shall refuse or neglect to subscribe such assurance, or who shall, after such subscription, willfully violate or obstruct the laws of the State or of the United States.

THOMAS MCKEAN,
WILLIAM IRVINE,

RESOLUTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE AT REDSTONE.

At a meeting of the standing Committee of the Western Counties held at Brownville (Red Stone old fort) on the 28th and 29th of August, 1794.

The Report of the Committee appointed to confer with the Commissioners of Government being taken into consideration, the following Resolutions were adopted, to wit:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Committee it is the interest of the people of this Country to accede to the proposals made by the Commissioners on the part of the United States.

Resolved, That a Copy of the foregoing resolution be transmitted to the said Commissioners.

EDWARD COOK, *Chairman.*

A true Copy.

ALBERT GALLATIN.

COL. COOK TO THE U. S. COMMISSIONERS.

BROWNSVILLE, 29th August, 1794.

GENTLEMEN:—Difficulties having arisen with us, we have thought it necessary to appoint a Committee to confer with you in order to procure, if possible, some farther time, in order that the people may have leisure to reflect upon their true situation.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most ob't, Humble Serv't,

EDWARD COOK.

P. S.—Inclosed you have a Copy of the resolutions on that subject.

The hon'ble the Commissioners of the United States.

JUDGE McKEAN TO ATTORNEY GENERAL INGERSOLL.

PITTSBURGH, August 29th, 1794.

DEAR SIR:—My errand here was a humane one, and without much hesitation might be pronounced one easily to be accomplished. It was to remove desperation from conscious guilt, to calm ruffled minds and to induce the inhabitants of four counties to consult their own happiness. It may be thought an easy task

to convince men that it is for their benefit not to be hanged, for the safety of their persons & property not only to obey, but to support the laws made for securing both, and for their mental and corporeal comfort, to cultivate and enjoy peace, order & tranquility in their day & generation. The wiser & better sort required no arguments to convince them of all this, but the next class to them, and those placed a grade still lower would at first scarcely listen to anything of this import; their prejudices & passions had usurped the judgment seat of reason, and for some time almost induced a belief that they could not be governed by the arms of truth & persuasion, but by military coercion only. At length, however, affability, moderation & perseverance, allowing the passion of fear its proper place, and compliments to the good sense & virtue of the persons conversed with, operated a change in several, and from being suspected, feared and considered as enemies, we in a few days were freely spoken to, confided in, and treated as friends.

Our negotiation approaches towards a favorable issue. The proceedings of this day will probably nearly insure in these counties at least a passive obedience to the Excise laws. At a convention of committees, composed of not less than three nor exceeding five persons chosen by the inhabitants of every township, except four, within the counties of Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette & Allegheny, at Parkinson's ferry, on the Monongahela, the 14th instant, a committee of sixty, called a committee of safety, consisting of one member from each township, and another of twelve persons, stiled a committee of conference, were appointed. All matters have been amicably adjusted with the committee of conference, who were to make their report yesterday to the sixty at Fort Burd, (now Brownsville;) if it shall be adopted, the convention of committees, who met on the 14th, will be assembled next week, and their sense taken upon it; should it meet with their approbation, as they are 226 in number, it may be fairly considered as the voice of the people. Thus an Assembly originally convened for one (I will not say a bad) purpose, is likely to be converted to another and a very useful & good one.

In case a reconciliation & amnesty had not taken place, many (I believe a majority) of the people here threatened to become British subjects, to remove into the Indian country, or at all events, to detach themselves from the laws of the Union, and be independent of any government, except one to be formed by themselves. Indeed, their speeches & actions have been most extravagant; a frenzy seemed to be diffused thro' the country, the still voice of reason drowned, and the wildest chimeras to have

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

185

taken possession of men's minds. One might be led to think it was the work of magic, or owing to some physical cause.

Some are projecting a voluntary expedition against Sanduky and the six nations of Indians; and it is not unlikely to be an object for the consideration of the committee of sixty this day. It may be useful, but I wish the people had first obtained the sanction of Government. Two thousand militia are proposed for this expedition, and to be marched from the four western counties of Pennsylvania, and Monongalia & Ohio counties, in Virginia. It is best to find employment for restless minds.

No news from our army, excepting that General Scott's cavalry had joined it on the 28th last month.

You will receive a printed copy of the report of the Committee of conference enclosed herewith.

We expect to hear the result of the proceedings at Brownsville sometime to-morrow, and if they shall accord with our wishes, General Irvine and myself will probably leave this on Monday; until then, we have nothing to communicate to the Governor.

Please to pay my devoirs to the Governor and Mr. Dallas, and also to all inquiring friends. Adieu.

I am, with sincere esteem, dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

THO. McKEAN.

JARED INGERSOLL, Esquire.

THE COMMISSIONERS OF PENNSYLVANIA TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, August 30th, two o'clock P. M., 1794.

SIR:—We have this moment received a copy of the proceedings of the Committee of sixty, called the Committee of safety, at Brownsville yesterday, which we have the honor to inclose to you. Exclusive of the knowledge of the sentiments of these Gentlemen to be derived from the Resolutions they have passed, we have good information, that the sense of those present, being fifty-seven in number was taken by ballot on the question, "whether they would acquiesce in the terms of reconciliation proposed by the Commissioners of the United States?" and that it was carried in the affirmative by thirty-four against twenty-three, as the votes were counted, altho' in reality six had put in their ballots for the negative in a mistake, so the true state of the numbers were forty for and seventeen against submission. We have been told there were a considerable number of specta-

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

tors there, one company of militia with their arms, who appear to be variously affected, tho' our information is that the majorit were for pacific measures. A committee of twelve have bee appointed to confer with us on Monday as you will perceive b their proceedings; the conference will be agreed to on our part tho' from the characters of several of them we do not expec much good will be done. The result of our Mission is so un certain that we are not capable of forming a judgment upon it but from our best conjecture the people of Washington county if governed by the majority, will prefer a civil war to a submissio to the Excise laws, so infatuated and frantic are the Leaders i opposition; we think a great majority of the other three countie are friends to peace, order and the laws. Such was the situatio of the fifty-seven yesterday, as credibly represented to us, tha had their votes been given viva voce the determination had bee different. We are extremely grieved, Sir, that our communica tions can afford you so little hopes of that happy terminatio to our Embassy which you have so much at heart, and had suc good reason to expect. The Express waits.

We are, Sir, with sincere attachment & regard,

Your Excellency's Most obedient and most humble servant
THO. McKEAN,
WM. IRVINE.

P. S.—We have inclosed a printed copy of the proceeding of the Conference. Please to excuse us, as time is not allowe for transcribing our letter fair.

His Excellency, the Governor of Pennsylvania.

SECRETARY OF STATE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILADELPHIA, *August 30th, 1794.*

SIR:—I am directed by the President to acknowledge the receipt, on the 17th, of your Excellency's letter, dated the 12t instant.

The President feels with you the force of the motives whic render undesirable, an extension of correspondence on the subje in question. But the case being truly one of great importanc and delicacy, these motives must yield, in a degree, to the pri perty and utility of giving precision to every part of the trans action, and guarding effectually against ultimate misapprehension.

To this end, it is deemed advisable, in the first place, to stat some facts which either do not appear or are conceived not t have assumed an accurate shape in your Excellency's letter. They are these:

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

187

1. You were informed at the conference, that all the information which had been received had been laid before an associate Justice, in order that he might consider and determine whether such a case as is contemplated by the second section of the act, which provides for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions, had occurred, that is, whether combinations existed too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the Marshal by that act, in which case, the President is authorised to call forth the Militia to suppress the combinations and to cause the laws to be duly executed.

2. The idea of a preliminary proceeding by you was pointed to an eventual co-operation with the Executive of the United States, in such plan, as upon mature deliberation, should be deemed advisable in conformity with the laws of the union. The inquiry was particularly directed towards the possibility of some previous accessory step, in relation to the militia, to expedite the calling them forth, if an acceleration should be judged expedient and proper, and if any delay on the score of evidence should attend the notification from a Judge, which the laws make the condition of the power of the President to require the aid of the militia, and turned more especially upon the point, whether the laws of Pennsylvania of the 22d of September, 1783, was or was not still in force. The question emphatically was: Has the Executive of Pennsylvania power to put the militia in motion, previous to a requisition from the President under the laws of the union, if it shall be thought advisable so to do? Indeed, it seems to be admitted by one part of your letter, that the *preliminary* measure contemplated did turn on this question, and with a particular eye to the authority and existence of the act just mentioned.

3. The information contained in the papers read at the conference, besides the violence offered to the Marshal, while in company with the Inspector of the Revenue, established, that the Marshal had been afterwards made prisoner by the Insurgents, put in jeopardy of his life, had been obliged to obtain safety and liberty by a promise guaranteed by Colonel Presly Neville, that he would serve no other process on the west side of the Alleghany mountain; that in addition to this, a deputation of the Insurgents had gone to Pittsburgh to demand of the Marshal a surrender of the processes in his possession, under the intimation that it would satisfy the people and add to his safety; which necessarily implied that he would be in danger of further violence without such a surrender. That under the influence of this menace he had found it necessary to seek

security, by taking secretly and in the night, a circuitous route.

This recapitulation is not made to invalidate the explanation offered in your last letter of the view of the subject, which you assert to have led to the suggestions contained in your first, and of the sense which you wish to be received as that of the observations accompanying those suggestions. It is intended solely to manifest, that it was natural for the President to regard your communication of the 5th instant, in the light under which it is presented in the reply to it.

For, having informed you that the matter was before an associate Justice, with a view to the law of the United States which has been mentioned, and having pointed what was said respecting a *preliminary* proceeding on your part to a call of the militia under the authority of a State law, by anticipation of a requisition from the General Government and in co-operation with an eventual plan to be founded upon the laws of the union, it was not natural to expect, that you would have presented a plan of conduct entirely on the basis of the State Government, even to the extent of resorting to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, after its judiciary had proved incompetent, "to prescribe by their wisdom and authority the means of subduing the spirit of insurrection and of restoring tranquility and order;" a plan, which being incompatible with the course marked out in the laws of the United States, evidently could not have been acceded to without a suspension, for a long and indefinite period, of the movements of the federal Executive pursuant to those laws. The repugnancy and incompatibility of the two modes of proceeding at the same time, cannot, it is presumed, be made a question.

Was it extraordinary then, that the plan suggested should have been unexpected, and that it should even have been thought liable to the observation of having contemplated Pennsylvania in a light too separate and unconnected?

The propriety of the remark, "that it was impossible not to think that the current of the observations in your letter might be construed to imply a virtual disapprobation of that plan of conduct on the part of the General Government, in the actual stage of its affairs, which you acknowledge would be proper on the part of the government of Pennsylvania, if arrived at a similar stage," must be referred to the general tenor and complexion of those observations, and to the inference they were naturally calculated to inculcate. If this inference was, that under the known circumstances of the case, the employment of force to suppress the insurrection was improper, without a long train of preparatory expedients—and if, in fact, the Government of the United States (which has not been controverted) was at

that point, where it was admitted that the government of Pennsylvania being arrived, the resort to force, on its part, would be proper—the impression which was made could not have been effaced by the consideration, that the forms of referring what concerned the government of the union to the judgment of its own Executive, were carefully observed. There was no difficulty in reconciling the intimation of an opinion unfavorable to a particular course of proceeding with an explicit reference of the subject, officially speaking, to the judgment of the officer charged by the Constitution to decide, and with a sincere recognition of the subjection of the individual authority of the State to the national jurisdiction of the Union.

The disavowal by your Excellency of an intention to sanction the inference, which was drawn, renders what has been said a mere explanation of the cause of that inference and of the impression which it at first made.

It would be foreign to the object of this letter to discuss the various observations, which have been adduced to obviate a misapprehension of your views and to maintain the propriety of the course pursued in your first communication. It is far more pleasing to the President to understand you in the sense you desire, and to conclude that no opinion has been indicated by you inconsistent with that which he has entertained of the state of things and of his duty in relation to it. And he remarks with satisfaction the effect which subsequent information is supposed calculated to produce favoring an approximation of sentiments.

But there are a few miscellaneous points, which more effectually to prevent misconception anywhere, seem to demand a cursory notice.

You observe that the President had *already determined* to exercise his legal powers in drafting a competent force of the militia. At the point of time to which you are understood to refer, namely that of the conference, the President *had no legal power* to call forth the militia. No judge had yet pronounced, that a case justifying the exercise of that power existed. You must be sensible, Sir, that all idea of your calling out the militia by your authority was referred to a state of things antecedent to the lawful capacity of the President to do it by his own authority; and when he had once determined upon the call, pursuant to his legal powers, it were absurd to have proposed to you a separate and unconnected call. How too, it might be asked, could such a determination, if it had been made and was known to you, have comported with the plan suggested in your letter which presupposes that the employment of force had not already been determined upon?

This passage of your letter is therefore construed to mean only, that the President had manifested an opinion, predicated upon the event of such a notification from a Judge as the law prescribes, that the nature of the case was such as would probably require the employment of force. You will also, it is believed, recollect that he had not at the time finally determined upon anything—and that the conference ended with referring the whole subject to further consideration.

You say, that if you had undertaken not only to comply promptly with the President's requisition, but to embody a distinct corps for the same service, an useless expense would have been incurred by the State, an unnecessary burthen would have been imposed on the citizens, and embarrassment and confusion would probably have been introduced instead of system and co-operation. But *both were never expected*. Your embodying the militia independent of a requisition, from the President was never thought of, except as a preliminary and auxiliary step. Had it taken place when the requisition came, the corps embodied would have been ready towards a compliance with it, and no one of the inconveniences suggested could possibly have arisen.

You say, in another place, that you "*was called upon to act*, not in conformity to a positive law, but in compliance with the duty which is supposed to result from the nature and constitution of the executive office." It is conceived that it would have been more correct to have said, "*you was called upon to be consulted* whether you had power in the given case to call forth the militia without a previous requisition from the general Government." The supposition that you might possess this power was referred to a law of Pennsylvania which appeared on examination to have been repealed. A Gentleman who accompanied you thought that the power, after a due notification of the incompetency of the Judiciary, might be deduced from the nature and constitution of the executive office.

It has appeared to your Excellency fit and expedient to animadvert upon the nature of the evidence produced at the conference, and to express some doubts which had occurred to your mind concerning it.

As the laws of the United States have referred the evidence in such cases to the judgment of a District Judge or associate Justice, and foreseeing that circumstances so peculiar might arise as to render rules relating to the ordinary and peaceable state of society inapplicable, have forborne to prescribe any, leaving it to the understanding and conscience of the Judge, upon his responsibility, to pronounce what kind and degree of evidence should suffice. The President would not sanction a

discussion of the standard or measure, by which evidence in those cases ought to be governed. He would restrain himself by the reflection, that this appertains to the province of another, and that he might rely as a guide upon the decision which should be made by the proper organ of the laws for that purpose.

But it may be no deviation from this rule to notice to you, that the facts stated in the beginning of this letter under the third head appear to have been overlooked in your survey of the evidence, while they seem to be far from immaterial to a just estimate of it.

You remark that "when you found that the Marshal had, without molestation, executed his office in the County of Fayette—that he was never insulted or opposed till he acted in company with General Neville, and that the virulence of the Rioters was directly manifested against the person and property of the latter gentleman, and only incidentally against the person of the former—you thought there was ground yet to suppose that a spirit of opposition to the officers employed under the Excise law, and *not a spirit of opposition to the officers employed in the administration of justice*, was the immediate source of the outrages which are deprecated."

It is natural to enquire how this supposition could consist with the additional facts which appeared by the same evidence, namely, that the Marshal having been afterwards made prisoner by the rioters, had been compelled, for obtaining safety and liberty, to promise to execute no more processes within the discontented scene, and that subsequently again to this, in consequence of a deputation of the rioters, deliberately sent to demand a surrender of the processes in his possession, enforced by a threat, he had found it necessary to seek security in withdrawing, by a secret and circuitous route—did not these circumstances unequivocally denote that officers *employed in the administration of justice* were as much objects of opposition as those employed in the execution of the particular laws; and that the rioters were at least consistent with their plan?

It must needs be that these facts escaped your Excellency's attention, else they are too material to have been omitted in your review of the evidence, and too conclusive not to have set aside the supposition which you entertained, and which seems to have had so great a share in your general view of the subject.

There remains only one point on which your Excellency will be longer detained—a point indeed of great importance, and consequently demanding serious and careful reflection. It is the opinion you so emphatically express, that the mere dispersion of the Insurgents is the sole object for which the militia can be

lawfully called out, or kept in service after they may have been called out.

The President reserves to the last moment the consideration and decision of this point.

But there are arguments weighing heavily against the opinion you have expressed, which in the mean time are offered to your candid consideration.

The Constitution of the United States (article 1, sec. 8) empowers Congress "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions," evidently, from the wording and distribution of the sentence, contemplating the execution of the laws of the union as a thing distinct from the suppression of insurrections.

The act of May 2, 1792, for carrying this provision of the Constitution into effect, adopts for its title the very words of the Constitution, being "an act to provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions," containing the Constitutional distinction.

The first section of the act provides for the cases of invasion and of insurrection, confining the latter to the case of insurrection against the Government of a State. The second section provides for the case of the execution of the laws being obstructed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings or by the powers vested in the Marshals.

The words are these, "whenever the laws of the United States shall be opposed, or the execution thereof obstructed in any State, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the Marshals by this act, the same being notified to the President of the United States by an associate justice or the District Judge, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, to call forth the militia of such State to *suppress such combinations and to cause the laws to be duly executed*," then follows a provision for calling forth the militia of other States.

The terms of this section appear to contemplate and describe something that may be less than insurrection. The "combinations" mentioned may indeed amount to insurrections, but it is conceivable that they may stop at associations not to comply with the law, supported by riots, assassinations and murders, and by a general spirit in a part of the community, which may baffle the ordinary judiciary means, with no other aid than the Posse Comitatus, and may even require the stationing of military force for a time to awe the spirit of riot and countenance the magistrates and officers in the execution of their duty; and the objects for which the militia are to be called are expressly not

only to suppress those combinations (whether amounting to insurrection or not) *but to cause the laws to be duly executed.*

It is, therefore, plainly contrary to the manifest general intent of the Constitution and of this act, and to the positive and express terms of the 2d section of the act, to say that the militia called forth are not to be continued in service for the purpose of *causing the laws to be duly executed*, and of course till they are so executed.

What is the main and ultimate object of calling forth the militia? "To cause the laws to be executed." Which are the laws to be executed? Those which are opposed and obstructed in their execution by the combinations described; in the present case, the laws laying duties upon spirits distilled within the United States and upon stills, and incidentally those which uphold the judiciary functions. When are the laws executed? Clearly when the opposition is subdued—when the penalties for obedience can be enforced—when a compliance is effectuated.

Would the mere dispersion of Insurgents and their retiring to their respective homes do this? Would it satisfy either member of the provision, the suppression of the combinations or the execution of the laws? Might not the former, notwithstanding the dispersion, continue in full vigour, ready at any moment to break out into new acts of resistance to the laws? Are the militia to be kept perpetually marching and counter-marching, towards the insurgents while they are embodied, and from them when they have separated and retired? Suppose the insurgents hardy enough to wait the experiment of a battle, are vanquished, and then disperse and retire home, are the militia immediately to retire also to give them an opportunity to reassemble, recruit and prepare for another battle? And is this to go on and be repeated without limit?

Such a construction of the law, if true, were certainly a very unfortunate one, rendering its provisions essentially nugatory, and leading to endless expense and as endless disappointment. It could hardly be adviseable to vex the militia by marching them to a distant point where they might scarcely be arrived before it would be legally necessary for them to return, not in consequence of having effected their object—of having "caused the laws to be executed," but in consequence of the mere stratagem of a deceitful dispersion and retiring.

Thus far, the spirit as well as the positive letter of the law, combats the construction which you have adopted. It remains to see if there be any other part of it which compels to a renunciation, both of the letter and spirit of the antecedent provisions.

The part which seems to be relied upon for this effect is the

nexion with the persons holding any office under that law. They have appointed a committee to meet in Washington, to form a remonstrance to Congress next session. If the Secretary of the Treasury would pursue the plan he had in contemplation last year, that of supplying the army by means of a commissary, would pledge my head on the success of collecting the excise. I am confident I could then lay down a mode in which there need be no change in the law, and yet they would be obliged to pay without any considerable difficulty.

They have frightened Gen. Neville lately very much at Washington; he had advertised his office in that town, and was to attend on certain days. On the day he was to come the road was waylaid by a number of armed men disguised; he heard of it and did not go, and a day or two ago these men came to the town of Washington disguised as before, broke into the place where the office of inspection was kept, and made search for him in expectation of finding him there. It is hard to tell the lengths they might have gone had they found him.

There has been nothing done as yet about the election in this district, nor will there I think be anything considerable tried in it until shortly before the election. Findley will run generally in this district, and I think you will be next to him. Wood, Scott and Smilie will all have their partizans, and consequently neither of them will run very high. The excise conference attempted nothing on the election. There had been so much said that the meeting was for that purpose, that they never mentioned it.

Am your friend.

And Hum. Ser't,

JNO. WILKINS, JR.

General WILLIAM IRVINE.

GENERAL ORDERS OF GOVERNOR HOWELL OF NEW JERSEY.

TRENTON, 1st Sept., 1794.

By the command of the President of the United States the troops in requisition from the State of New Jersey, which were detailed from Maj. G. Dayton's command, & from the cavalry and artillery of this State, by orders of the 23d of August last are to rendezvous at Trenton, where they will be provided with everything necessary for the expedition, and wait further orders. Dispositions have been made by order of the national executive for the supply of provisions, forage, fuel and transportation to



WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

197

the general rendezvous at Trenton, where they will be met with tents and camp equipage necessary for their march. The troops from the 2d division will take up their line of march by the most direct route to New Brunswick, where they will apply to Mr. John Bray for provisions and forage, and those of the 3d, 4th and 1st divisions to Trenton, to which place the troops of the 2d will also proceed. The stipulated price of rations will be allowed from the time of march till their assembling at Trenton, to such as may not draw from the public stores, and chuse to furnish themselves, but if intermediate appointments are judged necessary to be made, three days' notice must be sent to Messrs. Hunt and Bray by the brigadiers commanding the detachment, who will take the necessary precautions. No longer time will be allowed for the arrival of the troops at rendezvous than what will appear to have been absolutely necessary for accomplishing their march, after receiving marching orders, which period the officers commanding companies, &c., are required to note with precision, together with the names of the places where they halt each night on the route.

The strictest regard to discipline and good order is to be observed on the march, and the rights of property are to be scrupulously preserved to individuals.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief.

ANT. W. WHITE, *Adj. Gen.*

THE COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE TO THE U. S. COMMISSIONERS.

PITTSBURGH, Sept. 1, 1794.

GENTLEMEN:—The committee appointed by the committee of safety at Redstone the 28th August last, to confer with the commissioners of the United States and State of Pennsylvania and agreeable to the resolution of the said committee do request:

1st. That the said commissioners do give an assurance on the part of the general government to an indemnity to all persons as to the arrearage of excise, that have not entered their stills to this date.

2d. Will the Commissioners, aforesaid, give to the eleventh day of October next, to take the sense of the people at large of the four counties west of Pennsylvania, and that part of Bedford west of the Allegheny mountains, and the Ohio county in Virginia, whether they will accede to the resolution of the said commissioners as stated at large in the conference with the

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

committee of conference met at Pittsburgh the 21st day of August last?

By order of the Committee.

JOHN McCLELLAND.

The Honorable the Commissioners on the part of the United States and of the State of Pennsylvania.

THE U. S. COMMISSIONERS TO THE COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE.

PITTSBURGH, *Sept. 1st, 1794.*

GENTLEMEN:—We have received your letter of this date, & as you press, have determined to give it an immediate answer, although we shall be prevented thereby from making so full and correct a reply as the importance of the subject requires.

In our correspondence with the late committee of conference, we detailed those assurances of submission to the laws which would have been deemed full and satisfactory, and which were necessary to the exercise of the powers vested in us. This detail was minutely settled in conference with a sub-committee of that body. From a desire on our part to accommodate and to render the proposals as unexceptionable as possible, they were altered and modified at their request, till being superior to all exception they received the unanimous approbation of those gentlemen. The detail thus settled, required from the standing committee assurances of their explicit determination to submit to the laws of the United States, that they would not directly or indirectly oppose the execution of the acts for raising a revenue upon distilled spirits and stills, and that they would support, as far as the laws require, the civil authority in affording the protection due to all officers and other citizens. These assurances have not been given. On the contrary, we learn with emotions, difficult to be repressed, that in the meeting of the committee at Redstone, resistance to the laws and open rebellion against the United States, were publicly advocated, and that two-fifths of the body, representing twenty-three townships, totally disapproved the proposals and preferred the convulsions of a civil contest to the indulgence offered them by their country. Even the members composing the majority, although by a secret and undistinguished vote, they expressed an opinion that it was the interest of the people to accede to the proposals, did not themselves accede to them, nor give the assurances, nor make the recommendations explicitly required of them. They have adjourned without day and the terms are broken on their part.

We had reason for requiring these declarations and recommendations from that body. They were a representation (in fact) of the different townships in the western counties—they were a body in whom the people had chosen to place confidence—there were among them men whose advice and example have had influence in misleading the people, and it was proper they should be instrumental in recalling them to their duty; and their avowed determination to support the civil authority in protecting the officers, would have assisted in repressing the violence of turbulent individuals.

Our expectations have been unfortunately disappointed. The terms required have not been acceded to. You have been sent hither to demand new terms, and it is now necessary for us to decide whether we will return home or enter into other arrangements.

Upon reflection, we are satisfied, that the President of the United States, while he demands satisfactory proofs, that there will be in future a perfect submission to the laws, does not wish the great body of the people, should be finally concluded by the conduct or proceedings of any committee; and if the people themselves will make the declarations required of the standing committee, and give satisfactory proofs of a general and sincere determination to obey the laws, the benefit offered may still be obtained by those individuals, who shall explicitly avow their submission as hereinafter mentioned. It is difficult to decide in what manner the said declaration and determination of the people to submit peaceably, should be taken and ascertained. We have thought much on this subject, and are fully satisfied that a decision by ballot will be wholly unsatisfactory, and that it will be easy to produce by that means, an apparent but delusive unanimity. It is, therefore, necessary that the determination of every individual be publicly announced. In a crisis, and on a question like this, it is dishonorable to temporize. Every man ought to declare himself openly, and give his assurances of submission in a manner that cannot be questioned hereafter. If military coercion must finally take place, the government ought to know not only the numbers, but the names of the faithful citizens who may otherwise be in danger of being confounded with the guilty. It, therefore, remains with you to say whether, you will recommend such a mode of procedure, and will immediately arrange with us the manner, in which the sense of the people may be publicly taken, and written assurances of submission obtained within the time already limited. We require an explicit and speedy answer in writing. You request us to give assurances on the part of the United States, that an indemnity shall be granted as to the arrears of excise, to all persons

that have not entered their stills before this date. If it were proper to remit all arrears of duty, we cannot conceive, why those who have entered their stills, should not receive a similar indulgence with those who have refused; nor why you demand peculiar favors for the opposers of the acts, while you abandon those who have complied to the strictness of the laws. We have gone on that subject as far as we think advisable. The clause was introduced at the request of the late committee of conference; and even the style of expressing it was settled with them. We have, therefore, nothing more to add on this subject.

You require also, that time be given until the 11th day of October, in order to ascertain the sense of the people. That is wholly inadmissible. On the day of the conference, the time allowed was deemed sufficiently long; and we are sorry to perceive that delay only tends to produce an indisposition to decide. There are strong reasons obvious to a reflecting mind against prolonging the time a single hour. Nothing is required but a declaration of that duty which every man owes to his country, and every man before this day must have made up his mind on the subject. Six weeks have already elapsed since the ordinary exercise of civil authority has been forcibly suppressed, the officers of government expelled, and the persons and property of well disposed citizens exposed to the outrages of popular violence. The protection which is due to peaceable citizens, the respect which every government owes itself, and the interests of the United States demand that the authority of the laws be quickly restored.

To this, we may add, that the militia (which by late orders from the president have been encreased to 15,000 men, including 1,500 riflemen from Virginia, under the command of Major General Morgan) have received orders to assemble, and we cannot undertake that their march will be long suspended. All possible means to inform, to conciliate and to recall our fellow citizens to their duty, have been used. If their infatuation still continues, we regret, but are persuaded that further moderation and forbearance will but encrease it.

If the whole country shall declare their determination peaceably to submit, the hopes of the Executive will be fulfilled and if a part of the survey shall persist in their unjustifiable resistance to the lawful authority of their country, it is not the intention of the government to confound the innocent with the guilty. You may therefore assure the friends of order and the laws, that they may rely upon promptly receiving all the protection the government can give, and that effectual measures will be taken to suppress and punish the violence of those individ-

uals, who may endeavor to obstruct the execution of the laws and to involve their country in a scene of calamity, the extent and seriousness of which it is impossible to calculate.

It is easy to perceive from the whole scope of this letter, that no part of it is addressed to the gentlemen of Ohio county, in Virginia.

JAMES ROSS,
J. YEATES,
WM. BRADFORD.

TO ROBERT DICKEY, JOHN PROBST, JOHN NESBITT, JOHN MARSHAL, DAVID PHILIPS, JOHN McCLELLAND, GEORGE WALLACE and SAMUEL WILSON.

JUDGE ADDISON'S CHARGE TO THE GRAND JURY OF ALLEGHENY.

PITTSBURGH, Sept 1st, 1794.

The alarming and awful situation of this country, at this time, are too well known to require a statement. On the part of government we are now offered a forgiveness of all that is past, on condition that we sincerely submit to the excise law, and all other laws. The question now is whether we will accept of the terms proposed or not.

The decision of this question is of such importance that I am sure it will receive a solemn consideration from every citizen of a sober mind. If we accept of the terms we shall have peace. If we reject them we shall have war. There is no medium between these extremes. For in the present state of this country it is impossible to expect from government a repeal of the excise law. Government is the whole people acting by their representatives. The will of these representatives must not be extorted by force or fear, otherwise those who thus constrain them exercise a tyranny over the rest of the people. We are a little more than a seventieth part of the United States. We ought not therefore to pretend to dictate laws to the whole, but whatever portion we may be, if one law is repealed at the call of armed men, government is destroyed; no law will have any force; every law will be disobeyed in some part of the Union. Government is therefore now compelled to enforce submission to this law, or to none. The whole force of the United States must be exerted to support its authority now, or the government of the United States must cease to exist. Submission or war therefore is the alternative.

civil war. Our agriculture will be destroyed; our fields, laid waste; our houses burnt; and, while we are fighting our fellow citizens on one side, the Indians (and God knows how soon) will attack us on the other. The consciences of many among ourselves will shrink back with horror, at the idea of drawing a sword against our brethren. They will call for neutrality. They will enter into associations for mutual defence. Many, who now from fear of danger or insult, put on the appearance of zeal and violence, will, when it comes to decisive exertion, draw back. But those who are for war will strive, by force to draw in those who are for peace. We shall attack and destroy each other, and fall by our hands. Our cornfields will be converted into fields of battle. No man will sow; for no man will be sure that he shall reap. Poverty, distress, and famine will extinguish us. All mutual confidence will be at an end, and all the bands of society will be dissolve. Every man will be afraid to speak to his neighbor. There will be no power of government to control the violence of the wicked. No man's life, no man's house, no man's goods, no man's wife, no man's daughter, will be safe. A scene of general destruction will take place. And, should government, weary of chastising us, at last leave us to ourselves, we shall be a miserable remnant, without wealth, commerce or virtue—a prey to the savages, or slaves to Britain. Are we prepared for a separation from the United States, and to exist as an independent people? This is a question which ought to be settled previously to our taking up arms against government. For to disobey a government, while by remaining in it, we admit its authority to command, is too absurd, and too contrary to the duty of citizens for any man of reason and virtue to support; especially where the government, like ours, is created and changeable by the people themselves, that is, by the whole people or a majority of the whole people. Our appeal to arms is therefore a declaration of independence, and must issue, either in separation or obedience. Government cannot recede farther than it has done. It has already made sacrifices, which intitle it to grateful returns. It offers to forgive past offenses, and consider us as having never erred. It cannot, without a total extinction of all authority, repeal this law, while we disobey it. Government must either subdue us, or cast us off. For, however we may flatter ourselves with the destructive hope of defeating government, we have no prospect of subduing it, and compelling the United States to retain us in the Union. Suppose us then a separate people, what prospect have we of being able to secure those objects, which are essential to the prosperity of this country, and of far more consequence than the repeal of the excise law? Shall we, at our own expense, subdue the Indians, seize the

western posts and open the Mississippi? Or will not the British, countenanced by the United States, retain the posts, and arm and protect the Indians against us? And will not the Spaniards, under the same countenance, block up the Mississippi and refuse, perhaps, all trade with us? At present there is a fair prospect of an accommodation with Britain and by the influence of the United States, we have reason to hope for a surrender of the Western posts and of consequence a peace with the Indians. There is also a negotiation, industriously, and not unpromisingly conducted with Spain for the free navigation of the Mississippi. The continuance of our union with the United States may therefore, in a short time, secure us all our favorite objects. And there must be time, for we have to deal with sovereign and powerful nations, whose rights we cannot infringe; we must therefore solicit and not extort. But separated from the United States and, of course, from the friendship of France & the world, what hope have we to bend the haughty nations of Britain and Spain? We should be their sport or their slaves.

In rejecting the conditions now offered us by government, we cannot hope to extort a repeal of the excise law. If we would remove it by force, we must be able to cut ourselves off from the United States with the loss of our prosperity, our happiness, and perhaps our existence. A rejection of the conditions is a declaration of war, and war is the sure road to ruin.

Let us next consider what will be the consequence of our submission to government on the terms offered. We are restored to the peace and protection of government. We shall be tried for offenses and delinquencies by courts and juries in our neighborhood, but with these favorable terms we must submit to the excise law.

The peculiar objection which lay in the mouths of the people on this side of the mountains to this law was this, that from our local circumstances it drew from us a sum of money which was disproportioned to our wealth, and would soon exhaust our circulating medium. However necessary on those grounds an opposition to the excise law might be three years ago, it is less necessary now. Since that period the progress of this country to wealth has been amazingly rapid. There have been more public and private buildings raised and fewer sheriff sales for debt within this period than for nine years past preceding. Three years ago, I believe, there was hardly a burr millstone in this country, now there are perhaps a dozen. The quantity of money circulating among us is since greatly increased, and the value of all property is thereby greatly increased. In other words, the value of money, is greatly lessened, and thereby the value of the excise to be paid by us is greatly lessened. Then

there was hardly any trade to the Spanish settlements on the Mississippi; it was at any rate small, and confined to a few adventurers. The quantity of grain exported was but little of course but little was withdrawn from our own consumption, and this little generally bought with goods. Now a very respectable trade is carried on to the Spanish settlement —our traders are treated with great civility by the Spaniards. The duty on our trade is reduced to a mere trifle, and there is very little difficulty in bringing away dollars in return. We shall soon have the whole supply of that market to ourselves. Last spring our best flour was sold there a dollar each barrel dearer than flour from New York. None of the traders now depend on goods for the purchase of wheat, but must purchase at a reasonable price in money. From this increased exportation of our grain the necessity of distillation is greatly lessened in degree, and will every day lessen. Government does not now as formerly supply the army with whiskey through contractors purchasing with goods, but employs agent to purchase it with money. Last year ten thousand dollars was laid out in this way by one agent in this country, and the execution of an order for ten thousand more was stopt only by the present troubles. The contractors themselves have these two last years purchased their supplies with cash. From these circumstances, and the pay and other expenses of the army, government sends far more money to this side of the mountain than it would draw back by the excise. At the commencement of this law a very great quantity of foreign spirits was consumed in this country, but so severe is the duty which this law lays on foreign spirits, that the people on the east side of the mountain drink such spirits at a very increased price, and our store keeper cannot afford to bring foreign spirits in any considerable quantity over the mountains.

As our circumstances are thus materially changed, so the law itself is changed also. Originally, the duty on a still was 6 cents per gallon, now it is 54. Originally the duty on the gallon of whiskey was 9 cents, now it is 7 cents. Another material alteration, is granting a license by the month, at 10 cents per gallon on the still, a provision peculiarly suited to a country where few distillers work in summer.

I do not say, that, by these alterations in our circumstance and in the law, our objections to the excise law are removed but they are surely lessened. We have reason to believe, that our remonstrance would be listened to more effectually, if, by obedience we put ourselves in a capacity of being heard; but it is natural to answer, why complain of a law which you have never obeyed. I will go yet further, and state an opinion, that

the easiest and speediest and I believe the only way to accomplish or object, a total repeal of this law, is instantly to accept of the conditions offered by government, honestly comply with them, and thus come fairly before the legislature with our remonstrance.

I have before stated the impossibility, that the legislature should repeal this law so long as we resist it. I will now explain to you on what grounds I form the opinion that they will repeal it as soon as possible, after, by our submission, we have restored them to their authority, and you may judge for yourselves of the probability of this opinion.

The present prospect of French affairs and the favorable reception which Mr. Jay, our ambassador, has met with in England, give reason to hope for a good understanding between us and Britain, and a consequent termination of the Indian war. I estimate two years, as a reasonable period for these causes to operate, and these effects to be produced. If the extraordinary expenses of the Indian war ceased, there is reason to expect, such is the increasing trade of America, that the imports would suffice for the ordinary expenses of government. If this be true, so generally is the excise on domestic produce disliked, and so imperfectly paid, that we have no reason to presume that the Legislature will keep it up longer than is necessary. You have now the grounds on which I state the opinion that it may be repealed in two years. If repealed then, it will have lasted five years; of these five, we shall, perhaps, if we comply now, be compelled to pay for only two years, and supposing the tax unequal, paying but two years out of five may correct the inequality, and, while we pay, a far greater sum for the expences of the war is circulated among us. Thus the Indian war occasioning the excise, bears with it a remedy, and when this remedy fails, there is reason to expect the evil may also fail.

Whether, therefore, we would avoid ruin, or whether we would obtain a repeal of the excise law, it appears evident to me that we have no way to gain our point, but by immediately accepting and faithfully performing the conditions proposed.

If we do not, we shall no more get cash for our whiskey. The army will be supplied with whiskey from Kentucky. And (a law passed last session authorizing it) our whiskey, if carried anywhere out of this country, will with the horses, carriages or boats be seized and forfeited. We shall, therefore, become the only consumers of our whiskey. It will again cease to be a cash article and again become a mere drug.

But it is said that if we submit now, we have nothing to expect from a remonstrance, for our past remonstrances have been ineffectual. I say it is too hasty to draw this conclusion. Besides what I formerly observed that we have never, by other-

ence, intitled ourselves to relief. I request your attention to the situation of the United States hitherto. The imports have not been sufficient for the expences of government including those of the Indian war. The excise law, therefore, could not be repealed unless some new fund was substituted in its stead. Now it is impossible to impose any tax whatever that will operate equally on all men. Suppose, therefore, some other tax imposed in lieu of this, while we continued to resist this. What would be the consequence? It might be as unpopular here, or in some other place, as this excise; the consequence would be, that from an experience of the weakness of government in failing to enforce the excise, the new tax would be resisted also and no tax would ever be enforced. Suppose a direct tax on a general valuation of property, there would be great frauds. Suppose a direct tax on lands. The amount of all direct taxes, in each State, must be in proportion to the number of its inhabitants. Now unless land or other property in quantity and value, bore the same proportion in each State with the number of inhabitants to the whole, the direct tax would in some States be unconstitutional, of course resisted. I am informed that in New England a direct tax would be as unpopular as the excise is here. Government, therefore, could not, with safety, substitute any other tax instead of the excise, till it had first shown that its authority was sufficient to enforce the excise.

Attend especially to the situation of the United States during the last session of Congress, and judge for yourselves, was that a time to release any established subject of taxation and try a new experiment? The whole world seemed to lower upon us. The Indians attacked our back settlements. The Algerines plundered, and the British captured our ships at sea. It was judged necessary for safety and justice to equip a fleet—to fortify our harbors, and to send out against the Indians two thousand volunteers from Kentucky. For all these purposes, the imports (diminished by the spoliations and the embargo) would come too slowly in, and it was found necessary to anticipate the revenue by enabling the President to borrow a million of dollars. Was this a time to press a repeal of the excise? From all these circumstances the failure of our past remonstrances is no sufficient reason to conclude, that after we have submitted to the authority of government, and after its embarrassments are removed, our future remonstrances will fail of a just effect.

On all these grounds, I do most earnestly exhort to an immediate acceptance of the conditions offered by the Commissioners, and a faithful performance of them on our part, as the only way in which we can hope for redress or escape ruin.

I have thus expressed my sentiments honestly and freely, as at this crisis it becomes every man who has any regard to the welfare of this country, to take every occasion to do. This is not a time for concealment or dissimulation. Let every man speak out, and not by silence or falsehood deceive one another. Let a free currency of opinions restore mutual confidence and mutual safety, that the dagger of the assassin, the torch of the incendiary, and tongue of the slanderer be not feared. Let the energy of government be restored; let the public peace and the rights of persons and property be preserved sacred, and let every individual repose with confidence and safety on the protection of the law. Let the power of punishment be exerted only as our principles prescribed by courts and juries; let offences be ascertained only by the volumes of our laws. While a man's words and actions are lawful, let his safety be untouched, and let not individuals assume the public duty of repaying vengeance.

Do you, gentlemen, who, by your station, can do it so effectually, unite with me in expressing, propagating, and supporting these sentiments; and through you, both now and hereafter, let them be felt to be the voice of your country?

They are mine—and were an angel from Heaven to charge me, to make to you, as I should answer it at the tribunal of God, a faithful declaration of my opinion of the interests of this country, at this important period, I would, were it the last moment of my life, address you as I have now done. And, O! may the God of wisdom and peace inspire this people with discernment and virtue, remove from their minds blindness and passion, and save this country from becoming a field of blood.

[To this address the Grand Jury made the following note: *"The above sentiments of peace and obedience to the laws would receive the sanction of the Grand Jury, but as a few members disagreed their assent, silence was thought better than an approach not unanimous."*]

ERNOR MIFFLIN'S MESSAGE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

PHILADELPHIA, September 2, 1794.

Gentlemen of the Senate and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

Solemn declaration of the President has announced that in
vance of combinations to defeat the execution of the laws,

laying duties upon spirits distilled within the United States and upon stills, "many persons in the western parts of Pennsylvania had, at length, been hardy enough to perpetrate acts, which he is advised amount to treason, being overt acts of levying war against the United States." A communication to me has likewise expressed his determination "to take measures for calling forth the militia, in order to suppress those combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed." These occurrences have appeared, in my judgment, to be of a nature and tendency so interesting and momentous, as to claim, independent of every other consideration, an exercise of the executive authority, to convene the General Assembly upon extraordinary occasions.

I am sensible, Gentlemen, of the great inconveniency which, at this season of the year, must attend your compliance with the summons that has been accordingly issued; but experience justifies an expectation that you will consider every private sacrifice amply compensated by the opportunity of contributing to restore public tranquility and order. Unless, indeed, that wholesome subordination to the laws, which confers on virtue its merited safety, which secures to industry its laudable acquisitions, and which shelters freedom from the blasts of licentiousness, can be introduced and preserved, we pursue, in vain, the avocations of domestic life, and boast, without pretext, of equal rights and civil liberty.

The impracticability of combining social order with the principles of a free Republic, so long the favorite assertion of interested Statesmen, seemed already to have received a satisfactory refutation from the experiment which our country had made. The friends of Liberty who had rejoiced in the accomplishment of our Revolution be held with still greater exultation, the peaceable and almost unanimous adoption of our Federal Constitution. The visible effect of this system, raised upon the firm basis of popular representation and directed to the legitimate objects of Government, attracted the attention, and hitherto have excited the admiration or the envy of mankind. If, indeed, we examine more particularly the operations of the government, we shall find that, elevating our Federal character from a state of degradation, the American Union has been rendered respectable among the nations of the earth. While Europe is involved in all the horrors of War and distracted by the embarrassment of her finances, we find our country preserved from a participation in the dreadful conflict and its treasury exhibiting no claim to diminish the profits of genius or labor; but what is necessary to protect a distant and defenceless frontier from savage depredation, to pay an honest debt, the price of our National Independ-

ence—or to defray the unavoidable expenses of Government, the price of our political establishment. In other countries, too, the disposition, the interest and the prosperity of the government may be distinguished from the disposition, the interest and the prosperity of the people; but so long as the spirit of our social compact continues to operate, so long as the laws are enacted by the immediate authority and maintained by the ready obedience of the citizens, that odious distinction cannot be generated here. With the prosperity of the American government, the prosperity of the American People must be coeval and commensurate. Thus the reputation which our government has acquired abroad, the peace which it has preserved at home, and the moderation of its fiscal demands, are intimately and obviously allied to the morality, the industry, the affluence and the happiness which appear in all the circles of domestic life.

But a period has unfortunately arrived which renders it indispensable to remark, that this scene so honorable and so beneficial to our country, can only be perpetuated by the efficient means which have produced it. The establishment of a free government, with a competent legislative power, and the certainty of submission to the laws when duly made, were the real sources of our prosperity. Nothing more will be necessary to convert all our enjoyments into cares, than the dissemination of an unmerited contempt for the government which the People have thus created, or the practice of an unconstitutional opposition to the laws which they have thus authorized to be enacted. Such proceedings indeed, are not less unreasonable in their nature, than pernicious in their consequences. It is unreasonable to oppose a measure which our Representatives have been empowered to adopt; it is unreasonable to risque the subversion of the government, merely to extort what a change of our Representatives may procure. It is unreasonable to resist, by the force of arms, what could not be prevented by the force of argument; and, above all, it is unreasonable that the few should counteract the will of the many, or that a part of the community should undertake to prescribe to the whole.

I enquire not, Gentlemen, whether there was any original impolicy or whether there is any oppressive operation in the laws, which the present occasion particularly contemplates; it is enough for my object to know, that they exist by an authority competent to make them; for this knowledge (speaking as a Magistrate or as a freeman) is enough to convince me that they ought to be obeyed. If an abstract opinion controverting the policy of any legislative act, or if a partial inconvenience resulting from the operation of a general law, shall be deemed a sufficient vindication for disobedience and hostile opposition

to the Government, on what foundation can we longer rest the national hopes of respect, tranquility and order? In a country so extensive, with interests so various and with habits so diversified, can we expect from human wisdom a system of legislation, that shall reconcile every difference or gratify every prejudice? Or is there any principle of discrimination that will warrant a compliance with the local pretensions of one district, and justify the denial of a similar indulgence to the local pretensions of any district in the Union? Enquiries of this kind must inevitably terminate in a conviction that there is no alternative in a free country but a submission to the laws, ordained by the regular exercise of Constitutional authority, or a subjection to the anarchy produced invariably by a popular disregard of social obligation. Here, therefore, is the point for serious deliberation, for should the event be unpropitious to the laws, the glorious harvest of our Revolution will be wantonly laid waste; the foes of freedom and republicanism will acquire new energy from our disgrace; the present age will regard our conduct with contempt, and posterity will pronounce our names with destestation. To us, Gentlemen, in particular, this dreadful reflection must bring additional pain, should the calamity which it contemplates be occasioned or promoted by the fatal example of Pennsylvania.

That the Acts of Congress, commonly called the Excise laws, had created considerable discontent in various parts of the State, and that this discontent had been manifested, not only by a non-compliance with the laws, but by an irregular and violent conduct towards the officers who were employed to execute them, have long been circumstances of public notoriety, and at an early period of my administration were mentioned as a proper subject for legislative animadversion. With a design to facilitate the measures of the Federal Government, I employed likewise repeated opportunities to inculcate the indispensable duty of obedience to the laws, and from time to time I received with peculiar satisfaction the strongest assurances, that on the part of the State officers, every reasonable exertion would be made to conciliate the minds of their Fellow Citizens, and to effectuate the acts of the Union. It is to be lamented, however, that the result of these efforts has not corresponded with the expectation which I had formed. The spirit of lawless opposition seems to have acquired fresh vigor during a transient sleep, and being at length excited into action it has recently violated the public peace, overthrowing in its career the barriers of personal safety and the safeguards of private property. From the information which I have collected through various channels, and the result of which it is my duty, Gentlemen, to submit to your observation,

it may be conjectured that at the period of perpetrating the late outrageous Riots in the Western parts of the State, the principal source of discontent had been augmented by several collateral considerations. Under circumstances peculiarly inauspicious, therefore, the marshal of the District seems to have entered the western counties to serve certain judiciary process, by which a number of citizens who had omitted to enter their stills, agreeably to the act of Congress, were summoned to appear at a District Court to be holden in the City of Philadelphia. From the documents which I have had an opportunity of examining on the subject, it appears that this officer was allowed without injury or molestation to discharge his duty in the County of Fayette; that proceeding for the same purpose into the County of Allegheny, he requested the company and assistance of Gen. Nevill, the inspector of the Revenue; that while thus accompanied he suffered some insults, and encountered some opposition; that considerable bodies of armed men having at several times demanded the surrender of General Nevill's commission and papers, attacked and ultimately destroyed his house and other valuable property; that these rioters, (of whom a few were killed and many wounded,) having made the Marshal, together with other Citizens, prisoners, released that officer in consideration of a promise that he would not serve any more process on the Western side of the Allegheny mountain; that under a just apprehension of violence, General Nevill, before his house was destroyed, applied to two of the judges of the county of Allegheny for the protection of his property, but the judges on the 17th day of July, the day on which his house was destroyed, declared that they could not, in the present circumstances of the country, afford the protection that was requested, though they offered to institute prosecutions against the offenders, and that General Nevill and the Marshal, menaced with further outrage by the Rioters, had been under the necessity of repairing by a circuitous route to Philadelphia. To this outline of the information, which was received immediately after the riots, the stoppage of the public mail, the expulsion of several friends to government from Pittsburgh, and the measures taken to establish a correspondence and concert among the rioters, must be regarded as circumstances of great aggravation and alarm.

As soon as the intelligence of these lawless proceedings had arrived, letters were addressed, under my instructions, to every Judge, Justice, Sheriff, Brigade Inspector and, in short, to every public officer residing in the Western counties, expressing the regret and indignation, which the event had produced, and requiring an exertion of their influence and authority to suppress the tumults, and punish the offenders. The Attorney General

of the State was likewise desired to investigate the circumstances of the riot, to ascertain the names of the rioters, and to institute the regular process of the law for bringing the leaders to justice. This judiciary course of proceeding, the only one which, at that period, appeared lawful to be pursued on my part, was recommended likewise by the success that had attended it upon former occasions. Riots have heretofore been committed in opposition to the laws of Pennsylvania, but the rioters have been invariably punished by our Courts of Justice. In opposition to the laws of the United States; in opposition to the very laws now opposed, and in the very counties supposed to be combined in the present opposition, riots have likewise formerly occurred; but in every instance, supported by legal proof (and several such instances are specified in the documents that accompanied my address to the Legislature on the 7th of December, 1792,) the offenders have been indicted, convicted and punished by the Tribunals of the State. To support the authority of the Union, by an exertion of the authority of the State, has ever, indeed, constituted a favorite object of my official attention; and I shall always be persuaded that if the purposes of Justice can be attained, if obedience to the laws can be restored, and if the horrors of a civil war can be averted by that auxiliary intervention, no idea of placing an individual State in too distinct, too important a point of view, or of interfering with the exercise of a concurrent Federal jurisdiction, can be sufficiently clear or cogent to supersede such momentous considerations.

But it may be suggested, that the extent and violence of the late disturbances, required a more energetic course, and would have justified an immediate interposition of the militia. For my part, Gentlemen, I confess that in manifesting a zealous disposition to secure obedience to the Constitutions and laws of our country, I shall ever prefer the instruments of conciliation to those of coercion, and never, but in the last resort, countenance a dereliction of judiciary authority, for the exertion of military force. Before the President had determined to employ the militia on this occasion, the incompetency of the Judiciary Department of the Government of Pennsylvania, to vindicate the violated laws, had not been made sufficiently apparent. That the laws of the Union are the laws of the State, is a constitutional axiom that will never be controverted; but the mere circumstance, that the riots were committed in opposition to the laws of the Union, could neither enlarge nor alter the powers of the State Government, for in executing the laws or maintaining the authority of the Union, the officers of Pennsylvania can only employ the same means, by which the more peculiarly municipal laws and authority of the State, are exe-

outed and maintained. Under a solemn conviction, then, that the military power of the Government ought not to be employed until its judiciary authority, after a fair experiment, has proved incompetent to enforce obedience or to punish infractions of the law, I conceived that nothing more was due to good faith and justice, than an assurance that the measures which were taken, would have been precisely the same, had the riot been unconnected with the system of Federal policy. If the riot had been unconnected with the system of Federal policy, the vindication of our laws, upon the arrival of the first intelligence, would have been left to the ordinary course of justice, and only in the last resort, at the requisition and as an auxiliary of the civil authority, would the military force of the State be called forth.

For it is of some importance, Gentlemen, to recollect, that at this time no positive law of the State exists, by which the exigency that will justify an appeal from the political to the physical strength of our country is defined; or by which the evidence to prove the existence of that exigency is regulated and prescribed. It is true, that in seasons of tumult and insurrection, when the civil authority has declared itself incompetent to the discharge of its functions, a duty may be presumed to result from the nature and Constitution of the Executive office, to aid the execution of the laws by every other legitimate means. But in the performance of a discretionary trust, so charged with official responsibility, as it affects the magistrate, and so exposed to patriot jealousy as it affects the citizens, every construction of the circumstances that occur should, in my judgment, be the effect of serious deliberation, and every step that is taken, in a military course, should be directed and circumscribed by the necessity which impels it. Besides, therefore, the recollection that in similar extremities the judiciary Department of our Government had maintained its authority by punishing the violators of the public peace, and besides the defect, originally of satisfactory proof to evince, that on this occasion, its authority had failed; there were considerations of policy that added a powerful influence to recommend the lenient course, which, as an Executive Magistrate, I had determined to pursue.

In a free country, it must be expedient to convince the Citizens of the necessity that shall at any time induce the government to employ the coercive authority with which it is invested. To convince them that it is necessary to call forth the military power, for the purpose of executing the laws, it must be shewn that the judicial power has in vain attempted to punish those who violate them. The citizens of Pennsylvania (however a part of them may for a while be deluded) are the friends of law

and order, but when the inhabitants of one district shall be required to take arms against the inhabitants of another, their general character did not authorize me to expect a passive obedience to the mandates of Government. I believed, that as Freemen, they would enquire into the cause and nature of the service proposed to them, and, I believed, their alacrity in performing as well as in accepting it would essentially depend on their opinion of its justice and necessity. Hence, therefore, my solicitude to ascertain in the clearest manner, whether the judiciary authority had been tried in vain, for under an assurance that every other reasonable expedient had been previously resorted to, I was confident that the public opinion would sanction the most vigorous exertion of the whole force, which the constitution and laws of the State entrust to me, and that every good citizen would willingly lend his aid to strengthen and promote the measures that were thus unavoidably employed for restoring the authority of the laws.

Upon great political emergencies the effect, likewise, of every measure should be deliberately weighed. Anticipating the probable consequences of an awful appeal to arms, I could not avoid impressions, which are of a nature too painful, and too delicate for public recapitulation, but which will readily occur to every reflecting mind. From the situation that has been represented, I was relieved however, Gentlemen, by the conduct which the Federal Government has determined to adopt upon the occasion, and by which it is obvious that my interference in a separate and unconnected manner to embody any part of the militia, would be rendered uselessly expensive to the State unnecessarily burthensome to the Citizens, and might be eventually introductory of embarrassment and confusion, instead of system and co-operation. The complicated nature of the outrages which were committed upon the public peace gave, indeed a jurisdiction to both Governments; but, the judiciary, as well as in the military Department, it would perhaps be expedient that the subject should be left entirely to the management, either of the State or of the General Government, for the very important difference, which is supposed to exist in the nature and consequences of the offences when contemplated by the laws of the United States, and when contemplated by the laws of Pennsylvania, must otherwise destroy that uniformity in the definition of crimes, and the apportionment of punishments which has always been deemed essential to a due administration of justice.

You will perceive, gentlemen, from the documents which I have directed to be laid before you, that treading in the regular path designated by an act of Congress, the President has received

notification from an Associate Judge, stating according to the Act "that in the Counties of Washington and Allegheny, in Pennsylvania, laws of the United States are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the Marshal of the District." The legal operation of this Certificate having authorized the President to call forth the Militia of this and of any other State to suppress such combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed, a requisition for that purpose has been accordingly issued, and copies of it will be communicated for your information. Leaving it, therefore, as I ought, implicitly to the judgment of the President, to chuse on such evidence as he approved, the measures for carrying the laws of the Union into effect, and feeling as I ought the influence of my Federal obligations, I did not hesitate to give a full and unequivocal assurance that whatever requisition he might make, whatever duty he might impose in pursuance of his constitutional and legal powers, would, on my part, be promptly undertaken and faithfully discharged. Actuated equally by the regard due to my immediate trust, and my desire to co-operate with the plans of the General Government, I have, likewise, published a Proclamation, declaring (as far as I can declare them) the sentiments of the Government, announcing a determination to punish the offenders, and exhorting the Citizens at large to pursue a peaceable and patriotic conduct. I have engaged two respectable Citizens to act as Commissioners, for addressing those who have embarked in the present combination upon the lawless nature and ruinous tendency of their proceeding, and for inculcating the necessity of an immediate return to the duty which they owe to their country, and I have convened the Legislature, in order that those defects in the existing laws of the State which obstruct or retard the use of the proper instruments for maintaining the dignity of the Government, or for complying with the requisitions of the President may be amended, and that the ultimate means of subduing the spirit of insurrection, and of restoring tranquility and order, may be prescribed (consistently with the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania) by your wisdom and authority.

Having thus, Gentlemen, laid before you the circumstances that have attended the very serious event which has occasioned your present meeting, it cannot, I presume, be necessary to offer any further arguments to engage you in the indispensable task of providing, with a prompt, firm and patriotic policy, for the maintenance of an issue, in which the laws and existence of our government are critically involved. You will perceive from the papers, which the Secretary is directed to deliver, that every

conciliatory effort has been made, as well by the general government as by the State, to convince the deluded insurgents of their error, to reconcile them to their duty, and to re-establish the violated authority of the laws. You will be satisfied from the present state of our information, that the judiciary authority of the government is no longer competent to enforce obedience to the acts of Congress or to punish the outrageous offences which have been committed in the course of an opposition to them, and you will feel under the most sacred obligations of duty, under the strongest incentives of interest, the force of the resulting alternative, which now presents to our choice, a dereliction of our official trust, or the most vigorous exertion of our constitutional powers.

But not only as guardians of the public welfare and of the equal rights of our constituents, let me, likewise, call upon *you* gentlemen, let me solemnly call upon our fellow citizens of every description, as individuals bearing testimony against a lawless proceeding, to exercise all the influence of reason and example, in counteracting the fatal effects of a spirit, so hostile to the public order of Society and to the private happiness of man. There is no member of the community so elevated by opulence or so depressed by poverty, so weak or so feeble in the condition of his mind or body, but must feel his dependence upon the benignity of the laws. For a general submission to the law is the certain, though the only medium (as I have already intimated) by which the public is enabled to extend security to property and encouragement to industry, by which it arms the feeble against outrage and shelters the unfortunate from want. To violate this palladium, upon any pretext, is to set an example for violating it upon every pretext; and to permit it, in the first instance, with impunity, is, in effect, to invigorate every subsequent attack. The duty of the government being thus intimately combined with the interests of the people, I anxiously hope, that the ready and effectual aid which the public measure will receive at this crisis, from the zeal and spirit of a militia, composed of enlightened and patriotic freemen, will leave the enemies of Liberty hereafter without a pretext, for asserting that a standing army is necessary to maintain the authority of the laws.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

819

THE COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE TO THE U. S.
COMMISSIONERS.

PITTSBURGH, Sept. 2d, 1794.

GENTLEMEN:—We have received your letter of yesterday and after having duly considered its contents, we are all of opinion that it is the interest and duty of the people of the Western counties of Pennsylvania to submit to the execution of the laws of the United States, and of the State of Pennsylvania, upon the principles and terms stated by the commissioners; and we will heartily recommend this measure to them. We are also ready to enter into the detail with you of fixing and ascertaining the time, place and manner of collecting the sense of the people upon this very momentous subject.

Signed by the unanimous order of the committee.

JOHN McCLELLAND.

To the commissioners of the United States and of the State of Pennsylvania.

COL. JOSIAH CRAWFORD TO GEN. HARMAR.

CHAMBERSBURGH, Sept. 4th, 1794.

SIR:—I had the honor of receiving your orders of the 8th ult., on the evening of the 14th of the same Month. On the receipt of which I immediately began to write & issue the necessary orders for making the draught, but the weather being very unfavourable, retarded my progress a little, and from the manner in which I gave the Orders, I expected in a few days to have received a report of the State of the different Companies respecting Arms and Equipments, and in what time they would have their respective quotas in readiness to March. But notwithstanding I have wrote since repeatedly to some of the Captains, there is seven of them who has not made any report yet; and the Number returned, who are willing to hold themselves in readiness to March, does not amount to more than 29 privates, and they without Arms and Equipments; besides the Company of light Infantry, in the fourth Regiment, who are unwilling to stand a draught, but chooses to go voluntarily; but I have reason to believe that the Captain will resign. What may be the report that those Captains will make, who have not yet reported, is uncertain; but I believe that few need be expected from them; and I think that I have reason to believe that few of those who are returned as holding

themselves in readiness to March, will March when the Orders—
are given.

I am, Sir,
your most obed't serv't,

JOH. CRAWFORD,

Brigade Inspector of Franklin County.

JOSIAH HARMAR, Esquire, Adjutant Gen'l of the Militia of
Pennsylvania.

THE WESTERN COMMISSIONERS TO GOVERNOR
MIFFLIN.

BEDFORD, Septem'r 5th, 1794.

SIR:—We have just arrived here from Pittsburgh on our way to Philadelphia, and being informed by the Commissioners of the United States that they intend to send an express from hence to the President, we embrace the opportunity of communicating to your Excellency the amount of what passed since the date of our last Letter. On Monday, the first instant, we had a conversation with the Committee of conference appointed by the standing committee at Brownsville on the 29th last month, and found their wishes were to have an assurance that all arrearages of Excise should be forgiven, and to have the time of taking the sense of the Freemen upon the terms proposed by the respective Commissioners postponed until the 11th day of October next. These the committee were desired to reduce to writing, which was done that night after they withdrew, and the next morning the Commissioners of the Union wrote an answer, which they were pleased to show us for our concurrence; though the subject matter did not relate immediately to the State, it was delivered to the committee of conference, and we met again soon after, and unanimously agreed to the time, places & manner of taking the assurances of the freemen of their future support of the laws of the Union and of the State.

Having left Pittsburgh on the morning of the third instant, we have not had time to copy these proceedings, and therefore for the first part of them must refer to the Secretary of the United States, the second part has been printed, and we have the honor to inclose a proof copy of them. We deemed it to be not only unnecessary but impolitic to remain any longer at Pittsburgh, having exhausted all our arguments and persuasions with such of the inhabitants of the four Western counties of this State as we had any opportunity of seeing.

Upon the whole, Sir, we entertain a reasonable hope that the great mass of the People will comply with the terms proposed, and be dutiful citizens in future, and that their example & influence will in a few days prevail upon most of the residents as the same. However, it must not be concealed that there are several unruly and turbulent spirits in almost every township who will require correction and punishment, and these men having little or no property to lose may probably create new disturbances. Should our opinion prove to be well founded, it is probable the ordinary course of judicial powers may be sufficient to reduce them to submission and order without military aid.

In such an intricate and uncertain an affair we cannot presume to give any advice, and more especially as the worst will take place before the 16th instant, which must direct future measures.

We beg that want of time may appologize for our sending you this rough draft, and that you will believe us to be with great attachment & regard.

Sir, Your Excellency's
Most obedient humble servants,
THO. McKEAN,
WM. IRVINE.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO THE WESTERN COMMISSIONERS.

PHILADELPHIA, 5th Sept'r, 1794.

GENTLEMEN:—It is with sincere satisfaction, I contemplate the prospect of restoring harmony and order in the western parts of Pennsylvania without an appeal to arms. Your agency in producing so desirable an accommodation will yield the most pleasing and honorable reward, as well from the reflection of your own minds as in the approbation of our Fellow Citizens.

I observe, however, with some anxiety your intention of returning immediately to Philadelphia. The commissioners on the part of the Union, having expressed a similar intention, the Secretary of State informs me that they have been requested by the President to remain at Pittsburgh till the result of the meeting appointed for the 14th instant is known. Permit me to request the same from you. Many circumstances may yet occur to require explanation and conciliation, and it appears to

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

be necessary to a final arrangement that both sets of commissioners should be on the spot at the same time.

I am, with the sincerest

esteem and regard, Gentlemen,

Your Most obed. Serv.,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

TO THOMAS MCKEAN & WILLIAM IRVINE, esquires.

GEN. WILKINS TO GEN. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

PITTSBURGH, 5th Sept'r, 1794.

D'R SIR:—I received your letter by this day's post. I wrote to you last post informing you there was no danger of the supplies for Lebeuf. I cannot conceive how the idea could have originated. We have always had a large supply of provisions at Cussawago & Fort Franklin, & only required a few men to escort, but could not get them from Lebeuf; & the disturbances in this country excludes all ideas of drafting the militia; but since I have rec'd the Governor's permission to embody the settlers at Cussawago, there can be no apprehension of a failure.

We were in some hope, that the terms proposed by the commissioners, would have quieted the disturbances here, but I am now confident we shall be involved in all the horrors of a civil war. The violences of the people will not permit them to listen to the cool voice of reason—every person of sensibility must feel the dreadful situation this country is reduced to, from a most improving & flourishing condition. I think we are now in a more dangerous situation than before the assembling of the armed people at Bradock's field. I expect nothing else but another embodying for some dreadfull purpose.

You will have to wait patiently for the account you required me to send you, as we are greatly engaged to take care of ourselves.

Am, D'r Sir, your Hum. Serv't,

JNO. WILKINS, JR.

Col. CLEMENT BIDDLE, Philadelphia.

JUDGE ADDISON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, 5th Sept., 1794.

SIR:—In these times of suspicion and danger, I think it proper to communicate the inclosed as containing a part of my publick conduct as an officer. I can assure you, Sir, that on

this, and on all former occasions, in which I have, in like official capacity, endeavored to maintain the publick peace, I have spoken not only the language of duty but of the heart.

The issue of this business is altogether uncertain, and I cannot say that it is yet at all promising. If confusion and war should ensue, my presence in this country may be unnecessary, and my absence may even be compelled. Whether a restraint will be laid upon me either in going or staying, I know not, But I hope I shall have your approbation in adopting any measure that may appear the most prudent and useful.

You will please to consider this letter as intended only for your inspection or that of Mr. Dallas. If the publication of the Charge,* should by you or him, be thought proper, it may be done with as you please.

I am, Sir,

your most obed't serv't,

ALEX. ADDISON.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, Governor of Pennsylvania.

COL. ALEX. RUSSELL TO GEN. HARMAR.

YORK TOWN, September 6th, 1794.

SIR:—I am sorry to say that too great delay has unavoidably taken place in drafting the quota of Militia required by your Orders of the 8th of August last—not so much from backwardness in the Militia of this County to step forward on the present important occasion, as from the unprepared State I was in to make a draft, through the former negligence or non-compliance of some Regiments with the Militia Law, particularly with respect to classing the Men. I have, however, been assiduous in the business, & fully expect the required quota in readiness in the course of next Week. I have to inform you, that no dependence can be put on any Arms or Equipments in the County being fit for service. I have received from the former County Lieutenant, near fifty Musquets, all unfit for service; some without Locks, and all without Bayonets; and though I have applied to the Gunsmiths here, cannot get them repaired. Upon the whole, we must, on the present occasion, depend upon a supply of Arms and equipments of all kinds, from Government, for the whole quota. I am fully convinced, Sir, for my own part, that, exclusive of the present necessity, 500, or 1,000, Stand of Arms & accoutrements in this County, carefully put into the hands of Select Volunteer Companies, would give new vigour to

[* See page 201.]

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

the Troops, and be a means of a more immediate and cheerfull compliance with a call in case of any emergency. Indeed, the law, as it stands, I am sorry to say, holds forth no encouragement, but rather appears calculated to have a contrary tendency.

I am, Sir,

your most Obed't humble Servant,

A. RUSSELL, *Brigade Inspector.*

To JOSIAH HARMAR, Esq'r,

Adjutant Gen'l of the Militia of Pennsylvania.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. HARMAR.

PHILADELPHIA, 8th Sept'r, 1794.

SIR:—As I think that the honor of the State is peculiarly interested in manifesting a determination to suppress by every legitimate means the insurrection which exists in the Western Counties, I have waited, with the greatest anxiety, for the execution of the instructions that were issued, in order to organize a Body of Militia to be employed in that service, agreeably to the President's requisition of the 7th ultimo. It is with the utmost mortification, therefore, that I now discover in the returns which you have communicated to me so great an indisposition in some of the brigades to comply with that call, or so essential a defect of power in the officers to enforce it as leaves but little hope that our quota can be seasonably raised by the ordinary course of proceeding.

Thus situated, I must either expose the State to the reproach and disgrace of an official representation, declaring the incapacity or the unwillingness of its militia to assist in restoring the violated authority of the laws, or I must resort to the spirit and patriotism of individuals to supply immediately by voluntary enrolments the deficiency of the regular drafts. Impressed with the importance of the occasion, and attached to the reputation as well as to the peace of our country, I cannot hesitate in this alternative to prefer the latter measure.

You will be pleased, therefore, Sir, with all possible dispatch, to renew, in the most pressing terms, your instructions to the several Brigade Inspectors under the general orders of the eighth ult., and inform them, at the same time, that for the whole, or for so much of their respective quotas as cannot be seasonably supplied by regular drafts, they may admit and return the voluntary enrolments of any well disposed citizens. For my own part, though I lament the dreadful necessity of an appeal to arms, I avow a readiness personally to engage in the service

which our country at this crisis requires, and shall accompany my fellow citizens to the scene of duty with alacrity & confidence. Should even this arrangement fail, I invite every patriotic citizen to consider himself included in the requisition, and on the day which shall be appointed by the President for repairing to the rendezvous I will march with those who shall attend.

It is obvious, indeed, to every reflecting mind, that if our Government are worth preserving, an immediate & decisive exertion must be made. The judiciary department having proved incompetent to discharge its functions, should the conciliatory efforts of the Executive be, likewise, abortive, we can have no other resource at this period than in the military strength of the Nation. Let every citizen then put his hand upon his heart and declare, whether anything has been omitted which could reasonably be employed to reconcile the Insurgents to their duty, and if nothing has been omitted, let him add, whether he is willing to abandon as a prey to anarchy, the freedom and independence which we have so recently rescued from the hand of usurpation? Or whether, as an alternative, he is prepared to leave them to the protection and support of a standing army? A free republic can only be established by the will of the people; it can only be perpetuated by their affection and attachment.

I shall submit these instructions to the Legislature, in whose aid and countenance on the present occasion I repose unlimited confidence, but I shall postpone any official communication to the President, till the effects of my proposition are ascertained.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To JOSIAH HARMAR, Esq., Adjut. Gen. of the Militia of Pennsylvania.

THE ADDRESS OF THE SENATE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

IN SENATE,
MONDAY, September 8, 1794.

SIR:—While we lament with sincere grief and mortification, the very serious event that has occasioned the exercise of the Executive authority, to convene the General Assembly upon extraordinary occasions, we entertain a just sense of the patriotic motives which have regulated your conduct at so critical a period, and on our part, shall consider any private sacrifice as

amply compensated, by the opportunity of contributing to restore public tranquility and order.

The judicious, liberal and energetic measures which appear to have been pursued, as well by the General as by the State Government, will, we trust, produce the most beneficial effects in convincing our deluded fellow citizens in the western parts of the State, of the necessity of an immediate return to the duty which they owe to their country. But however highly we approve and applaud the moderation that our governments have hitherto manifested, we cannot hesitate to declare, that if the issue of their conciliatory propositions should be unpropitious to our wishes, we will co-operate with you in the most vigorous exertions of our constitutional powers to restore the violated authority of the laws; for we are sensible Sir, that, unless that wholesome subordination to the laws, which confers on virtue its merited safety, which secures to industry its laudable acquisitions and which shelters freedom from the blasts of licentiousness, can be introduced and preserved, we shall boast without pretext, of equal rights and civil liberty.

Though we cherish the pleasing hope that the present concussion will terminate in the triumph of virtue and reason, we shall not, Sir, omit or suspend the necessary preparations to maintain, at all events, the dignity of the Commonwealth. In the course of our deliberations, the various subjects of your address will receive a due attention, and we indulge a perfect confidence that you will on all occasions, employ your constitutional powers and personal influence, to establish the public order of the State, and to advance the private happiness of our fellow citizens.

By order of the Senate,

ANTHONY MORRIS, *Speaker.*

SECRETARY OF WAR TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, Sept. 9th, 1794.

SIR:—The last intelligence from the Western Counties of this State, which has been communicated to you, leaves the issue of measures for an amicable accommodation so very doubtful, and the season for military operation is wearing away so fast, that the President, with great reluctance, finds himself under a necessity of putting in motion, without further delay, all the militia which have been called for.

I am, therefore, instructed by him to request that your Excellency will immediately cause the quota of this State to assemble. The general rendezvous appointed by the President,

for all those who may not lie westward of it, is Carlisle, where also the Jersey Militia will be ordered to repair without delay. Particular places of rendezvous for local convenience will be regulated by your Excellency. I was glad to understand from you, in conversation, that Philadelphia, Reading and Lancaster were intended, as at these places the United States have already contracts. Will it not be most convenient for the militia to bring with them their own supplies from their own homes or neighbourhoods to the places of first rendezvous to be compensated for them by the public?

The Superintendent of military Stores, Mr. Hodgdon, will wait upon you to ascertain what proportions of tents and camp equipage ought to be sent to the different places of rendezvous, in order that the Militia may be accommodated in the most convenient manner.

I shall in the course of the day call on your Excellency to adjust in a personal conference anything further that may occur.

The President, in making this final call, entertains a full confidence that Pennsylvania will upon an occasion which so immediately affects herself, as well as the general interests, display such zeal and energy as shall maintain unsullied her character for discernment, love of order, and true patriotism. It is unnecessary to add, that the part she shall act is of peculiar consequence to the welfare and reputation of the whole Union.

With the highest respect, I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's Most obed't Serv't,
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

on behalf of the Sec'y of War.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

ORDERS OF THE GOVERNOR FOR CONFERENCE WITH
THE MILITIA OFFICERS.

PHILA., Tuesday, September 9th, 1794.

The Governor deeming it proper upon this important occasion to call a meeting of the officers of the Militia of the City and County of Philadelphia and the other Counties, included in the requisition of the eighth of August last, to wit: The Counties of Chester, Delaware, Montgomery, Bucks, Northampton, Berks, Lancaster, York, Dauphin, Cumberland and Franklin, this day instructed the adjutant General to issue General orders, for calling the officers of the City and County of Philadelphia, and several Counties, to meet the Governor on the days and at the places mentioned in the following Schedule:

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

1. Philadelphia, City and County, 10th September.
 2. Chester, Turk's head, Monday, 15th September, 2 o'clock.
 3. Delaware, Chester, Tuesday, 16th September, 2 o'clock.
 4. Montgomery, Norristown, Friday, 19th September, 2 o'clock,
 5. Bucks, Newtown, Saturday, 20th September, 2 o'clock.
 6. Northampton, Allentown, Monday, 22d September, 2 o'clock.
 7. Berks, Reading, Wednesday, 24th September, 2 o'clock.
 8. Lancaster, Lancaster, Friday, 26th September, 2 o'clock.
 9. York, York, Monday, 29th September, 2 o'clock.
 10. Dauphin, Harrisburgh, Wednesday, 1st October, 2 o'clock.
 11. Cumberland, Carlisle, Thursday, 2d October, 2 o'clock.
 12. Franklin, Chambersburgh, Friday, 3d October, 2 o'clock.
-

RESOLVES OF OHIO COUNTY, VIRGINIA.

Resolutions adopted by a meeting of delegates consisting of two members duly elected from each militia company in Ohio county, in the State of Virginia, held in West Liberty, on the 8th and 9th days of September, 1794:

1. *Resolved*, As the opinion of this committee, That we conceive the excise system to be oppressive in its nature, and hostile to the liberties of the people, in particular to those of the Western country, and a nursery of vice; and the funding system a nursery to the excise; the revenue arising from thence is a nursery and support to sycophants.

2. *Resolved*, That a direct tax on real property would discourage the men of wealth from engrossing lands profusely, and would afford the industrious men of middle and low class an equal privilege with those of the rich—which ought to be the true object of a republican government.

3. *Resolved*, That we draft a remonstrance, praying the Congress of the United States of America to repeal the Act for raising a revenue from spirits distilled from the growth of the United States and stills; a land office west of the Ohio river be opened, and the free navigation of the Mississippi river be immediately procured: That William McKinley, Archibald Woods, John Connell, Robert McClure, and Robert Stephenson, do prepare and draft the same.

4. *Resolved*, That we hold a correspondence with our brethren in the neighbouring counties of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

5. *Resolved*, That the inhabitants of the United States, west of the Allegheny mountains, are entitled, not only by nature, but by treaty, to the free navigation of the Mississippi river; The tardy and ineffectual negotiations pursued by government,

are observed with concern and regret, as they are uniformly veiled with the most mysterious secrecy, which is a violation of the political rights of the citizens in general, as it declares that the people are unfit to be trusted with important facts.

6. *Resolved*, That the taking citizens of the United States from their respective counties, to be tried for real or supposed offences, is a violation of the rights of free citizens, and ought not to be exercised by the judicial authority.

7. *Resolved*, That the withholding the country west of the Ohio river from being settled, is repugnant to the true interest of the people. A generous land office ought to be opened, in order that the citizens in the Western country may have an equal privilege of procuring lands with Europeans, and those of our fellow citizens whose situation is not so remote from the seat of government.

8. *Resolved*, That the exorbitant wages allowed to the officers of the general government ought to be reduced and the wages of the soldiers in the army of the United States be immediately advanced.

9. *Resolved*, That we are ready and willing at the risk of our lives and property to support just and equitable laws, to deny our confidence to those members of government and others whose interest is different from that of the people at large, and at the same time revere those members who act from true republican principles, such as a Madison, a Findley, &c., &c.

10. *Resolved*, That the above be printed in the Pittsburgh *Gazette*.

Adjourned until the 18th inst.

Signed by order of the Committee.

DAVID CHAMBERS, *Chairman*.

Attest:

ARCHIBALD WOODS, *Clerk*.

SPECIAL MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO THE
ASSEMBLY.

PHILADELPHIA, 10th Sept., 1794.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania:

GENTLEMEN:—The state of the negotiation with the deluded inhabitants of the western counties rendering it very doubtful whether peace and order can be restored without the aid of a military force, the President has requested me immediately to assemble the quota of the militia of this State destined for that

service. Under the circumstances which I have already described to you, I cannot withhold an active and personal interposition to prevent the disgrace that must attend the non-compliance with this requisition. I have, therefore, on the principles stated in my last message, exhorted the officers of the militia of the city and county of Philadelphia to exert themselves for their own honor and for the sake of their country, and I purpose to call on every brigade included in the requisition in the same manner and for the same purpose. Be assured, Gentlemen, our Fellow Citizens will on this occasion maintain their character as friends to law and order, and to ensure success, I have only to repeat an earnest solicitation that our joint exertions may not be defeated by a parsimonious policy.

The necessary attention to my executive duties under the President's requisition will probably require my absence from the city for a few days, but I shall make it a point to return before any objects of a legislative nature can be matured for my consideration.

I cannot avoid taking this opportunity to express my sanguine expectation that the continuance of a mutual confidence between the Legislative and Executive Departments of our Government will give energy to all our measures, and convince our Fellow Citizens that while we comprehend the extent of our duties, we are not wanting in zeal or power to perform them.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

ORDERS OF GEN. HARMAR.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 10, 1794.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Col. Clement Biddle, the Quarter Master General of the State Militia is directed immediately to lay out an encampment for the quota of the city and county of Philadelphia Brigades under the President's requisition of the 7th instant, as near to the west bank of the Schuylkill as he can find a proper and convenient place. He will, likewise, forthwith provide the requisite supply of arms and Quarter Master Stores, and make the necessary arrangements for furnishing wagons, Bat. Horses, and all other supplies within his Department.

The Governor takes this opportunity of returning his most cordial thanks to the officers of the brigades of the city and county of Philadelphia, for the prompt and unanimous declaration of their determination to support the measures of govern-

ment at this crisis. A conduct so honorable and patriotic was to be expected from their past, and will ensure success to their future exertions, in the cause of their country. He is confident, that actuated by similar principles, every citizen will be eager to manifest his attachment to law and order, and that on Wednesday next, agreeably to appointment, the quota of the city and county of Philadelphia will rendezvous at the encampment, completely prepared to march. It is expected that each militia man will bring with him a blanket, and if convenient, a knapsack and canteen.

The adjutant of the several regiments and independent corps are desired to ascertain and report to the adjutant general before or on the day of rendezvous, the state of their drafts or voluntary enrollments of their respective regiments, and of their equipments.

In order to facilitate and expedite the public service, the adjutant general has obtained the consent of the Governor to employ major Rees as an assistant in his Department, of which due notice will be taken.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief,

JOSIAH HARMAR,

Adjutant General of the Militia of Pennsylvania.

ORDERS OF GEN. HARMAR.

PHILADELPHIA, 10th September, 1794.
GENERAL ORDERS.

The Governor requests that the Officers of the City and County Brigades will meet him in the Common Council Chamber, at the City Hall, at 12 o'clock this day, on business of great importance to the Honor of the Militia and the peace of the Commonwealth.

By order of the Commander-in Chief,

JOSIAH HARMAR,

Adjutant General of the Militia of Pennsylvania.

ADDRESS OF GOV. MIFFLIN TO THE MILITIA OF PHILADELPHIA.

WEDNESDAY, September 10, 1794.

FELLOW CITIZENS:—I have convened you upon an occasion as interesting as any that has occurred since the establishment of our Independence, or even during the struggle to obtain it.

You all know the state of the insurrection in the Western Counties. The hostile opposition to Government has subverted the powers of the Judiciary Department, and there is reason to apprehend that every conciliatory effort to recall the insurgent to a sense of the duty they owe to their country will prove ineffectual. I declare to you, with the utmost sincerity, that I have been anxious by every honorable means to avoid any appeal to arms, but all the General or State Government can do to restore peace upon other terms seem likely to be in vain. Even those who were employed by the insurgents to confer with our Commissioners, have acknowledged that nothing more could be reasonably expected from Government.

Under these circumstances, you are called upon to determine as Freeman and officers, what part you will act. From the defects in the Militia System, or some other unfortunate cause the attempts to obtain our quota of Militia by regular draft have failed, and unless we can supply the deficiency by voluntarily enlistments, the Honor of the Militia will be tarnished and the Peace of the Commonwealth perhaps irretrievably destroyed.

Thus reduced to the embarrassment of our present unprepared situation, I do not hesitate to declare, that I consider every patriotic citizen bound to lend an attentive assistance to the measures of government; but with respect to the militia officer in particular, I am impelled by the most sacred duty, which a Magistrate can feel, to require an explicit and immediate declaration of their determination to act at this crisis or a resignation of their Commissions that others may be appointed to perform the indispensable service which our Country demands.

In proposing this alternative to you, Gentlemen, I anticipate a decision the most honorable to yourselves and the most beneficial to the State. I shall, therefore, content myself, in that respect, with enquiring at what time you will be prepared with your quotas, to join me in the march to the place of rendezvous. The President's request for assembling the Militia of Pennsylvania, was received yesterday, and we cannot indulge a moment's delay in complying with it, if we mean to rescue our Militia and our Government from the disgrace that threatens.

You will be pleased, my fellow citizens, to favor me freely and candidly with your sentiments on this occasion. With respect to my own opinion, it is this: That each officer should endeavour, either by drafts, or by voluntary enrollments, to raise as many men as he can, before the day fixed for their parading; and that on the day so fixed, they should muster at my tent, which shall be fixed in the neighborhood of the City, for the purpose of enrolling the Men, and instructing the officers in the route. I

shall proceed the same way in each County, including the present requisition, till I have completed the stipulated numbers; and I trust we shall yet reach the place of rendezvous in time to prevent all hazard of discredit and reproach.

The arms, ammunition, camp equipage and rations will be punctually and plentifully provided, and I have every reason to believe that the Legislature will be enabled to allow an additional pay, or an adequate bounty, for the service to which the Militia are now called; their families will likewise be paid a weekly reasonable sum out of that allowance from the respective county Treasuries.

Let us not, Gentlemen, be perplexed by prejudices or partial considerations unconnected with the subject. It is no matter of enquiry at this time whether any acts of Congress are politic or not, whether they ought to be repealed or not; the questions are whether our governments are worth preserving, and if so, whether we will tamely and silently see them destroyed, or openly and firmly appear in support of them. Listen to the language of the Insurgents and your spirit will rise with indignation,—they not only assert that certain laws shall be repealed, let the sense of the majority be what it may, but they threaten us with the establishment of an Independent Government, or a return to the allegiance of Great Britain. Their cruelty and insolence towards General Neville and Major Lenox, the insults which they offered to the Commissioners on their return from their pacific mission, (surrounding their lodgings, and breaking their windows,) and the menaces of violence of the family of General Neville, should the Government proceed to enforce obedience to the laws, are circumstances so flagrant, so iniquitous, and so dastardly, that for my own part I consider the conduct of the Tories during the war to have been temperate and magnanimous compared with the course of the present opposition.

For the honor of the militia, for the sake of our laws, and for the preservation of the Republican principle, let us then, Gentlemen, unite, and remember that if we cannot reform, it is our duty to punish those who endeavour to plunder us of every right and privilege that is dear in the estimation of freemen.

It only remains to repeat my propositions. Are you willing to serve your country; to save your constitution, and to assist in securing from anarchy, as you did from despotism, the freedom and independence of America? You will not hesitate. Then, Gentlemen, when will your quotas be ready to attend?

Your immediate decision is necessary to enable me to regulate my tour through the other Counties.

MAJOR REES TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILAD'A, 10th Sept., 1794.

SIR:—Honored with an appointment I conceive to be of importance, and solicitous to discharge the duties with advantage to my country and credit to myself, I beg leave to ask your opinion and orders on the following subjects, the necessity of which arises from my recent appointment:

The Brigade Inspector for the first Brigade, as far as orders have been given by him, has directed every Company to be divided into eight classes, of ten men each; the first ten are, I presume, the first in requisition for the western service, being eighty-three from each Regiment, officers included, Commanded by the Captain of the first Company, Lieutenant of the second, and Ensign of the fourth Company—so that the five Regiments composing the Philad'a Brigade will, with the Company Officers included, furnish	415 men.
Artillery Reg't, 10 men from each Company & Officers included	84
Three Troops of Horse, 20 men each, including 4 officers	60
	<hr/>
	559
Three field officers and one adjutant	4
	<hr/>
	563

being 4 above the requisition from the City. And as it is probable that all who are noticed for duty may not serve, nor furnish a substitute, shall the classes be completed by volunteers, or shall the 2d Class be resorted to? If from volunteers, are the Colonels and other officers authorized to promise them a compensation for their services, and that their service on this occasion will be considered as their tour of duty anticipated. In order to ascertain the sufficiency of the order for classing, would it not be advisable that the Adju't General or myself order the several Classes of artillery, Horse, Grenadiers, and Infantry, to parade for inspection on Saturday next, after which the number of volunteers necessary can be ascertained with precision?

The quota of the City of Philad'a being 559 men, it is presumed will assume the form of a Regiment, commanded by a Colonel and two Majors, aided by an adjutant; but as the Law is not so definite, as it might be, with regard to the appointment of these officers, I beg leave to ask whether I am correct in my opinion, that the Colonel of the 1st Regiment, first major of

the 2d Regiment, and 2d Major of the fourth Regiment, are to be immediately warned for this service, but as to an adjutant, no mention is made of him for Detachments or Classes. It is, however, proper that one should be warned for duty, and perhaps the Colonel commanding would prefer his own adjutant.

Drummers and Fifers it will be difficult to procure, unless handsome pay is offered; you will, therefore, be good enough to make me acquainted with the Compensation that will be made them, independent of the Pay granted by law. A regimental or State standard will be requisite, and it would, perhaps, be well that I were informed on this subject also.

You have been pleased to honor me with an appointment not contemplated by Law, and as in the execution I must incur expense for my support, should it be necessary for me to march with the Detachment; you will, I hope, pardon my mentioning the necessity of some provision therefor, if there be necessity for my services in Camp, of which I should wish immediate notice that I may provide accordingly. Is Wednesday the day on which the Detachment is to march and encamp, or only the day on which to have all in readiness for your review and order.

I am very respectfully, Sir,
your most obedient and humble servant,

JAMES REES,
Dep'y Adj't General.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, ESQ., Governor of the State of Pennsylvania.

COL. FRANCIS JOHNSTON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILAD'A, Sept. 10th, 1794.

SIR:—Anxious to evidence an attachment to the Governments of the Union and of the State in which I was born & educated, both of which have been established after many serious conflicts, in my opinion, upon genuine principles of *Republicanism & Free Representation*, I am naturally lead by your Example, as expressed in your letter to the Adjutant General, to offer my services as a Volunteer in the old City Troop, to assist in quelling the present unhappy Disturbances, which not only threaten the tranquility and good Order but even the Existence of the Union.

My Exertions, it is true, can be of small moment in the general Scale, but such as I can render, shou'd you think it compatible with the Duties I owe the Public at this time in the Character of Receiver Gen'l of the Land Office, you may always command,

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

2. Return from the county of Bucks, dated the 5th day of Sept., 1794, stating that "the pay of the militia, so universally objected to, that there is no hope of completing the quota of the county upon the present terms of service."

3. Return from the county of Montgomery, dated the 3d Sept., 1794, Stating that "agreeable to the orders of the 8th of Aug., 1794, for drafting 332 Militia, officers included, the said corps is held in readiness to march at a moment's warning." The first part of this return, however, states such difficulties, as greatly diminish the probability of success in obtaining an actual organization of the corps.

4. return from the county of Chester, dated the 28th August, 1794, stating that some officers have actually resigned and others wish to resign, and concluding with this remark: "The west and north-west of this county seem to dislike the service they are now ordered upon, and a great number in the other quarters are people, who as they say, are principled against taking up arms on any occasion; so that I believe unless the law is rigorously executed, it will be with great difficulty I shall be able to make up our quota; but be assured no exertions shall be wanting, &c."

5 Return from the county of Delaware dated the 6th Sept., 1794, stating a variety of difficulties that leave little hope of procuring by regular drafts the quota of this county.

6. Return from the county of Dauphin, dated the 29th August, 1794, stating that drafts had been made and orders given to hold the quota of this County in readiness to march, but concluding with this remark: "According to the information I have received from several parts of the County, it appears that the militia are not willing to march to quell the insurrection in the western parts of Pennsylvania. They say that they are ready to march according to the former orders against a foreign enemy, but not against the Citizens of their own State; so that, from circumstances, I have great reason to believe they will not turn out on the last call."

The Secretary respectfully begs leave to add that from a variety of documents, not called for by the Resolution of the Senate, and which it would require a considerable time to collect, there appears to be a general complaint of the want of arms throughout the State.

A. J. DALLAS,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

ORDERS OF GEN. HARMAR.

PHILADELPHIA, 11th Sept., 1794.

GENERAL ORDERS.

The President of the United States having issued his requisition for immediately assembling the quota of the militia of this State, drafted in pursuance of the general orders of the 8th ult, the Governor directs that the Adjutant General forthwith notify the same to the Major General, Brigadier Generals and Brigade Inspectors of the detachment, who will, with all possible dispatch, parade their respective quotas and march to the general rendezvous at Carlisle, in the county of Cumberland, in the following order and route, to wit:

1. The quota for the city and county of Philadelphia and county of Montgomery, to assemble at the camp on the west bank of Schuylkill, near Philadelphia, where they will be furnished with arms and equipments and camp equipage, and to march by the way of Reading and Harrisburgh to Carlisle.
2. The quota for the counties of Chester and Delaware to assemble at Downingtown, where they will be furnished with arms and equipments and camp equipage, and to march from thence by the way of Lancaster and Harrisburgh, where they will join Brigadier General Procter's brigade, and proceed to Carlisle.
3. The quota for the counties of Bucks, Northampton and Berks to assemble at Reading, where they will be furnished with arms and equipments and camp equipage, and march from thence by way of Harrisburgh to Carlisle.
4. The quota of Dauphin county to assemble at Harrisburgh, there to receive their arms, equipments and camp equipage, and join Brig. Gen'l Murray's brigade, and proceed to Carlisle.
5. The quota of Lancaster county to assemble at Lancaster, there to receive their arms, equipments and camp equipage, and to march by way of Harrisburgh to Carlisle.
6. The quota of York county to assemble at Yorktown, there to be furnished with arms, equipments and camp equipage, and to proceed direct to Carlisle.
7. The quota of Cumberland and Franklin counties to assemble at Carlisle, and there be furnished with arms, equipments and camp equipage.

It is expected that each militia man will bring with him a blanket, and if convenient, a knapsack and canteen.

The Quarter Master General will make the necessary arrangements for furnishing the several quotas of the militia as they arrive at the places appointed for assembling, with arms, accou-

trements and camp equipage, and provide for the supply of wood, straw and forage.

Each company complete will be allowed one covered wagon with four horses, which is to carry their tents and camp kettles, but to be incumbered as little as possible with baggage, as every man is to carry his own pack; and the waggons finding their own forage and provisions for the driver will be paid by the Quarter Master General of the State, at the rates to be established, and he requests that they may be engaged to continue in service during the expedition.

By order of the Governor.

JOSIAH HARMAR,
Adjutant General of the militia of Pennsylvania.

JONA. WILLIAMS* TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

MOUNTPLEASANT, *Septem'r 11, 1794.*

SIR:—Not being called upon in a Line of militia Duty, & being impressed with the eventfull Importance of the present Crisis, I cannot hesitate in making an offer of my personal services in any way you think proper to command. Should you, however, have no particular occasion for my services, my Intention is to join, as a private, one of the Bodys of Cavalry.

I am, with the greatest Deference & Respect,
Your most obed. & most humble servant,

JON. WILLIAMS.

Gov. MIFFLIN.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO THE BRIGADE INSPECTORS.

PHILADELPHIA, 11th *September, 1794.*

SIR:—Orders will be delivered to you by— ——, for summoning the officers of your Brigade, to meet me at ——, at ——

*JONATHAN WILLIAMS, was born in Boston, in 1752. He received a good education, was placed in a counting house, and made several commercial voyages to the West Indies. Visiting France in 1777, he was appointed U. S. commercial agent, and in 1785 returned with his grand-uncle, Dr. Franklin, to America. He was several years a judge of the court of common pleas of Philadelphia; appointed major of artillery, 16th February, 1801; inspector of fortification, December 4, 1801, and superintendent of West Point academy; Lieut. Col. engineers, July 8, 1802; Colonel, February 23, 1808. Elected to Congress from Philadelphia, 1814. Died in that city, May 16, 1815. Gen. Williams was the author of "Memoir on the use of the Thermometer in Navigation," 1799; "Elements of Fortification," (trans.) 1801, and "Kosciusko's Movement for Horse Artillery," 1808.

o'clock, on——next, upon business of great importance to the honor of the Militia, and the peace of the Commonwealth.

You will pursue directions as——shall give you for preventing any disappointment in the proposed meeting; as dispatch is of the utmost consequence to the object which I have in view.

I am, Sir,
Your Most Obed. Serv.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To———, Esq., Brigade Inspector of the——Brigade.

[N. B.—The above letter was sent only to the counties of Chester and Delaware.]

SECRETARY DALLAS TO BRIGADE INSPECTOR OF
PHILADELPHIA.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,

PHILA., 12th Sept'r, 1794.

SIR:—By the First section of the Militia act it is declared, that only such inhabitants as shall be of the age of Eighteen years, and under the age of Forty-five, are *to be enrolled* in the Militia. By the 11th Section of the Act, it is declared that *the enrolled* inhabitants of each company's bounds shall elect a Captain, Lieutenant and Ensign.

As, therefore, it appears from your report of the 25th ultimo, that the majority in favor of the Captain, Lieutenant and Ensign of the Fifth Company of the Fifth Regiment, was produced by the votes of three persons who were above the age of forty-five years, and one person under the age of eighteen years—the Governor is of opinion that those officers are not duly elected.

Should any doubt remain, however, you will be pleased to call on the Attorney General, who will subjoin his opinion to this letter.

I am, Sir,
Your most obed. H'ble. Serv.

A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary.*

To JOSEPH KRR, Esq., Brigade Inspector of the Militia of the County of Philad'a.

the Agency of the foregoing persons at the meetings alluded to, may be found in the cotemporary public Gazettes of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, which contained the proceedings at large of those meetings with the names of the persons of whom they were respectively composed. The Governor can be at no loss to obtain more legal evidence of the fact if he desire it, and of the identity of the persons.

The following cases present other instances of opposition to the Laws by Officers of Pennsylvania: John Hamilton, before mentioned Sheriff of a county and Colonel of Militia, is affirmed by Jacob Forwood and Robert Johnson, Collector of the Revenue, to have been one of a party who seized the said Johnson when travelling about his duty, tarred and feathered him.

Caleb Mount, then a Captain, since a Major of Militia, stands charged before Isaac Meason and James Finley, Assistant Judges, by information upon oath of Benjamin Wells, Collector of the Revenue, and his wife, with being of a party that broke into the House of the Said Collector sometime in April, 1793.

Andrew Robb, a Justice of the peace, stands charged by information upon oath before Jacob Beason, another Justice of the peace, with having offered a reward of Ten pounds for killing the Excise man, meaning as was understood, Wells the Collector. This fact is stated on the information of the said Collector.

James McFarlane, who commanded the Rioters in the second attack upon the House of the Inspector of the Revenue, on the 17th of July last, was a Major of Militia.

David Hamilton, a Justice of the peace, was the person who previous to that attack, went to the House with a summons to surrender.

William Meetkirk, a Justice of the peace, Gabriel Blakney, a Colonel of Militia, and Absalom Beard, Inspector of Brigade, were three of four persons who went as a Committee from the Rioters assembled at Braddock's fields, on the

to demand of the Inhabitants of Pittsburgh, the expulsion of Kirkpatrick, Brison and Day, as friends to the Laws.

Edward Cook, the associate Judge already mentioned, was the Chairman of a Committee at the same place, which ordered the expulsion of John Gibson and Presly Neville for the same cause.

Satisfactory testimony of these several last mentioned facts, can be had from Abraham Kirkpatrick and Presly Neville, now in this City and well known to the Governor.

The following cases are instances of *conduct in office*, denoting an unfriendly temper towards the Laws:

James Wells, a Justice of the peace and an associate Judge, upon information of an assault committed upon John Webster, Collector of the Revenue, in the execution of his duty in an

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

245

attempt to seize some whiskey illegally distilled, told the Collector that he had never read so worthless a Law as the Revenue Law of Congress—that he expected no person in the Country would have been rascal enough to take a Commission under it, that if the whiskey had been seized, he would have thrown it into the road, and he was sorry the person who made the assault had not knocked down the Collector. No measures were taken to cause a redress for the assault. This statement is made on the information of the said Webster.

Jacob Stewart and William Boyd, Justices of the peace, severally declined to issue process against Jacob Snyder, a distiller who was charged before them, with having threatened another distiller named Stoffer, with the burning of his House or some other injury, if he should enter his still at an Office of Inspection. This statement is made on the information of Benjamin Wells, the Collector, who affirms to have received it from Stoffer.

Joseph Huston, Sheriff of the County of Fayette, stands indicted at a Circuit Court for having refused or declined the service of Warrants and Subpœnas issued by Isaac Meason and James Finley, assistant Judges of that County, in the case of the Riot which was committed at the House of a Collector of the Revenue, in April, 1793. This is the same with the instance mentioned in my Report.

The following is a case of peculiar and rather of a mixed complexion, relating both to conduct in office and conduct out of office, and including in it a specimen of that species of discountenance to the Laws which I have thought it most advisable as a general rule, to forbear entering into, but which being in this instance, ascertainable by the acknowledgments of the party and by respectable testimony at hand, seems proper to form an exception to that rule, which may be useful, by way of example and illustration.

It is mentioned in my Report, that the Supervisor of the Revenue, in September, 1792, was sent into the refractory counties among other things to collect evidence of the persons concerned in the Riot, in Faulkner's case. When at Pittsburgh, he applied by letter to Alexander Addison, President of the Court of Common pleas, who resided at the Town of Washington, to engage his assistance, in taking the Depositions of persons who were named to him by the Supervisor as able to testify concerning infractions of the Laws, and in causing some of the best informed Witnesses to attend a Circuit Court of the United States about to be holden at York Town.

The Judge not content with declining an agency in the business, in his answer to the application, digresses into a Censure

on the Judiciary System of the United States, which he represents "as impracticable, unless it be intended to sacrifice to it the *essential principles of the liberty of the Citizens and the Just authority of the STATE COURTS*," and afterwards declares, that were it his duty to do what was requested of him, (which, however, he states in a manner different from what the Supervisor seems to have intended,) "he should do it *with reluctance*, because he should be *serving a cause which he thought unfavourable to liberty and the Just authority of the STATE COURTS.*"

Without examining the sufficiency of the reasons which led to declining the agency proposed to him—without commenting upon the observations which seek to derive a part of the Justification for it from the resentment of the people against the Laws, and the danger of losing their confidence by a compliance with what was desired of him; topics, the propriety of which in the mouth of a Magistrate might well be contested—it cannot admit of a doubt, that there was a great unfitness in a JUDGE of Pennsylvania indulging himself with gratuitous invectives against the Judiciary System of the Government of the Union, pronouncing it to be impracticable, unfavourable to liberty and to the Just authority of the STATE COURTS. It is difficult to perceive, in such a digression, the evidence of a temper cordial to the institutions and arrangements of the United States. The particulars of this affair have been long since in possession of the Governor.

Judge Addison in a letter, an extract from which was lately transmitted by the Governor to you, acknowledges in terms that he "had endeavoured to inculcate *constitutional resistance*" to the particular Laws in question. Here is proof by his own confession, that the weight of his influence was exerted against those Laws. It is not easy to understand what is meant by the terms "constitutional resistance." The Theory of every constitution pre-supposes as a *first principle* that the *Laws are to be obeyed*. There can therefore be no such thing as a "constitutional resistance" to Laws constitutionally enacted.

The only sense which I have been able to trace as that intended by these terms, and the equivalent ones, "legal resistance," "legal opposition," which have been frequently used by the opposers of the Laws, is that everything should be practiced to defeat the execution of the Laws short of actual violence or breach of the peace,—accordingly that endeavours should be used to prevent the accepting or holding offices under them by making it matter of popular contempt and reproach to do so, and by a humiliating and insulting treatment of those who should accept or hold those offices; that non-compliances with the Laws by persons having Stills should be countenanced and promoted;

that means of intimidation, guarded so as to escape legal animadversion should be superadded, to discourage compliances, to obstruct the establishment of offices of Inspection, and to deter from attempts to coerce delinquents; in fine, that every obstacle which was supposed not to amount to an indictable offence should be thrown in the way of the Laws.

The conduct of Judge Addison, in particular instances, as it has been represented, will perhaps afford no ill comment upon his expressions.

Benjamin Wells, Collector, declares that the said Judge then attending a Session of a Circuit Court as President, at a public House, in the presence of Isaac Meason, an Assistant Judge, expressed himself to him, Wells, in strong terms of disapprobation of the Laws laying duties on Spirits distilled within the United States, saying they were "unjust and unequitable; that the money to be raised was unnecessary, and that there was no use for it;" and afterwards at the same place, and during the same Session of the Circuit Court, sitting at dinner with a mixed company, spoke in terms of contempt of the Offices of the Inspector and Collectors of the Revenue, and of disrespect towards the Officers themselves. At the next term of the Court, Wells went to the same Tavern, but was informed by the Tavern Keeper and his Wife that he could not be received there, assigning for reason that Judge Addison had declared that if they took him in again he would leave the House.

Mr. Stokely, a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature for Washington, States that Judge Addison wrote a letter or letters in opposition to his election to the Legislature, and among other objections to him mentioned his having applied for or having had an intention to obtain an office in the Excise.

General Nevill, Inspector of the Revenue, mentions a circumstance of a light but of an unequivocal nature to evidence the prejudices against the Revenue Officers which were manifested by Judge Addison, even from the Bench. It seems that it was a practice, not unfrequent for the Judges when sitting in Court to invite within the bar such persons who came into the Hall as they deemed of respectability. Judge Addison, as General Nevill affirms, repeatedly, since the time of the meeting at Pittsburgh, in August, 1792, has given such invitations openly from the Bench to those who were supposed to be of that description within view, omitting a similar call or invitation to that officer though present. He adds that his own son, Colonel Nevill, standing by his side in conversation with him, has been thus invited, while the like attention was withheld from him in a manner too marked to leave any doubt of the motive.

As the call of the Governor is for particular cases, I forbear to adduce confirmations of the prevailing Spirit of the Officers alluded to from their extensive non-compliance with the Laws in their capacity of distillers, and from the neglect to bring to Justice offenders against them who were at the same time breakers of the Peace of Pennsylvania. I observe, indeed, on this point the Governor entertains a different impression from that which I have, but after the most diligent enquiry, I am not able to discover a Single case of the punishment of any such Offender. There were indeed indictments found against persons supposed to have been concerned in the violence upon the maniac Wilson, and against others supposed to have been concerned in an assault upon one John Conner, an old man, who had been unknowingly the bearer of the Letters containing processes which were sent by the Deputy Marshall as stated in my Reports, but it is not understood that any of these were prosecuted to Judgment. The only cases known of actual punishment are of persons concerned in forcibly carrying off certain Witnesses in the case of Wilson; but this was on a Collateral point, and the cases of indictment respecting transactions where humanity had been too much outraged to leave an option, and where even punishment might have been inflicted upon Ground distinct from that of suppressing opposition to the Laws.

I can learn no instance of the conviction and punishment of any person for a violence committed upon Officers or private Citizens clearly on account of their agency under or friendly disposition towards the Laws, which is the more remarkable, as the Rioters in Faulkner's case are asserted to have passed in open day through the Town of Washington, to have parleyed there with Inhabitants of the Town, and to have been afterwards entertained at two or three Houses.

I have contented myself, in the first instance, with indicating particular cases, and the sources of information without a formal exhibition of the evidence, because I could not foresee what cases in the view of the Governor would be proper for that animadversion which he seems to contemplate, because considerable delay would have attended the collection of formal evidence in all the cases, and because in many of them the evidence is as accessible to the Governor as to myself, but I stand ready to afford the aid of this Department in bringing forward testimony in any Cases in which the Governor may specifically desire it.

With the most perfect respect, I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient & humble Servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

The President of The United States.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO MAJOR REES.**SECRETARY'S OFFICE,**

PHILA., 12th Sept'r, 1794.

SIR:—The Governor directs me to give the following answer to the inquiries contained in your letter of the 10 inst.:

1. As dispatch is essential to the present service, in case any persons noticed for duty from the first class, should not serve or furnish a substitute, you will elect the most expeditious mode of supplying the deficiency, either by drafts from the second class, or by volunteers. Both measures may, perhaps, be advantageously pursued at the same time.

2. The Governor cannot authorize, at present, the promise of an extraordinary compensation for the services of volunteers, but a bill is now depending before the Legislature which, it is thought, will pass into a law, in the course of a few days, providing for that measure; and it will, probably, make a distinction in the pay and bounty, whether the Militia attend by drafts or voluntary enrollments.

3. The Governor is of opinion, that the field officers should serve in the same rotation that is prescribed by the law in the case of Companies; and you will please to notify them accordingly.

4. The Drummers and Fifers will be allowed, independent of their pay, a reasonable compensation out of any contingent fund that may be appropriated for the present service; and the necessary standards will be provided by the Q. M. Gen.

5. The compensation for your services will be regularly allowed, as an unavoidable contingent expense; and you will be pleased to consult the adjutant general upon the necessity of your attendance at camp.

6. Wednesday is the day intended for a general muster of the quotas of the City & County Brigades; but it is expected that they will be ready immediately afterwards to take up the line of march, agreeably to the General Orders upon that subject.

You will be pleased, Sir, to provide a proper book for entering the voluntary enrollments, with a heading declaratory of an engagement to serve for the same time & upon the same terms, as in the case of those who shall muster in pursuance of regular drafts.

It will be proper, likewise, from time to time, to notify in writing to the Maj. Generals, Brig. Generals, & Brigade Inspectors, all General Orders that shall be issued.

I am, Sir,

Y'r most obed't,

A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary.*

To Mr. JAMES REES, Acting Dep. Adj. Gen'l.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 12th Sept'r, 1794.

SIR:—The Secretary of the Treasury, on behalf of the Secretary at war, has communicated to me your request that I would immediately cause the quota of the Militia of this State to be assembled, for the purpose expressed in your requisition of the seventh ultimo.

It is only necessary to assure you, that I shall comply with the utmost dispatch and alacrity.

I am, Sir,

Your Excellency's Most Obed. H'ble Serv't,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To the President of the United States.

EXTRACT OF LETTER ENCLOSED TO GOVERNOR
MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, 12th Sept., 1794.

The present disturbances in this country have a good deal subsided, but are yet far from having lost their original spirit. Yesterday the people of the different counties were to meet in district and townships to sign the submission to the laws. At this district it was conducted and ended with great moderation—the people almost all signed the submission; but in the other districts of this county, I am afraid, it has not terminated so favorably. In one district, the two parties, one for peace, the other for war, separated, when the war party appeared the most numerous, and the peace party were intimidated from signing.

Almost all the leaders in exciting the present disturbances are now for peace and a submission to the laws, but they have no longer influence when they become peaceable citizens, which establishes a melancholy truth, that men can raise an insurrection when they cannot conduct it.

MAJOR JOHN SMITH TO THE GOVERNOR.

PHIAD'A., Sept. 13th, 1794.

SIR:—I herewith inclose, for your acceptance, my Commission; in doing this, I think it a duty I owe myself, as well as those who give me the appointment, to state my reasons. When I accepted of this post, I considered myself bound to execute the

duties thereof with fidelity and punctuality. Having received orders to hold myself in readiness to March with my fellow Citizens, for the purpose of securing obedience to the laws of my country, I accordingly, at some expense, prepared myself for the expedition, with a full determination of faithfully discharging the trust committed to me. I have, however, been frustrated in this design by hearing that there are a variety of reports, injurious to my Character, circulating thro' the City respecting the Western disturbances; that in consequence of those reports, some of my fellow Citizens, who are to march on this occasion, have expressed an unwillingness to serve under me. With regard to my opinion of the excise Law, which I have no doubt, has given birth to those reports, I have never yet concealed it; but odious as this system of taxation is to me, I do not advocate an unconstitutional opposition to any existing Law of my country. And it is, & has been my opinion, with respect to the present disturbances, that after Pacific means have been found ineffectual to re-claim the People, coercive Measures on the part of Government should take place.

Thus Circumstanced, you will readily perceive the Propriety of my resignation at this time, as it is essentially necessary in Military expeditions that all officers should posses the Confidence of their fellow Soldiers.

JOHN SMITH.

The Governor of the State of Pennsylvania.

DECLARATIONS OF DAVID BRADFORD AND OTHERS.

We the subscribers, members of the committee who met at Parkinson's Ferry on the 14th August last, and justices of the peace of the different townships in Washington county, met this 13th day of September, 1794, do find ourselves under great embarrassment to express our sentiments and opinions, whether there be such a general submission of the people as that an office of inspection may be imminately and safely established in this county; yet we are free to declare that no opposition shall arise from us, the undersigned, to the excise law or to any officer appointed under it, and we believe and are of opinion that a large majority of the inhabitants of the respective townships in this county will acquiesce and submit to the said law, under a hope and firm belief that the Congress of the United States will repeal said law.

Given under our hands, at Washington court house, the 13th of September, 1794.

DAVID BRADFORD and 27 others.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

WESTMORELAND COUNTY DECLARATION.

We, the subscribers, judges of a general election, held in the several townships of the county of Westmoreland, for the purpose of ascertaining certain assurance required of the citizens by the commissioners on the part of the Government and agreed to on the part of the delegates, having met this day and taken into consideration the returns from said townships, (true copies of which have been returned to one of the commissioners,) and finding that some gave only general assurances of their submission and disposition for peace, without individually signing the same and others, in numbers according to the returns by them respectively made, do certify, that, in our opinion, as ill-disposed lawless persons could suddenly assemble and offer violence, it would not be safe in immediately establishing an office of inspection therein.

Given under our hands, at the court house in Greensburg, this 13th day of September, 1794.

JAMES MCLEAN,
EBENEZER BRADY,
CLEMENT BURLEIGH,
HUGH MARTIN,
JAMES CALDWELL,
JAMES IRWIN,
JAMES BRADY,
JOHN ANDERSON,

JOHN DENNISTON,
CHRISTOPHER FINLEY,
JOHN KIRKPATRICK,
JOHN YOUNG,
JOHN FINDLEY,
JEREMIAH MURRAY,
GEORGE AMENT.

FAYETTE COUNTY DECLARATION.

UNIONTOWN, *September 16, 1794.*

We, the subscribers, having, according to resolutions of the committee of townships for the county of Fayette, acted as judges on the 11th instant, at the meetings of the people of the said county, respectively convened at the places in the first, second and third election districts, where the general elections are usually held, (no judge or member of the committee attending from the fourth and last district, which consists of the townships of Tyrone and Bullskin,) do hereby certify that five hundred and sixty of the people thus convened on the day aforesaid, did then and there declare their determination to submit to the laws of the United States in the manner expressed by the commissioners on the part of the Union, in their letter dated the 22d day of August last; the total number of those who attended on that occasion being only seven hundred and twenty-one, that

is to say, something less than one-third of the number of citizens of the said three districts. And we do further certify, that from our previous knowledge of the disposition of the general body of the people, and from the anxiety since discovered by many,) who, either from not having had notice, or from not having understood the importance of the question did not attend.) To give similar assurance of submission, we are of opinion that the great majority of those citizens who did not attend are disposed to behave peaceably, and with due submission to the laws.

ALBERT GALLATIN,	JOHN JACKSON,
WILLIAM ROBERTS,	ANDREW RABB,
GEORGE DIEUTH,	THOMAS PATTERSON,
JAMES WHITE,	

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF CHESTER COUNTY BRIGADE MAJORS.

At a meeting of the Majors of the Chester County Brigade on the 15th day of Sept., 1794, it was determined by ballot that Major Shippen & Major Hughes, should be the Marching Majors against the Western insurgents for the Reg't to be raised in Chester County.

Major Shippen, having 9 votes.
Major Hughes 5 votes.

GEORGE CORNEY,	DAVID COCHRAN,
JAMES BELL,	JNO. HUGHES,
R. FRASER,	JOHN SHIPPEN,
ROB'T ARMSTRONG,	JAMES BONES,
JACOB HUMPHREYS,	

President of Meeting.

LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR ON THE FEELING AT CARLISLE.

CARLISLE, 15th Sept., 1794.

SIR:—In the night of the eighth instant, a pole was erected in the public square of town with "*Liberty and no excise, O, Whiskey,*" inscribed thereon. On the morning following a few of the friends to good government, met and cut it down, which caused a great agitation; And runners were dispatched in every direction to inflame the minds of the country people, and persuade them to assist in putting up a second pole.

On Thursday, in the afternoon, a number, perhaps two hundred, of the people from the country came in, some with fire arms, and erected a much larger pole, with "*Liberty and equality*" thereon; very few men of property appeared among them. Our treasurer was a very busybody in this business, making use of all his small abilities to increase the flame, and threw out money to the insurgents to procure whiskey; he is now at Philadelphia, and I have no doubt will pretend to be in favor of government.

The people who appeared on Thursday seemed to shun the conversation of any person who they thought was opposed to their proceeding, and it was thought advisable to say but little to them, as we could not tell how far the inflammation had spread through the country. A guard has patroled the streets every night since, to take care of the pole, or to prevent the peaceable inhabitants from sleeping by the firing of guns and other noise, which has been hard to bear; and persons in pursuit of their business have been stopped at the point of the bayonet and money extorted from them to procure whiskey.

On Thursday evening, as Col. Blane was conducting his sister, Mrs. Lyon, out of town, three of those desperadoes fired their guns at him and pursued him two miles, firing several shots at him as they ran. Happily no injury was done, except the lady being very much frightened. Several farmers, who have expressed their abhorrence of their proceedings, have been threatened with destruction of property.

Perhaps the government may from the accounts it may receive of the situation of this country, think proper to order out a detachment of troops now in readiness to take post at this place; it might have a good tendency in spiriting up the young people to turn out as volunteers; every artifice has been used to prevent the militia of this county from turning out on this service, and even threats have been thrown out against those who shew an inclination to go.

* * * *

H. H. BRACKENRIDGE TO TENCH COXE.

PITTSBURGH, Sept. 15th, 1794.

SIR:—Suppressing your name, I have just given your letter to the printer of the *Gazette*, of this place, conceiving that it will be of service in composing the minds of the people of this country.

It is an elegant and sensible essay, but would be entirely lost upon me, as inculcating sentiments with which I have no need to be more impressed than I am.

In some expressions I had used in my letter, you have understood me as speaking of the excise law. Review it, and you will find it was of the funding system in general. Of that system, I have been an adversary from the commencement, in all its principles and effects. At the same time, I have never charged the Secretary, who was said to be the author of it, with anything more than an error in judgment. A scale ought to have been applied to certificates in the market and redeemed at that rate. The case of the Continental money was an example. I would refer you to a famous letter of John Adams to the Count De Vergennes, containing reasonings in the case of the Continental money, that would equally have applied in the case of certificates. But at all events, the assumption of the State debts was unnecessary and impolitic.

Were it possible that we could be freed from this system by a revolution without greater mischief, it is possible I might be brought to think of it. But that is impossible. The remedy would be worse than the malady; honest creditors would suffer, and we should lose the advantages of a general union of the States. These advantages are immense, and far outweigh all other considerations.

Though in a country of insurgency, you see I write freely, because I am not the most distantly involved in the insurrection, but reserve the credit of contributing to disorganize and reduce it.

From paragraphs in the papers, I find it is otherwise understood with you, but time will explain all things.

The arrival of commissioners from the government was announced to the delegates of the 14th at Parkinson's Ferry, when actually convened, and superseded what was contemplated, the sending commissioners from hence.

You will have heard the result. By the measures taken, the spirit of the insurrection was broken. The government has now nothing to fear. The militia may advance, but will meet with nothing considerable to oppose them, but had it not been for the pacific measure on the part of the President, and in internal arrangements made by the friends of order here, which I cannot in a few words develope, affairs would have worn a different aspect, and the standard of the insurrection would have been by this time in the neighborhood of Carlisle; but I hope that this will always remain matter of opinion, and have no experiment in the like case to ascertain the event.

My not writing you at first was owing to my having received a letter from you on an indifferent subject, and it struck me that through your government might receive information that might be useful, and if published, which was left to your discretion, it

might operate as an apology for the government with the people in adopting pacific measures, representing in strong terms the magnitude and extent of the danger, for it was not the force of this country that I had in view, but the communicability to other parts of the Union, the like inflammable causes of discontent existing elsewhere. I am told my letter has been considered as intending to intimidate the government, and gain time until the insurrection should gain strength.

It might have been with that view, but that it was not so, will be proved by my conduct and sentiments here. No, from the tenor of my life, I expect and demand to be considered as the advocate of liberty, a greater injury to which could not be than by the most distant means endangering the existence or infringing the structure of the noblest monument which it ever had or ever will have in the world—the United States of America.

You will do me the justice to communicate this letter to the same extent with the first.

I have further to observe that I am in the meantime not without apprehension for the town of Pittsburgh. The moment of danger will be on the advance of the militia, if the insurgents should embody to meet them, they will in the first instance probably turn round and give a stroke here for the purpose of obtaining arms and ammunition, and if resisted, and perhaps whether or not, will plunder the stores and set on fire all or some of the buildings.

Yours, with respect,

H. H. BRACKENRIDGE.

P. S.—Since writing the within, which was two or three days ago, apprehension of danger, with ourselves or opposition of force, considerably vanishes or diminishes.

I have received your publications. They are ingenious and useful. At present our papers are filled with our political affairs. In due time they will be inserted.

As an instance of order gaining ground, I am just informed from the town of Washington that the liberty tree was cut down, and none came forward to erect another, or revenge the affront.

I have the honor to be,

Your obed't Se't,

H. H. BRACKENRIDGE.

To TENCH COXE, Esq., Philadelphia.

CLEMENT BIDDLE * TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 16, 1794.

SIR:—I have paid the troops, in service at Fort Mifflin, to the 1st of this present month, & directed them to be paid monthly during my absence, and have also provided for their supplies during that time, to meet which, and any Demand for the defence of the Frontiers during my service in the field, I request that you will direct a warrant to issue in my favor for six thousand Dollars, under the Act of Assembly passed the late session, “for more effectually securing the Trade, peace and safety of the port of Philadelphia, and defending the western Frontiers of the Commonwealth,” to be by me accounted for.

I have the honor to, be Sir,

Y'r mo. Obed. Serv.

CLEMENT BIDDLE.

Q. M. G. Penn'a. M.

QUARTER MASTER GENERAL'S ORDERS.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 16, 1794.

The Militia, now preparing to assemble at the different places, appointed by the Governor's orders, of the 13th instant, will

*CLEMENT BIDDLE was born in Philadelphia, May 10, 1740. He was a descendant of one of the early Quaker settlers and proprietaries of New Jersey, and retained his connection with the Society of Friends until the outset of the Revolution. He was early engaged in commercial pursuits and with his brother Owen signed the celebrated non-importation resolutions of October 25, 1765. He embarked early in the defence of the Colonies and assisted in forming the Quaker company of volunteers raised in Philadelphia in 1775, of which he was an officer. July 8, 1776, he was appointed by Congress Deputy Quarter Master General of the Flying Camp. Col. Biddle was at the battle of Trenton, and was one of the officers selected by Washington to receive the swords of the Hessian commanders. He was also engaged at Princeton, Brandywine and Germantown, and during the winter of 1777-8, shared the privations of the army at the encampment at Valley Forge. He was subsequently in action at Monmouth. He served as Quarter Master General of Pennsylvania in the expedition of 1794. Upon the organization of the Federal government under the Constitution of 1787, Col. Biddle was appointed United States Marshal for Pennsylvania. He preserved the friendship and enjoyed the intimacy of Washington until the close of the life of that great man. He closed his distinguished and useful career at Philadelphia on the 14th of July, 1814, in the seventy fifth year of his age.

have to furnish themselves with provisions for their march to the respective places of rendezvous, for which they will be paid the price allowed for rations by the United States. On their arrival at the said places appointed for assembling rations will be furnished them.

Arms, Accoutrements, Tents and Camp Kettles, will be furnished by the U. States to the several corps, at the respective places appointed for them to assemble, on their commanding officers making return of the officers and men composing their corps, as they may arrive, for which purpose the greatest expedition will be used to forward the necessary supplies.

Forage will also be provided for the cavalry and officers' horses which are entitled to forage, and the same will be paid for at the established price, from the time of their collecting in their respective counties until their arrival at the several places appointed for assembling.

Each complete company will be allowed a four horse wagon to carry their camp equipage; and the same for the field officers of each regiment, which the several commanding officers are requested to engage to serve for the expedition, and they will be paid at the rate of thirty-five shillings per day for each four horse wagon, and driver furnishing their own subsistence. To accommodate them, in which, as far as possible, forage will be laid in at the different places appointed for assembling, and be delivered at the prime cost to such as choose to apply for it; and in case the general arrangements should make it necessary to furnish them with forage after they leave Carlisle, an equitable rate will be settled in establishing the price of hire then to be allowed.

As the tents, with their poles, camp kettles and equipage must, in all events, be conveyed in the wagons allowed to each corps, it will be necessary to restrict the loading wagons allowed to companies with baggage, as much as possible.

CLEMENT BIDDLE, Q. M. G.

PROCLAMATION OF GOVERNOR HOWELL, OF NEW JERSEY.

PROCLAMATION.

By His Excellency, Richard Howell, Esq., Governor, Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief, in and over the State of New Jersey and Territories thereunto belonging, Chancellor and Ordinary in the same.

WHEREAS, An open and violent opposition to a law of the Union has unfortunately taken place in a few western counties of the State of Pennsylvania, which the Supreme Executive and that of their State, are at present engaged to suppress:

And whereas, It is discovered that, whilst the good people of this State are anxiously employed in completing their proportion of troops destined against the insurgents, certain strangers, in contempt of their own duty, the authority of the Union, and the laws and dignity of this State, are mingling with our citizens and endeavoring to seduce them—shewing seditious letters—spreading false intelligence—urging disobedience to the constituted authorities—embracing the ill-judged and illegal motives of the insurgents—disseminating their prejudices—extolling their force and resources, and falsely asserting, “that good citizens are, not bound, and ought not to take up arms against them, struggling, as they pretend, against oppression,” though they are evidently revolting against their own interest, and the honor and security of the Union:

And whereas, In the most regulated and best informed state of society, intrigue may insinuate improper influence over even ingenuous minds, unguarded by experience, especially, by exciting a mistaken compassion for criminality concealed under the pretence of patriotism. I have, therefore, by and with the consent and concurrence of the honorable, the Privy Council, thought it proper to require and enjoin, by Proclamation, all civil officers and others of this State, to cause to be apprehended by legal means, and to be speedily brought to justice, such emissaries and others, if any such citizens we have, who shall presume to counteract, indirectly or otherwise, the measures of the Executive of the United States, the laws of the Union or the laws and authority of this State. Upon compliant of such offences against government, founded upon sufficient evidence, the magistracy are requested to issue proper process for such offenders of every distinction, and bind them in recognizances or commit them to prison, as the case may require, so that they may appear at the next court having cognizance thereof, and answer to charges then and there to be exhibited against them in due form of law. That intruders from a distance should propose to themselves success among the citizens of Jersey, must arise from an unfair comparison of virtues which they know not how to value, with their own innate baseness and infamous depravity; but if there is an inhabitant of this State so lost to discernment and duty, as to harbor or countenance incendiaries who wish to reduce others to the level of their own crimes, it is not doubted, but that the vigilance of the magistracy will convince them, that although

the balance of justice is held even, yet her sword is not lifted up in vain.

Given under my hand and seal at arms at Trenton, the 16th day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred ninety-four, and of our Independence the 19th.

R'D HOWELL.

By his Excellency's command,
THOMAS ADDAMS, *Secretary.*

ADDRESS OF THE NEW JERSEY CAVALRY TO GOV.
HOWELL.

CAMP, TRENTON, Sept. 16, 1794.

To his excellency, Richard Howell, Esquire, Commander-in-Chief of New Jersey:

SIR:—The citizen soldiers of the Cavalry of New Jersey, cannot omit the present opportunity of tendering their acknowledgments to your excellency, for your exertions in support of the honour of this State and the dignity of the Union; but, above all, accept, sir, the grateful effusions of our hearts, duly penetrated with a sense of the honour you have reflected on us by accepting an active command and drawing *your* sword against our internal enemies; be assured, sir, that, with such an example, we shall consider all our hardships as necessary, and all danger as honorable. It is, sir, our decided opinion, that law ought to be the supreme rule of our conduct, and not the will of a few unprincipled individuals, who are neither awed by shame, checked by conscience, or confined to truth. Penetrated with this opinion, we cheerfully obey the calls of our country, in this tender of our services, to support an established government—a government framed upon principles best calculated to secure to us every blessing; and however painful it must be to a feeling mind to draw the sword against a fellow citizen, yet sentiments of compassion on this critical occasion, we solemnly believe, should yield to the more powerful emotions of duty; emotions which no one can suppress without avowing himself an enemy to our country, and ready to introduce the horrors of anarchy. To avoid these evils and to support the authority of the law, we now, sir, under the banners of freedom, pledge our sacred honours to your excellency, that while we consider our swords the swords of justice, we will never sheath them till we have subdued or extirpated the hydra discord from among us.

ANT. W. WHITE.
Brigadier General of the New Jersey Cavalry.

REPLY OF GOVERNOR HOWELL TO THE CAVALRY ADDRESS.

TRENTON, September 16, 1794.

To the Address of Brigadier General White and the Officers of the Jersey Cavalry:

GENTLEMEN AND FELLOW SOLDIERS:—Honoured with the command of citizens in arms, who feel the cause they were engaged in, I confess, I am not unconscious of the dignity of my station; but, at the same time, I recollect with anxiety, how much should be done to deserve it. Devoted, with you, to the best interests of the Union, no part was left for me but that which I have taken; and when freemen, who have sentiments and courage to maintain them, thus join me in opinion and promise their support, I feel a pleasing confidence which triumphs over doubt. The occasion of our appeal to arms I join you in lamenting, and hope that a proper sense of duty will yet penetrate the gloom which envelopes our misguided countrymen; yet, even compassion, which adorns the soldier's heart, must, at last, frown on obstinate offenders.

Your sacred pledge of honour I accept gentlemen. It stands indelibly recorded in my bosom, and under the same banner* and for the same generous purpose, I pledge you my honour in return. Our glorious constitution is the standard by which we rally; surrounded by a band of brothers, it waves terror to internal enemies and discord shall shrink at the sight. The honour of the state, gentlemen, is committed to our care, and, like you, I wear it on my sword; but accept if you please, my sensations of your affectionate address without particular expression, and rest assured that I shall consider your future satisfaction as my dearest, my best earned reward.

R'D HOWELL,
Commander-in-Chief the Jersey Militia.

ADDRESS OF THE NEW JERSEY INFANTRY TO GOV. HOWELL.

CAMP, TRENTON, Sept. 16, 1794.

To his excellency Richard Howell, Esq., Commander-in-Chief of New Jersey;

At a time we were pleasing ourselves with the most happy consequences of the late embassy to the Court of Great Britain,

*Here the governor advanced and embraced the commander of the cavalry.

by which not only the commercial but the agricultural interests of our country would have been in the most flourishing situation—when we were feeling the blessed effects of the most blessed constitution in the universe—what a cloud has been cast on our happy prospects; what a shock has been given to our political fabric, by a band of vile abandoned traitors and incendiaries, who, at the same moment that they were receiving every advantage and emolument that could possibly arise out of their local situation are endeavoring to undermine the very government which pours its favors into their laps. Men so unprincipled deserve not the blessings of a Republic; they should be driven into the jaws of some devouring despot and leave the soil of America to be cultivated by a more deserving people. The Free-men of New Jersey, roused by such an outrageous attempt to trample on the law of the land, and desirous of supporting that freedom and independence they acquired by their blood in the late revolution, come forward, with their wonted zeal, in the line of their duty, to accompany your Excellency on the present expedition, and flatter themselves that the former military fame of New Jersey will not be tarnished in their lawful exertions to suppress rebellion.

By unanimous desire of the officers of the infantry and artillery composing the the Jersey brigade.

JOSEPH BLOOMFIELD,
Brig. Gen.

REPLY OF GOV. HOWELL TO THE INFANTRY
ADDRESS.

TRENTON, Sept. 16, 1794.

To the Address of Brigadier General Bloomfield and the Infantry and Artillery of Jersey;

GENTLEMEN AND BROTHER SOLDIERS:—The address of your respectable corps calls for my full assent to the painful truths it contains.

At a moment the most important to the Union, when collected in our own internal unanimity, we were viewed with envy by conflicting powers, and even rapine, overawed by firmness, began to listen to our claims; discord and folly began their mad career. Deluded men, unconscious of the boon that Heaven accords, with parricidal hands would plunge a dagger into the bosom of their country—but ours is the glorious task to interpose a shield. Though painful the task, yet it is ours, my fellow soldiers united in one common purpose, to drive home confusion

to their hearts, who, with polluted hands, profane the best of Constitutions; but let us hope that returning reason will heal the breach, and their complete submission slacken the arm of vengeance. I consider myself as fortunate to be, at this time, called to the command, and feel the nearest interest in your military reputation; but I was conscious that you knew and dare defend your rights; & therefore looked for these exertions.

Accept, gentlemen, my warmest acknowledgments for this honor, and be assured that, with your co-operation, of which I have the liveliest certainty, I despair not to keep unsullied our military reputation.

R'D. HOWELL,
Commander-in-Chief the New Jersey Militia.

ALEX. HAMILTON TO GOV. MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, Sept. 17, 1794.

SIR:—Major Stagg has informed me that you wished an explanation in writing of the letter which I had the honor of writing to you this Morning, on this point, to wit: whether the corps were to be *equipped* previous to their march or not?

I answer, that it is intended they should be provided previous to their march with a competent supply of essential articles. But that they ought not to be retarded on account of a partial deficiency of articles, the want of which might not be material, as these can be sent after them to Carlisle, where it is interesting there should be a good collection of force without delay, & where there will necessarily be some halt.

Your military experience must guide your discretion in drawing the line.

If anything more precise is desired from me, it will best be obtained by directing a return of deficient articles of each corps, & I will give an opinion on each case in detail.

With perfect respect,

I have the honor to be

your obed. hum. serv.,

A. HAMILTON.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN'S MESSAGE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

PHILADELPHIA, 17th September, 1794.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania:

GENTLEMEN:—I have the pleasure to inform you that I have found our fellow citizens, in the counties of Chester and Dela-

ware, eager to support the honor of our government, and the authority of the laws, against the violence of the present lawless combination. The defects in the militia system, the mistakes of the Brigade Inspectors, relative to the extent of their orders, the insufficiency of the pay, and a want of information respecting the necessity and justice of the expedition against the insurgents, occasioned some difficulty and delay—but the moment the circumstances, which have produced the existing crisis in our public affairs, were stated and explained; the sentiments of patriotism pervaded every breast, and a determination to aid the measures of government was unanimously expressed. The only question anywhere proposed was, whether the insurgents had refused to listen to reason—and the answer was everywhere satisfactory, that if they would listen to reason it never was intended to subdue them by force.

Permit me, gentlemen, to observe, that the non-execution of the President's requisition, in the other counties to which it extends, is probably owing to the same causes, and may be obviated by the same means. I shall, therefore, think it my duty to prosecute the tour which I mentioned to you in a late message, and entreat the favor of any accommodation in transacting our Legislative business that can be granted, consistently with your duty and conveniency.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

GEN. HARMAR'S ORDER OF MARCH.

PHILADELPHIA, September 17, 1794.

GENERAL ORDERS.

The Governor takes the earliest opportunity of expressing his sincere thanks to the quotas of the brigades of the city and county of Philadelphia military for their punctual and general attendance at the camp this day. In a particular manner he acknowledges his obligations to Col. Gurney and his regiment; to Captains Dunlap, Singer, and McConnell and the cavalry under their command; to the several corps of Grenadiers and light infantry, attached on this occasion to Col. Gurney's regiment; to the volunteer company of light infantry under the command of Major McPherson, and to the corps from Southwark. A conduct so honorable, and so spirited, cannot fail to excite a patriotic emulation throughout the State; and the Governor, with heartfelt satisfaction, anticipates a correspondent effect in protecting our constitution and laws from the threatened violation and subversion. Wherever the question, that occasions the present armament, has been explained and understood, the citizens of

Pennsylvania have manifested their zeal to maintain the public peace and order, and every enemy of the Republic, internal, as well as external, will eventually find, that those who have sought to obtain a free government, will as cheerfully fight to preserve it.

In addressing citizens, who have advanced under a sense of duty, for the purpose of restoring the violated authority of the laws, it is superfluous to recommend a constant attention to sobriety and order, a strict respect to the rights of persons and of private property, in the course of the march. The Governor is confident that the conduct of his fellow citizens, will in that, as well as in every other respect command the esteem, conciliate the dispositions, and invite the assistance and friendship of the country through which they pass.

The commanding officers of the respective corps, are requested immediately to report to the adjutant general, a roll of their officers, men and equipments; and likewise, to prepare and furnish the advance & pay rolls. Such of the militia, as wish any part of their advance or pay be given to their families during their absence, will please to state the same to the commanding officer of the proper corps, who will make a report to the adjutant general, and provisions will accordingly be made for ensuring a compliance.

The following order of march is to be observed by the quotas of the city and county of Philadelphia Brigade:

1. Capt. Dunlap's,
2. Capt. McConnell's, { Troop of Light Horse,
3. Capt. Singer's,

to assemble on Friday morning, in Market street, east of twelfth street, and to march with the baggage in the rear by the way of Norristown, Reading and Harrisburgh, to Carlisle.

Capt. Scott's light infantry Corps is to join the artillery, and march with them from the present encampment on Friday morning at 8 o'clock, and proceed by the middle ferry bridge to the ridge road, and thence by Norristown, Reading and Harrisburgh, to Carlisle.

On Saturday morning, at 8 o'clock.

1. The light infantry corps.
2. The grenadiers.
3. The baggage of the infantry, grenadiers and battalion.
4. The governor's staff and wagons with Stores.
5. The battalion.

To march from their present encampment by the middle ferry bridge to the ridge road, and thence by Norristown, Reading and Harrisburgh, to Carlisle.

JOSIAH HARMAR,

Adjutant General of the militia of Pennsylvania:

GOVERNOR HOWELL, OF NEW JERSEY, TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

TRENTON, Sept. 17, 1794.

SIR:—I had the honor to receive, by Capt'n Sedam, at a very early hour, your Excellency's Intimation of a Wish that the Jersey Cavalry should take up their Line of March through the City of Philad'a. Nothing would be more pleasing to the Troops, & I should be delighted to have the opportunity of shewing you my respect by a ready compliance with your desire, but I am precluded by repeated Orders to take a different Route. I even signified to the War department, after those Orders, a regret that I could not pass through the City, but that I felt myself bound by the orders received. The Route by Norristown has been decided upon & purchases of Forage are made, therefore a change is become impracticable. I shall confide to you, Sir, that on the Evening of to-morrow I shall encamp at Newtown & the next night at Norristown, where I shall be happy to see your Excellency if agreeable & convenient. I have to excuse my not writing you yesterday, as I held then a privy Council, besides my military engagements, for which your Excellency well knows how to make the proper allowance.

I have the honor to be,

your Excellency's friend
& humble serv't,
R'D HOWELL.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH RESOLVES RELATIVE TO PROSCRIPTION.

At a meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Pittsburgh, held 17th September, 1794, for the purpose of considering the proscription of certain citizens, during the late disturbances, in which necessity and policy led to a temporary acquiescence on the part of the town.

It was unanimously resolved, That the said citizens were unjustly exiled, and the said proscriptions are no longer regarded by the inhabitants of the town of Pittsburgh, and that this resolution be published for the purpose of communicating these sentiments to those who were the subjects of the proscriptions.

By order,

A. TANNEHILL,
Chairman.

ALBERT GALLATIN TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

UNIONTOWN, 17th Sept'ber, 1794.

SIR:—I am directed by the Committee of townships, for the County of Fayette, to transinit to you a copy of the declarations agreed upon by them on the 10th instant, which were read on the following day, to the people convened in their respective Election districts, and the return of the sense of the people of this County, on the question of submission, so far as we have yet been able to ascertain it. We have, through every step, in this unfortunate business, taken those measures which from our knowledge of the sentiments of the people and of the heat which prevailed amongst them, appeared to us best calculated to allay by degrees the flame, to promote peace and submission to the laws, and to preserve this Country and Pennsylvania from the disgraceful necessity of a recourse to military coercion, and we are happy to be able to inform you, that the present appearances are as favorable as we had any right to expect. It was an effort too great, perhaps, to be expected from human nature, that a people should at once pass from an avowed intention of resisting, to the signing a test of absolute submission, & to a promise of giving active support to the Laws. The change would be operated only by degrees, and after having convinced the understanding of the more enlightened, it was not so easy a task to persuade those whose prejudices were more deeply rooted and means of information less extensive. The great body of the people, which consists of moderate men, were also, for a time, from a want of knowledge of their own strength, afraid to discover their sentiments, & were, in fact, kept in awe by the few violent men. This was one of the principal reasons which prevented so many from attending the general meeting on the day on which the sense of the people was taken, to which may be added, in this County, the unconcern of a great number of moderate men, who having followed peaceably their occupations during the whole time of the disturbances, did not think themselves interested in the event, & were not sufficiently aware of the importance of the question to the whole County. Although, however, all the warmest persons attended; we had a very large & decided majority amongst the voters, & great many of those who had come with an intention of testifying their intention to resist, were convinced by the Arguments made use of, though their pride would not suffer them to make a public retraction on the moment, and they went off without giving any vote.

A very favorable & decisive change has taken place since, & has, indeed, been the result of the event of that day. The general disposition now seems to be to submit, & a great many are now signing the proposals of the Commissioners, not only in the neighboring Counties, but even in this, where we had not thought it necessary. We have, therefore, thought the moment was come for the people to act with more vigour and to show something more than mere passive obedience to the laws, & we have, in consequence, (by the Resolutions of this day, herein inclosed, & which we hope, will be attended with salutary effects,) recommended associations for the purpose of preserving order and of supporting the civil authority, as whatever heat existed in this County, was chiefly owing to what had passed in the neighbouring Counties.

We have no doubt of peace being fully re-established and a perfect submission taking place here, provided it is not interrupted by some new acts of violence elsewhere. It is well known, that from sundry local causes which we have not now time to detail, the heat was much greater there than amongst us, but, there also, it was confined to a certain number, & we have the best information of its daily subsiding. Still, however, a certain degree does exist, both here & in all the other western Counties, and sometime will still be necessary to operate a compleat restoration of order & a perfect submission to the laws. The great question now is, whether there are sufficient assurances of that submission and of its sincerity, to justify Government in not making use of military coercion.

Mr. James Lang, one of our number, (& whose efforts for the restoration of peace have been unremitting during the whole course of the late disturbance,) has undertaken to deliver this letter, and we must beg leave to refer you to him for a full communication of our sentiments on that head. We will only observe, that punishment of past offences cannot be now the design of Government, since all those who might have been proper objects of resentment, have taken advantage of the proposals of the Commissioners, by signing the declarations required & that, if the submission is not sincere now, military coercion, although it may, by operating on the fears of the people, cause a general, but temporary acquiescence, will, so far from rendering it more sincere, encrease the discontents, embitter the minds & disgust many good citizens, so that, if there be any danger of new outrages being again committed, that danger will be the greatest, the moment the military force is withdrawn. When, to that observation, we add the consideration of the possibility of tumults & riots breaking out on the approach of an army, (even if its march did not again promote actual resistance,) of

the danger to which those Citizens who have taken an active part in restoring peace, will be then exposed; of the difficulty the officers will find in restraining a militia, but newly organized & inflamed by exaggerated representations, from committing outrages against the innocent citizens. When we reflect on the necessity of cultivating harmony between the different States and between the different parts of the same State, and on the local reasons which enjoin that duty still more forcibly in regard to the Western Country. When, finally, we recollect the peculiar situation of this Country, once claimed by Virginia, and the danger of old broils & intestine dissensions being again renewed, we cannot, too explicitly, express our opinion, that, nothing less than a conviction that submission cannot be obtained through any other means, and that every conciliatory measure would prove abortive, can justify Government in adopting that test & desperate resource.

Under those impressions, we have, we trust, fulfilled our duty as Citizens by taking the most active part in trying to compose the disturbances, & we mean to persevere in our endeavours to the last, be the event what it will. We are also fully sensible of the propriety of the measures heretofore adopted, and of the paternal indulgence shown by the President and by yourself in everything relative to this unfortunate business; and the confidence we have, both in the State and the general Government, convince us that nothing but dire necessity will induce them to embrace a measure which must, unavoidably, be attended with great mischiefs, and that, if they think themselves bound in duty to do it, they will use every method to lessen the evil, by not sending troops from another State, unless those of this State are found insufficient, by subjecting them to the strictest discipline, by rendering them altogether subservient to the civil authority alone, and by putting them under the command of an officer who, as a man, as a citizen, and as a friend to the laws, to order & to discipline, may (as far as it is possible to do it with such a commission) attract the confidence of the people amongst whom he shall be obliged to act.

Signed by order of the Committee,
ALBERT GALLATIN.
THOMAS MIFFLIN, Governor of Pennsylvania.

RESOLVES AT UNIONTOWN.

At a meeting of the Committee of townships for the county of Fayette, held in Uniontown on the 17th September, 1794,

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

the following resolutions were taken into consideration and adopted:

WHEREAS, The inhabitants of this county have, by a large majority, determined to submit to the laws of the United States and of the State of Pennsylvania:

And whereas, The general committees of the Western counties, held at Parkinson's ferry, entered into resolutions for the purpose of protecting the persons and properties of every individual;

And whereas, It is necessary to shew to our fellow citizens, throughout the United States, that the character of the inhabitants of the Western country is not such as may have been represented to them, but that, on the contrary, they are disposed to behave in a peaceable manner and can preserve good order among themselves without the assistance of a military force;

Resolved, That it be recommended to the inhabitants of the several townships to take such measures as in their opinion will be best calculated to preserve peace and order among themselves, and that the members of this committee be requested to promote such associations among the body of the people as may be necessary for the protection of persons and property of all citizens, and for the support of civil authority.

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the neighboring counties and that they be invited to take similar measures.

Signed by order of the Committee.

EDWARD COOK,
Chairman.

Attest:

ALBERT GALLATIN, *Secretary.*

GEN. CLEMENT BIDDLE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 18, 1794.

SIR:—The variety of calls for money and unnecessary advance of bounty to the Artillery, Scott's Infantry & the Cavalry before they march, will require that I should be furnished with a warrant for Twelve thousand Dollars on the act for suppressing an Insurrection in the western Counties of this Commonwealth.

I am, very respectfully,

Your Obed. Serv.,

CLEMENT BIDDLE,

Q. M. G. Penn'a.

Gov. MIFFLIN.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. HARMAR.

PHILAD'A, 18th Sept'r, 1794.

SIR:—In compliance with the request of the Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, as well as upon principles of justice & humanity to the unfortunate Emigrants, who have sought a temporary assylum in this Country, I think it proper to direct that no enrolment, for the Western expedition, shall be admitted or enforced in the case of those French Citizens, who are possessed of a Certificate from the Consul of the Republic of France, stating that they are casual and transient Residents in this State. You will be pleased, therefore, to communicate these instructions to the proper officers of the several Corps, and request that particular attention may be paid to ensure a full compliance with them.

I am, Sir, Y'r most obed. serv't,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To JOS. HARMAR, Esq., Adj. Gen. of the Militia of Penn'a.

SECRETARY HAMILTON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,

September 18, 1794.

SIR:—I have the honor to inform your Excellency that a detachment of the Troops of the United States, under the command of Lieut. Daniel Bissell, is to march from this City as an escort to a train of Artillery and Military Stores, intended for the Maryland and Virginia Militia called out against the Western Insurgents. This detachment will march through Lancaster and York Town and from thence to Williamsport in Maryland. I have to request that your Excellency would be pleased to give instructions to the commanding Officer of the Militia at York to furnish a reinforcement from his Militia to the said escort, if Lieut. Bissell should think it necessary, for the protection of his important charge.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's obedient Servant,

A. HAMILTON.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

MAJOR JOHN ALEXANDER TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

CARLISLE, *September 18, 1794.*

SIR:—I am happy to have it in my power to inform your excellency of the good effects of the orders of the 8th inst. By the assistance of a few of the well disposed people of this place, I set on foot two or three volunteer parties; and this day I am informed, by one of the parties, that they have enrolled twenty-eight men.

I am persuaded, if the bounty was known, (which 'tis said the Legislature is about giving,) our quota would soon be complete.

I must inform your excellency, that the active persons in raising the volunteers will expect to be commissioned; I have been obliged rather to encourage that hope, as I could not find such willingness among the officers already commissioned; and as men, sir, I hope they (if successful,) will meet your excellency's approbation.

I have ordered our troops to rendezvous at this place, Friday the 26th inst., with the expectation that the equipments and camp equipage, will arrive by that time.

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's

Most obedient humble servant,

JNO. ALEXANDER, *I. C. B.*

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN.

MAJOR JOHN ALEXANDER TO GEN. HARMAR.

CARLISLE, *September 18th, 1794.*

SIR:—I have executed the orders of the 8th inst., by express to the different captains, and will communicate to you by next post the prospects of its success.

I have this moment received the general order of the 11th inst., accompanied by the order of the 12th, and shall have the officers notified agreeably to its contents.

I am happy in having it in my power to inform you that the spirit of patriotism is still reviving in this place. I have great hopes from the volunteer enrollments going forward, and have a better appearance of success than when I wrote you last. We are not ascertained of the bounty to be given to them, which prevents several from joining, not being able to equip themselves.

I have the honor to be, Dear General,

Your very humble servant,

JNO. ALEXANDER, *I. C. B.*

JOSIAH HARMAR, Adj. Gen. Pennsylvania Militia,

GEN. WILLIAM IRVINE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

CARLISLE, *Sep'r 18th, 1794.*

SIR:—A newspaper notification has reached this place announcing that it is the place determined on for the general rendezvous, but as nothing official has arrived, nor any sort of preparation making to lay in provision or forage, nor provision made for camp equipage, I begin to doubt the authenticity of the publication.

I also saw a newspaper account some weeks ago giving the detail in which I was named as the Major General to Command, that I expected, being my tour as the oldest officer. I cannot persuade myself but that some other communication has been intended, and miscarried, as sundry arrangements are necessary to be made on all such occasions with the principal officers.

I know you must be hurried and perplexed, but surely this is a matter of first importance. I have already been called upon for orders & instructions respecting the quota of this County. The Brigade Inspector informs me that several Companies have proposed to him to assemble immediately and encamp, which would encourage the business, but he cannot advise it not knowing how they are to be supplied.

I observe there is great exertions making in and about the City to get out the quota; exertions are equally, if not more, necessary here, yet I doubt not if the officers had proper instructions and arrangements were made, but the quota would soon be raised but they are all depending on rumors and at last newspaper account, which tends rather to embarrass than stimulate to action. I have reason to fear this is the case in all the Counties west of Susquehanna. Some persons in this part of the Country are undoubtedly ill-disposed, and it is too true that scandalous things have been done, yet I am certain that the reports of a general disaffection are not true, but on the contrary a vast majority of the people are well-disposed, at least so well as not to think of arming against government, it is nevertheless true that they generally abominate an excise law and I believe never will sit easy under one.

I have had thoughts of taking a ride to Franklin County, as I doubt little is doing there, but did not like to be out of the way, being momentarily in expectation of receiving authentic advice from you. I have advised Col'l Alexander, to send by express, his report as called for by the general order, published in Dunlap's paper of last Saturday, altho' that is all the com-

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

munication he has received since the 8th of August, as I understand him.

I have the honor to be
with great respect, Sir,
Your Most Obed't Servant,
WM. IRVINE.

Governor MIFFLIN.

P. S.—The moment I was about to close this, the Inspector informed me, by a note, that he had this morning received the order of the 11th instant, *but no communication for me*. The Express went round by Franklin County & returns this way, which occasioned the delay.

Please to inform Col. Biddle that there is at this place a Mr. Jno. Hughes, who was a very good Brigade Quartermaster last war, he is willing to be employed in field duty—he is very capable.

It would be economy to have every man and article on this side the river, ready on the ground a day before the troops from below arrive, that the whole may soon take up the line of march. Militia will not lie idle in Camp.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON,
SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

PHILADELPHIA, 18th Sept'r, 1794.

SIR:—Agreeably to your request, I have inclosed a letter of instructions to the Brigade Inspector of York county, for the purpose of furnishing any reinforcement that Lieutenant Bissel may require on his march to Williamsport, in Maryland.

I am, with great esteem, Sir,
Your most obed. serv.,
THOMAS MIFFLIN.

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Esquire.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO COL. RUSSELL, OF YORK.

PHILADELPHIA, 18th September, 1794.

SIR:—This letter will be delivered to you by Lieutenant Daniel Bissel, who commands a detachment of the Troops of the United States, escorting a Train of Artillery and Military Stores, intended for the Maryland and Virginia Militia, called out against

the western Insurgents. The detachment will march through Lancaster and Yorktown, and thence to Williamsport, in Maryland. Should Lieut. Bissell think it necessary for the protection of his important charge, you will, upon his application, furnish such a reinforcement from the Militia of York county, drafted for the same service, as that officer shall deem adequate to the emergency. In executing these instructions, you will manifest the utmost alacrity and despatch; and in all other respects, facilitate Lieutenant Bissell's march.

I am, Sir,

Your Most obed. Serv.,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To ALEXANDER RUSSELL, Esq., Brigade Inspector of the county
of York.

ACTION OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ASSEMBLY.

An act to provide for suppressing an insurrection in the Western Counties of this Commonwealth.

WHEREAS, It appears, by various well authenticated accounts, that, in pursuance of combinations to defeat the laws of the Union, many persons in the western parts of this State have been so hardy as to commit the most flagrant and destructive acts of hostility to the Constitution and laws of the United States, as well as to the property of individual citizens:

And whereas, The President of the United States, by virtue of the power vested in him by law, has called forth a number of the militia of this commonwealth to restore peace and order among the citizens, and enforce due obedience to the laws;

And whereas, It is of the utmost importance to the security of the liberty and property of the citizens, that the constitution and laws of the United States should be supported, and those wanton and outrageous violators of peace, order and good government, be compelled to submit to the legitimate authority of their country;

In order, therefore, to enable the Governor to carry into prompt effect, the patriotic and beneficial intentions of the President of the United States:

SECT. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That the Governor be authorized to engage, for a term of four months, unless sooner discharged, the number of the militia of this commonwealth, required by the President of the United

States, for the purpose of restoring peace and order in this State, or so many thereof as may be sufficient to complete the quota required as aforesaid; and the Governor shall organize the men so engaged, into companies and battalions, or regiments, in such manner as he shall deem expedient, over which he may appoint the necessary officers; any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

SECT. 2. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the militia, thus engaged, shall be subject to the same duty, and to the like rules and regulations, as if they were called to perform a tour of duty in the manner prescribed by the act, entitled "An Act for the regulation of the militia, of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania," passed the eleventh day of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.

SECT. 3. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the pay of the commissioned officers, so as aforesaid appointed, shall be the same as the pay of officers of corresponding rank under the military establishment of the United States, and there shall be allowed to such of the militia as shall be engaged as aforesaid the sum of eight dollars per month to each Sergeant, seven dollars per month to each Corporal, six dollars and sixty-seven cents per month to each Private and Musician, and there shall be allowed to each of them, at the time of entering into the service aforesaid, in advance as an addition to their pay, the sum of six dollars, which pay to the Officers and Privates, shall be in lieu of the pay allowed by the United States.

SECT. 4. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That there shall be allowed to the militia who shall be drafted and perform their tour of duty, the same monthly pay and additional allowance, as those who are engaged by the Governor in pursuance of this act.

SECT. 5. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That it shall and may be lawful for the Governor to appoint a Surgeon and Quarter-Master for each volunteer troop of horse who may offer their service in the militia, engaged for the suppression of the aforesaid insurrection, if he shall deem it necessary, and the said Surgeons and Quarter-Masters shall be entitled to the same pay and rations as Surgeons and Quarter-Masters in the service of the United States.

SECT. 6. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars be appropriated for providing the necessary arms and ammunition, and of defraying the other necessary incidental expenses, for carrying into effect the objects of this act, which sums shall be paid by the State Treasurer, upon the warrant of the Governor, out of the funds appropriated by law to pay the expenses of government, and an account of the disbursements thereof, or

of any part thereof, shall be exhibited to the officers of account, for examination and settlement, as in other cases, with like appeals as directed by an act of the General Assembly, entitled "An Act to provide for the settlement of public accounts, and for other purposes therein mentioned," and the Governor shall cause a statement thereof to be laid before the General Assembly at the next ensuing session.

GEORGE LATIMER,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
ANTHONY MORRIS,
Speaker of the Senate.

APPROVED—September the nineteenth, 1794.

THOMAS MIFFLIN,
Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

TENCH FRANCIS TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILADELPHIA, 19th September, 1794.

SIR:—I have made Contracts with a number of Sadlers and Cedar Coopers for a Variety of Articles to equip the Troops now about to march against the Insurgents in our Western Countys, and they all tell me that it is impossible for them to comply unless their Journeymen and apprentices, who have been drafted, are returned to them. Your know, Sir, what is proper to be done in this Business, therefore, I shall take the Liberty to inform you that—

Mr. Craig, a Sadler in Market Street has lost 4, viz:	{ Andrew Campbell, Benjamin Wallis, Joseph Lawson, Samuel Dillon. William Brown. Phil.p Taylor, Elijah Tingle. Thomas Comb. Jacob Camper, his son, an apprentice.
Mr. Kinsey, do. in front street 1,	Willam Brown.
Mr. Anders, do. in Second Street 2,	Phil.p Taylor, Elijah Tingle.
Mr. Martin, do. in Second Street 1,	Thomas Comb.
Mr. Camper, Cedar Cooper 1,	Jacob Camper, his son, an apprentice.

I am, Sir, with the most Sincere Respect,
Y'r Most ob. serv.,

TENCH FRANCIS,* Agent.

His Exc'y THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esq., Gov. of Pennsylvania.

*TENCH FRANCIS was a native of Philadelphia. His father was Attorney General of the Province. Mr. Francis was, for many years, agent of the Penn family in Philadelphia, and was the first cashier of the bank of North America, which office he retained until his death, May 1, 1800, in his sixty-ninth year.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO GEN. HARMAR.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE.
PHILAD'A, 19th Sept'r, 1794.

SIR:—It has been represented to the Governor, by Mr. Hamilton, who acts for General Knox in the War Department, that Samuel Owner, of Captain Guy's Artillery, has been employed in an important work for the United States; and that it is very material to the public service, that he should not be included in the drafts for the western expedition. Under these circumstances, the Governor requests that you will confer with the commanding officer of the Corps, in which Samuel Owner serves, and signify his request and approbation that the man should be discharged.

I am, Sir,

Your Most obed. Serv.,

A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary.*

To JOSIAH HARMAR, Esq., Adjutant General of the Militia of Pennus'a.

GENERAL ORDERS RESPECTING THE ORDERLY
MARCH OF THE MILITIA.

PHILADELPHIA, 20th Sept., 1794.

The New Jersey Militia, having taken the route by the way of Norristown, Pottsgrove & Reading, the Governor, for the purpose of ensuring supplies of provisions and forage, directs that the Detachment of Pennsylvania militia, under orders to march from the camp at Peters' Farm, at 5 o'clock, on Monday morning next, shall proceed by the way of Downingtown, Lancaster & Harrisburgh to Carlisle.

The Governor being solicitous for the reputation of the militia that the utmost order should be observed on the march, he trusts that he shall be excused in repeating his earnest desire that the strictest attention may be paid to sobriety and regularity of conduct. To the officers, in particular, he confides the important trust of inculcating the principles of good behaviour, and of checking every symptom of a riotous or refractory disposition. The object of the present service being of the most serious as well as the most dignified nature, to protect the government & laws of a free people from violence, the deportment of every man, who is engaged in it ought, and on this occasion,

the Governor is confident, will be equally firm and patriotic.
The Governor expects to meet the Detachment at Reading, on Wednesday next.

By order of the Governor,

JOSIAH HARMAR,
Adj. Gen. Mil. of Penn'a.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO THE SPEAKER OF THE SENATE.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
PHILA., 20th Sept'r, 1794.

SIR:—As the Governor is engaged in the performance of some important Executive duties, relative to the expedition against the insurgents in the Western counties, I deem it incumbent upon me to communicate to you a copy of a letter which has been received from the War Department on that subject for the information of the Legislature. I take this opportunity, likewise, to enclose a statement of the Route intended to be pursued by the Governor, in order to insure a satisfactory compliance with the President's requisition.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your Most Obed. Serv.,

A. J. DALLAS,
Secretary.

To ANTHONY MORRIS, Esq., Speaker of the Senate of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Penns'a.

[A similar letter was written to George Latimer, esquire, Speaker of the House of Representatives.]

N. B.—This letter with the documents therein mentioned, is entered in the Legislative Communications.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. WALTER STEWART.

PHILADELPHIA, 20th Septem'r, 1794.

SIR:—As my Executive duties, in compliance with the President's requisition, for embodying the Militia against the Western Insurgents, will require my absence for some time from the City, I have informed the Mayor, that should any emergency arise, you will cheerfully comply with any lawful application which he shall make for supporting the civil authority, by competent

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

drafts from the Militia of your Division. You will be pleased, therefore, Sir, to pay a proper attention to the subject, and I am confident, that your exertions, in concert with the Mayor's to ensure the peace and order of the City, will be a source of great consolation to our Fellow Citizens, who have left their property and families, to vindicate the laws of their Country.

I am, Sir,

Your Most Obed. H'ble Serv.,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To Maj'r Gen'l WALTER STEWART.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO NATHANIEL FALCONER.

PHILADELPHIA, 20th Sept'r, 1794.

SIR:—My Executive duties, under the President's requisition, for embodying the Militia in opposition to the Western Insurgents, will require my absence for some time from Philadelphia. Permit me to request particular attention to the Rules prescribed for preserving the peace and neutrality of the Port. Should you at any time be at a loss for authority or instructions, it may be advisable to consult the Mayor or Recorder of the City.

Be pleased to communicate this letter to the Board.

I am, Sir,

Your Most Obed. Serv't,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To NATHANIEL FALCONER, esq., Master Warden of the Port of Philadelphia.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO SUPERINTENDENT GUNPOWDER MAGAZINE.

PHILADELPHIA, 20th Sept'r, 1794.

SIR:—The State of our public affairs renders it necessary, that no gunpowder should be delivered from the Magazine, without some satisfactory proof that it is not intended to be used in an unlawful manner. I have, therefore, requested the Mayor of the City to examine every application, and without his approbation, you will be pleased to suspend a compliance with any application for the delivery of gunpowder.

I am, Sir,

Your Most Obed. Serv't,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To The Superintendent of the Gunpowder Magazine or his Deputy.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO THE MAYOR OF PHILADELPHIA.

PHILADELPHIA, 20th Sept'r, 1794.

SIR:—The attention to my Executive duties, under the President's requisition, for embodying the Militia against the Western Insurgents unavoidably compels me to be absent sometime from Philadelphia, and as some unexpected emergency may arise during that period, I have thought it proper to direct Major Gen'l Stewart to comply with any lawful request which you shall make, as Chief Magistrate of the City, for the aid of the Militia of his Division to support the Civil authority. Lest any supply of ammunition should be clandestinely transported to the Insurgents, I have, likewise, instructed the Superintendent of the Gunpowder Magazine to deliver no powder without your previous approbation.

These arrangements being made with a view to the peace and safety of the Commonwealth, will, I am persuaded, receive all the sanction that you can officially give them.

I am with great esteem, Sir,

Your Most Obed. Serv.,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To MATTHEW CLARKSON, esq., Mayor of the City of Philad'a.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, Sept'r 20th, 1794.

SIR:—The Intelligence received from the Western Counties of Pennsylvania, which comes down to the 13th inst., and announces as far as it was then known, the result of the meetings of the people in the several townships and Districts, to express their sense on the question of submission or resistance to the laws—while it shews a great proportion of the Inhabitants of those Counties disposed to pursue the path of Duty, shews, also, that there is a large and violent Party, which can only be controuled by the application of Force. This being the result, it is become the more indispensable and urgent to press forward the forces destined to act against the Insurgents with all possible activity and energy. The advanced season leaves no time to spare, and it is extremely important to afford speedy protection to the well disposed, and to prevent the preparation and accumulation of greater means of Resistance, and the extenusion of combinations

22

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

to subdue the Insurrection. The President counts upon every exertion on your part, which so serious and eventful an emergency demands.

With perfect respect,

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obed. Serv.,
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Mis Excellency, THOMAS MIFFLIN, Governor of Pennsylvania.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
20th Sept'r, 1794.

SIR:—The engagements of the Governor preventing his immediate attention to some of the details for the Western expedition, permit me, on his behalf, to enquire whether it is understood to be within the Province of the State Executive to appoint a Surgeon General for the State of Pennsylvania. The object is of considerable importance; and I have requested Doct'r Dorsey to do me the favor to wait on you for an answer to this letter. The Militia acts of the United States and of this State leave the matter in some degree doubtful.

I take this opportunity to inform you, that upon the receipt of your letter of the 20th instant, I called on the Master Warden, with instructions to send off an Express to Fort Mifflin for the purpose of stopping and detaining any vessel of the description which you mention. The answer of the officer commanding at the Fort is inclosed for your perusal.

I am, Sir,

Your Most obed. Serv.,
A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary.*

To ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Esquire.

COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

ROBINHOOD, Sept. 21, 1794.

DEAR SIR:—About sunrise I visited the Artillery Camp at Robinson's mill & called the Captains together (as major Fisher had gone to town, on their disputing his right to command) to know if they could march agreeably to General Orders, & which was expected from them. They expressed so many Doubts of their being able to move, that I do not expect they will, in the Course of the Day, tho' I urged the necessity even if they could

be ready by noon, & I requested a return of what was deficient, as well in the military Stores as any other Line, and they should be sent on.

I am greatly embarrassed in my situation, with respect to Mr. E. Fox. I first appointed Wm. Miller, who, after near two days' consideration, declined. I next appointed Geo. Eddy, who, after two days' consideration, also declined; altho' both had requested the appointment. Mr. Fox just then Offered & I appointed him from his known Capacity for business, & his holding respectable Office under our State Government. He has been very assiduous in his attention to his Duty, & has taken great pains to acquire some knowledge of the nature of the department, and I had made arrangements for his moving with the Brigade to which he was appointed as Brigade Quarter Master. To remove him would be destroying his character as a citizen; but if you, my Friend, are of opinion that the objections to him are such as will make it necessary for the good of the service, (which alone should be the object we have in view,) I will remove him. I beg you candidly to give me your advice; or if the Governor will, under this state of facts, suggest to me his wish, I shall immediately comply with it.

Believe me, with sincere regard,

Y'r very hum. serv.,

CLEMENT BIDDLE.

Pray let me know what arrangements you made last night—I am very busy in making mine.

THE OFFICERS OF BUCKS COUNTY TO SECRETARY
DALLAS.

NEWTOWN, Sept. 21st, 1794.

SIR:—Yesterday, as you know, We had the honor of a visit from the Governor and in an address made to a very numerous body of Militia officers and Citezens, well calculated to animate every Patriotic Citezen to Step forward on the Present Ocration, has had a very beneficial effect and has roused the Citezens of this County Who have been hitherto slothfull in the Business. Immediately after the departure of the Governor We had a meeting of the Officers, at which a very free and confidential Communication took place, and altho' the most zealous Spirit to advocate the Cause was Shewn by the Officers, yet they expressed their fears that it would be impracticable to Supply the Quota of the County without the advance on the Spot. They

also are of opinion, and it's ours, that the men will March with much more elacritiy if the Arms & other Camp equipage could be sent to this Place which is appointed the Rendevous for the Troops of the County. If they are not gone on to Reading, We are confident that their being sent here will have a very good effect, And have no Doubt but the Business will be efected Satisfactorily on the terms proposed.

A number of Officers and private Citezens have opened their purses and the Bounty has been paid to Recruits, but this fund We find will not last. It's, therefore, absolutely necessary to success that a supply, as well as a Re-imbursment, Should be made. We have Personally engaged payment to those Who have advanced. In the Absence of the Governor, Who informed Us he intended to March this Day, We hope you will Use every indeavour in your Power to enable us to come forward in a respectable way. Orders given for compleating the Quota in the County are Issued and now executing with Vigure, but in full expectation that the bounty will be paid on their arrival at Newtown. A Few of the Real Friends of Government have Committed themselves as answerable. I hope We will not be disgraced—on your Patriotism and Friendship we rely. Maj'r Murray, Who can be very ill Spared from his Duty, is requested to go to Town on the express purpose. He will communicate every thing more particularly, but if possible, let us have 2,000 dollars and We will be answerable for the money.

Yours with Respect,

FRANCIS MURARY, *B. Gen'l*
JAS. HANNA, *Lt. Col.*

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO CAPT. RICE.

PHILA., 22nd Sept'r, 1794.

SIR:—During my absence from the city, on the necessary Executive duties connected with the Western expedition, you will be pleased to comply with such instructions as you shall from time to time receive from the Master Warden of the Port, for the purpose of preserving peace and neutrality.

Should any emergency arise, Gen'l Stewart will reinforce your Garrison with a Competent draft from the Militia. To him, therefore, in such an event, you will apply.

I am, Sir,

Your most Obed't Serv't,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To Capt'n RICE, or The Officer Commanding at Fort Mifflin.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO GEN. WM. IRVINE.

PHILAD'A, 22d Sept'r, 1794.

DEAR SIR:—The Governor received your letter of the 18th instant. By the Militia law, it is made the duty of the Adjutant General to distribute all orders from the Governor, as Commander-in-Chief of the Militia, to the several Corps, and it is the duty of the Brigade Inspectors to notify those who are called into actual service. But besides these regulations, the Governor gave express instructions to the Adjutant General to communicate the General Orders of the 8th ult., to the Majors Gen'l and Brigadier Generals included in the requisition. You will, therefore, perceive at once, that any omission in notifying you, must be the effect of accident, and, at all events, cannot be imputed to the Governor. The Brigade Inspector of Cumberland ought certainly to have laid his Orders before you, and he received them as soon after they were issued, as an Express could carry them.

This Explanation will, I am convinced, be satisfactory to you, and the Governor confidently relies upon the full exertion of your influence and talents at this important crisis. The Militia of the other States, and of the Counties in our neighbourhood, are all in motion. It has been hitherto, however, a matter of great fatigue to the Governor, to inform the minds of the inhabitants of the Counties, so as to remove prejudices and establish the necessity of immediate exertion on behalf of the citizens. With that view, he again takes up his Route through the Counties to-morrow, and will be in Carlisle on Thursday, the 2nd of October. The Legislature will probably adjourn this evening. I enclose you a copy of the Law which they have passed, respecting the Insurrection. They will, I think, suspend the Presqu' isle surveys, but continue the Fort at Le Bœuf.

It is rumoured that the President will join the Militia at Carlisle.

I am, D'r Sir,
with Great regard & esteem, Yours,
A. J. DALLAS.

To Maj. Gen'l IRVINE, Carlisle.

MAJOR REES TO GENERAL HARMAR.

BUCK TAVERN, 22d Sep'r, 1794.

DEAR GENERAL:—We design to encamp this evening one and-a-half miles above this Tavern which is commonly called

"Miller's." The Artillery are expected to encamp here also, their Commissary is already here and made provision for them.

I learn with much regret that there is yet a doubt of receiving a sufficiency of knapsacks, which will be productive of very disagreeable measures on the part of those who are without. Cusack's Company are determined not to march in the morning without. For God sake have this thing attended to, for one revolt will I fear encourage others. My best exertions shall not be wanting to reconcile every disagreeable occurrance, but this one wear the appearance of being insurmountable.

I am with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obed't H'ble Serv't,

JAMES REES,

D'y Adj't Gen'l.

JOSIAH HARMAR, Esq., Adjutant General of Pennsylvania
Militia.

GEN. JAMES CHAMBERS TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

LOUDOUN FORGE,

FRANKLIN COUNTY, *Sep'r 22d, 1794.*

SIR:—I left Philadelphia on the tenth instant and returned to this place by the way of Baltimore. On the 16th I arrived in Chambersburgh, and to my great astonishment found the Rabble had raised, what they Caled, a Liberty pole. Some of the most active of the inhabitants was at the time absent, and upon the whole, perhaps it was best, as matters has Since taken a violent Change. When I came hear I found the magistrates had opposed the Sitting of the pole up, to the utmost of their power, but was not Supported by the majority of the Cittyzens. They wished to have the Royators Subject to Law, and (Mr. Justice John Riddle, John Scott and Christian Oyster) the Magistrates of this place informed me of their zealous wish to have them brought to Justice. I advised them to Call a meeting of the inhabitants of the town on the next morning, and we would have the matter opened to them and Shew the necessity of Soporting Government, Contrassed with the destruction of one of the best governments in the wourld.

The Justices Shewed a very Spirited disposition on the occasion, and immediately Issued Orders for the inhabitants to meet in the Coorthous at 8 o'clock the next morning. That Evening the Justices drew up a very animating address to the people, which was delivered by Justice *John Riddle*, and a number of Resolves was likewise formed for the people to Sign, in order to be assured who would Step forward and Support the Justices

in the Execution of their office, as they have determined to bring the Royators to Justice, which I Strongly pressed them to put to the tryal. I was determined to Inform them of the Speach made by His Exelency, the Govanour, to the Millittia officers of the City and County of Philadelphia, as far as my recollection would Serve me, but mentioning the matter to Judge Riddle, he informed me the Govanour's Speach was in the paper which had come to hand the day before. I then mentioned to *Judge Riddle* that I would be happy if he would Open the business and read the Govanour's Speach. He with Chearfulness Under-took the business, and in a very Masterly manner Shewed the nature of Government and the necessity of supporting it and the Evil that must ensue on the overturning or giving assistance to the operation of the laws made in fact by the people themselves, as they were made by the Representatives of their own Choice. I then informed the Audience of the Exertions making by Government, and that the Good Cittyzens of the lower part of this State, and in General of all the States north of Pennsylvania, would by Unanimous in Quelling the inserection. Then the Resolves was read, and I found was Generally aproven of by all present and they were Generally Signed. I am now happy in having it in my power to request you, Sir, to inform his Excelency, the Govanour, that these Exertions has worked the desired Change. The Magistrates has Sent for the men, the very Same that Erected the pole, and I had the pleasure of Seeing them on Saturday Evening Cut it down; and with the Samé waggon that brought it into town, they were obliged to draw the remains of it out of town again. The Circumstance was mortifying and they behaived very well. They Seem very penetant and no person on offered them any insult. It has worked Such a Change. I believe we will be able Shortly to Send our Quota to Carlisle.

Pleas to make my Most Respectfull Compliments to the Govanour, and believe me to be with due

Respect, Your very

Hum'l Serv't,

JAMES CHAMBERS.

N. B.—I wrote you from the head of Elk, requesting that I might have written orders forwarded, but the General Orders Appearing will perhaps Supersced the Greatness of the necessity at this time as when I last had the pleasure of Seeing you. I was desired to Exert my Self in bringing forward the quota of Franklin, but that order was Verbal which is not Millatare.

I am, &c.,

J. CHAMBERS.

A. J. DALLAS, Esq'r.

~ GEN. WM. JACK TO GOV. MIFFLIN.

GREENSBURGH, Sept'r 22d, 1794.

SIR:—I think it my duty to transmit your Excellency an account of the situation of this County at the present crisis, and the motives which induced me to call into service a small corps of Militia, to assist in preserving Peace, and warding off any attack on the County Town, Where the public Records are kept, and in which the adjoining Counties are interested as well as this.

Untill the Disturbances took place, soon after the arrival of the Federal Marshall, the people of this County, altho' generally averse to the Duty on Spirits, thought very little about it, and I have reason to presume many of the principal Distillars would have entered rather than subjected themselves to a prosecution, the flame was soon communicated, and many from different views rather encouraged opposition than otherwise, whilst those who failed of other reasons made use of threats, to accomplish their views. The enclosed paper, sent to a Distiller in this county, shows the mode of Invitation from Washington; but there is reason to suppose that open as well as deseguised menaces of burning, &c., had the greatest effect in collecting the small number that went from Westmoreland to Braddock's field.

The vigorous measures proposed by Government, as well as the just fears of all good citizens, and the danger to persons and property, all had their effect in allaying the ferment. The people, however, revolted at the Idea of submitting to the Law complained of, as settled with the commissioners met at Pittsburgh. Considerable pains was used at this place to procure the signing required, and I firmly believe but for the steady countenance and determination of a few among us, no signing at all would have taken place. The Germans who are thick settled in this Neighborhood, being from ignorance of our Language, more easily imposed upon, were extreamly unwilling, and even shewed a disposition which I did not expect from those habits of Industry to which they are used.

On the 11th inst., the day fixed, only about 80 came forward to sign out of several hundreds met; frequent attempts were made by some to intimidate and create mischief; at length some of the ringleaders attempted to snatch the papers in order to destroy them, but were prevented. Those who were known to have signed have been more or less threatened ever since, by a set of worthless fellows.

An association was set on foot in the Town, the 13th Instant, for protection and mutual safety, and was generally agreed to,

even by some of those who did not like the declaration, to submit to the Laws. On the 16th, being assured of an attempt, set on foot by a Lieut. Straw, to raise a party to come to Town with the pretense of getting the papers, I thought it most advisable to issue a Warrant, and Committed him to Goal.

Being joined by a Number of friends to peace from the country, I went with a party of about 50 men to a House where the said Straw's party was to collect, about a mile from Town, Where we found about thirty persons who Declared in favour of peace, and not finding some of those among them who had been the most active, we thought it best to be satisfied with their assurances.

To put a Check to further Combinations of this kind, it was deemed expedient (on a consultation among the citizens of the Town, and some who had come from the country, Particularly Mr. Firdley and Mr. Porter) to have a party raised to be ready on any Emergency. In consequence I have given Instructions for calling out a Lieut. and 30 Volunteers Militia to rendevouze here this week. The number to be augmented, if occasion requires; but I hope this will not be necessary—the more especially as the Troops ordered by the Executive are now supposed to be on their March.

For your Excellency's satisfaction I transmit you a copy of the Letter from the Citizens to me, and at the same time request your sanction to the measure I have undertaken.

I am, Sir, your Excellency's Most obed. Humble Serv't.,
WM. JACK.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. WALTER STEWART.

PHILADELPHIA, 22d Sept'r, 1794.

SIR:—Should any emergency arise, I have directed the commanding officer at Fort Mifflin to apply to you for a reinforcement of his Garrison, by such drafts from the Militia as shall, from time to time, be necessary to preserve the peace and neutrality of the Port. You will be pleased, therefore, to attend to any applications of that kind; but, if the service will admit of it, I wish the drafts to be made from the Militia of Delaware county, whose quota for the western expedition, has, with that view, been made proportionally small. In case you shall find that arrangement proper and practicable, you will suggest it to General Humpton, who commands the Division of Militia that includes the Delaware Brigade.

I am, Sir,
Your Most Obed. Serv't,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To Maj'r Gen'l STEWART.
19—VOL. IV.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. RICHARD HUMPTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 22nd Sept'r, 1794.

SIR:—I have left the quota of Delaware County for the Western expedition, proportionally small, with a view to draw from the Militia of that Brigade, any reinforcement that may be necessary to enable the Garrison at Fort Mifflin, to preserve effectually the peace and neutrality of the Port. In the first instance, however, the nature of the service will require an application to Maj. Gen'l Stewart, the Commander of the First Division, and if he finds it proper and practicable to draft any force, which an emergency may require, from your Division, he is requested to refer the subject to you with all possible dispatch.

The discharge of some important Executive duties will require my absence, for some time, from the seat of Government; but I have made such arrangements as will, I am persuaded, prevent any impediment or injury in transacting the public business. As far as rests with you, I rely upon a prompt and faithful assistance.

I am, Sir,

Your Most Obed. Serv't,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To Maj'r General HUMPTON.

CAPT. JOHN WOODSIDE TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

PHILAD'A, Sept'r 23rd, 1794.

SIR:—Last evening I informed the Governor, by letter, that I had notified my company, and should meet this morning to propose to my men a voluntary offer of their services, in consequences of the governor's request that another comp. of artillery might be voluntarily furnished, and that I would wait upon him this morning previously to the meeting, and receive his instructions.

As I was on my way to the State House this morning, and before I waited upon the governor, it occurred to me that as my company was the 6th in rotine of duty, and the officers of the Reg't of artillery, at a full meeting, had agreed to do duty by companies, and in their proper tours, that the captains of the 3d & 5th companies might consider my turning out upon this request as a violation of that agreement, I suggested this idea to the Governor; but that gentleman was so hurried in preparation for his departure, that he could not well hear me upon a point

which I esteemed of some delicacy; and as I considered myself competent to judge what was proper to be done in this case, I waited upon the captains whose tour preceded mine, determined with submission to divine providence, if they declined, that I would take prompt measures to recruit & equip my Company, & be ready to march as soon as possible.

Not seeing Capt. Skerret of the 3d in the first instance, I called upon Capt. Hanse of the 5th Comp., who declined, assuring me that his business was in such a state that he could not leave it without the greatest injury. There remained nothing in the way of my turning out, but the declension of Capt. Skerret, in company with whom I waited upon the Governor, who asked me if I was ready. My reply was, my men were then assembling, that no doubt numbers would march as volunteers, and that any deficiency might be made up by other volunteers, but that it now lay with Capt. Skerret to say whether I was to march or not, as my regard to order and our agreement led me to put the business at his option; for if he would not go, I would be ready to march with all possible expedition.

The Governor knows the result; and as Capt. Skerret has undertaken to march his company, I only wait to know if mine shall be wanted, and will endeavour to evidence a promptitude in equipment when necessary, and a readiness to march as volunteers when directed. Till which time we shall be in waiting, but not proceed to uniforming the men, as that adopted is only temporary and Regimental, which we shall nevertheless conform to if called upon this emergency. I have thought proper to trouble you, Sir, with this statement of facts, as my letter of last evening, and my not marching, cannot be reconciled without this explanation.

I am, Sir,

With due regard, your obed't Serv't,

JNO. WOODSIDE,

Capt. 6th Comp. of Artillery.

A. J. DALLAS, Secretary, &c., &c.

FRANCIS J. SMITH, OF NORTHAMPTON, TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

LOWER SMITHFIELD, NORTHAMPTON COUNTY,
23d September, 1794.

SIR:—While I was preparing to join the voluntairs in the City, pursuant to your Proclamation, I became informed by a Respectable character of the Legislature for our County, that a Certain

Character of influence in this County was obstructing the views of our Government. On the 19th instant I Left the City and hastened to the Spot to Counteract an Sinister impression his influence might have occasioned. As I proceeded further in the County, I had the pleasure of being aggreatly disappointed, and the satisfaction of finding a People chiefly impressed with one mind ready to Support Government. I come home the 21, where I found one of my children very Sick, & wheile I am attending her, have ordered my Son Francis Alex'dre to equip him Self immediatly in order to join your Excellency's Standard, having been Lately an officer in An Hungharian Reg't of Hus-sars, in which he obtained a Cap't's Commission. I can't have the Least doubt but what he is acquainted with military Sub-ordination, and I Do indulge the hope that the Same Spirit, which induced him to hunt a Father in America, will actuate him in Support of a Government whose Laws he has cheerfully embraced & Sworn to Support. As he objected against Serving in the Northampton County troop of horse for particular Reason, I have advised him to join Such a troop of Volontairs as Your Excellency will be pleased to Direct. I flatter my Self, that by his Conduct, he will endeavour to Deserve particularly Your Excellency's Esteem, and that of his Superior officers, to whom I Could have wished to introduce him as he is yet a Stranger in this Country. For my part, I Shall hold my Self in readiness to execute Such orders your Excellency will be pleased to impose on me. If there Should be Occasion for an experienced officer of artillery, I take the freedom to propose to Your Excellency, Monsieur Vannier, former Commandant of Artillery of St. Domingo, Major of artillery under the Late King, who Liveth with me. If need I shall endeavour to prevail on him to join me, or if woodsmen Should be thought wanting I shall exert my Self in promoting Such instructions as your Excellency will be pleased to charge me with. I have the honour of Subscribing my Self with as much Esteem as Respect,

Your Excellency's Most obed't
& humble Servant,
FRANCIS J. SMITH.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esquire, Governor & Commander-in-Chief
of the State of Pennsylvania.

REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES COMMISSIONERS.

PHILADELPHIA, September 24, 1794.

The commissioners appointed to confer with the citizens in the Western counties of Pennsylvania, in order to induce them to submit peaceably to the laws, and to prevent the necessity of using coercion to enforce their execution, respectfully report to the President of the United States:

That in pursuance of their instructions they repaired to the Western counties, and, on their arrival there, found that the spirit of disaffection had pervaded other parts of the fourth survey of Pennsylvania besides those counties declared to be in a state of insurrection; that all the officers of inspection established therein had lately been violently suppressed, and that a meeting of persons, chosen by most of the townships, was assembled at Parkinson's ferry, for the purpose of taking into consideration the situation of the Western country. This assembly, composed of citizens coming from every part of the fourth survey, would have furnished a favorable opportunity for a conference and mutual explanation; but as they met in the open fields, and were exposed to the impressions of a number of rash and violent men (some of them armed) who surrounded them, an immediate communication with the whole body would have been inconvenient and hazardous. The meeting was probably of that opinion also: for, soon after the appointment of commissioners was announced to them, they resolved that a committee, to consist of three persons from each county, should be appointed to meet any commissioners that might have been or might be appointed by the Government; and that they should report the result of their conference to the standing committee, which was to be composed of one person from each township. As soon as this committee of conference were nominated they agreed to meet at Pittsburgh, on the 20th of the same month.

The underwritten accordingly repaired to that place, and were soon after joined by the Honorable Thomas McKean and William Irvine, esquires, who had been appointed commissioners on the part of the Executive of Pennsylvania. A full and free communication was immediately had with those gentlemen, as to the powers delegated, and the measures proper to be pursued at the expected conference.

On the day appointed, a sub-committee of the conferees waited on the commissioners, and arranged with them the time, place and manner of conference. It was agreed that it should be had

the next morning at the house of John McMasters, in Pittsburgh, and should be private.

On the 21st, all the commissioners met the conferees at the place appointed. Of the latter, there were present John Kirkpatrick, George Smith and John Powers, from Westmoreland county; David Bradford, James Marshall and James Edgar, from Washington county; Edward Cook, Albert Gallatin and James Lang, from Fayette county; Thomas Morton, John Lucas, H. H. Brackenridge, from Allegheny county; together with William McKinley, William Sutherland and Robert Stevenson, who were inhabitants of Ohio county, in Virginia.

The conference was begun by the underwritten, who expressed the concern they felt at the events which had occasioned that meeting, but declared their intention to avoid any unnecessary observations upon them, since it was their business to endeavor to compose the disturbances which prevailed, and to restore the authority of the laws by measures wholly of a conciliatory nature.

It was then stated, that the formal resistance which had lately been given to the laws of the United States, violated the great principle on which republican Government is founded; that every such Government must, at all hazards, enforce obedience to the general will, and that, so long as they admitted themselves to be a part of the nation, it was manifestly absurd to oppose the national authority.

The underwritten then proceeded to state the obligations which lay on the President of the United States, to cause the laws to be executed; the measures he had taken for that purpose; his desire to avoid the necessity of coercion; and the general nature of the powers he had vested in them; and, finally, requested to know whether the conferees could give any assurances of a disposition in the people to submit to the laws or would recommend such submission to them.

The commissioners on the part of the State of Pennsylvania, then addressed the conferees on the subject of the late disturbances in that country; forcibly represented the mischievous consequences of such conduct; explained the nature of their mission, and declared they were ready to promise, in behalf of the executive authority of the State, a full pardon and indemnity for all that was past on condition of an entire submission to the laws.

On the part of the conferees, a narrative was given of those causes of discontent and uneasiness, which, very generally, prevailed in the minds of the people in the Western counties, and which had discovered themselves in the late transactions.

Many of these, they said, had long existed, and some of them from the settlement of that country. Among other causes of discontent, they complained of the decisions of the State courts, which discountenanced improvement titles, and gave preference to paper titles, of the war which had so long vexed the frontiers, and of the manner in which that war had been conducted. They complained that they had been continually harassed by militia duty, in being called out by the State Government to repel incursions, &c.; the General Government had been inattentive to the execution of the treaty of peace respecting the western posts, and remiss in asserting the claim to the navigation of the Mississippi; that the acts for raising a revenue on distilled spirits were unequal and oppressive, in consequence of their local circumstances; that Congress had neglected their remonstrances and petitions, and that there was great hardship in being summoned to answer for penalties in the courts of the United States at a distance from the vicinage. They also mentioned the suspension of the settlement at Presqu' isle, the engrossing of large quantities of land in the State by individuals, the killing of certain persons at General Neville's house, and the sending of soldiers from the garrison at Pittsburgh to defend his house, as causes of irritation among the people. To these they added the appointment of General Neville as inspector of the survey, whose former popularity had made his acceptance of that office particularly offensive.

They said they were persuaded that the persons who were the actors in the late disturbances had not originally intended to have gone so far as they had gone, but were led to it from the obstinacy of those who refuse to do what was demanded of them; that the forcible opposition which had been made to the law was owing to the pressure of the grievance, but if there was any prospect of redress, no people would be more willing to show themselves good citizens.

The commissioners expressed their surprise at the extent of these complaints, and intimated that if all these matters were really causes of uneasiness and disaffection in the minds of the people, it would be impossible for any Government to satisfy them. But as some of these complaints were of a nature more serious than others, though they could not speak officially, they stated what was generally understood as to the conduct, measures, and expectations of Government respecting the Mississippi navigation; the treaty of peace; the suspension of the settlement at Presqu' isle, &c.; that as to the acts of Congress which had been forcibly opposed, if it were proper they should be repealed, Congress alone could do it; but that while they *were* laws, they must be carried into execution; that the petitions of the Western

counties had not been neglected, nor their interests over-looked; that, in fact, the local interests of those counties were better represented than those of any other part of the State; they having no less than three gentlemen in the House of Representatives, when it appeared by the census that their numbers would not entitle them to two; that the acts in question had been often under the consideration of Congress; that they had always been supported by a considerable majority, in which they would find the names of several gentlemen, considered, in those counties, as the firmest friends of their country; that, although the general interests of the Union did not admit of a repeal, modifications had been made in the law, and some favorable alterations in consequence of their representations; and that, at the last session, the State courts had been vested with a jurisdiction over offenses against those acts, which would enable the President to remove one of their principal complaints; that the convenience of the people had been, and would always be, consulted by the Government; and the conferees were desired to say if there was anything in the power of the Executive that yet remained to be done, to make the execution of the acts convenient and agreeable to the people.

One of the conferees then inquired whether the President could not suspend the execution of the excise acts until the meeting of Congress; but he was interrupted by others, who declared that they considered such a measure as impracticable. The commissioners expressed their same opinion; and the conversation then became more particular, respecting the powers the commissioners possessed; the propriety and necessity of the conferees expressing their sense upon the proposals to be made, and of their calling the standing committee together before the 1st of September. But as it was agreed that the propositions and answers should be reduced to writing, the result is contained in the documents annexed, and it appears unnecessary to detail the conference further.

The underwritten accordingly presented to the conferees a letter, (of which a copy marked No. 1 is annexed;) and the following day they received an answer from them, in which they declare that they are satisfied that the Executive had, in its proposals, gone as far as could be expected; that, in their opinion, it was the interest of the country to accede to the law; and that they would endeavor to conciliate not only the committee to whom they were to report, but the public mind in general to their sense of the subject. (A copy of this letter also is annexed, No. 2.)

The underwritten then proceeded to state, in writing, what assurances of submission would be deemed full and satisfac-

tory, and to detail more particularly the engagements they had power to make. This detail was submitted to the inspection of a sub-committee of the conferees, who candidly suggested such alterations as appeared to them necessary to render the proposals acceptable. From a desire to accommodate, most of the alterations suggested by those gentlemen were adopted; and though some of them were rejected, the reasons given appeared to be satisfactory, and no further objections remained.—(A copy of this detail is marked No. 3.)

The conferees, on the following day, explicitly approved of the detail thus settled, engaged to recommend the proposals to the people, and added that however it might be received, they were persuaded nothing more could be done by the commissioners, or them, to bring the business to an accommodation.—(No. 4, is a copy of their letter.)

So far as this letter respects the gentlemen from Ohio county, in Virginia, a reply was made, and some arrangements entered into with them, the nature and extent of which appear by the correspondence.—(Copies of which are annexed, numbered 5, 6, 7 and 8.)

The hopes excited by the favorable issue of this conference were not realized by a correspondent conduct in the citizens who composed what was called "the standing committee." They assembled at Brownsville (Redstone Old Fort) on the 28th August, and broke up on the 29th, and, on the following day, a letter was received from Edward Cook, their chairman, announcing that difficulties had arisen, and that a new committee of conference was appointed; and although the resolve which is annexed was passed, it did not appear that the assurances of submission which had been demanded had been given.—(Copies of this letter and resolve are marked Nos. 9 and 10.)

The underwritten were informed by several of the members of that meeting, as well as other citizens who were present at it, that the report of the committee of conference, and the proposals of the commissioners were unfavorably received, that rebellion and hostile resistance against the United States were publicly recommended by some of the members, and that so excessive a spirit prevailed that it was not thought prudent or safe to urge a compliance with the terms and preliminaries prescribed by the underwritten or the commissioners from the Governor of Pennsylvania. All that could be obtained was the resolve already mentioned, the question upon it being decided by ballot, by which means each member had an opportunity of concealing his opinion and of sheltering himself from the resentment of those from whom violence was apprehended. But notwithstanding this caution, the opinion was so far from being unani-

mous, that out of fifty-seven votes, there were twenty-three nays, leaving a majority of only eleven, and the underwritten have been repeatedly assured by different members of that meeting that if the question had been publicly put, it would have been carried in the negative by a considerable majority.

With a view of counteracting the arts and influence of the violent, the underwritten, on the 27th August, addressed a letter to the late conferees authorizing them to assure the friends of order, who might be disposed to exert themselves to restore the authority of the laws, that they might rely on the protection of Government and that measures would be taken to suppress and punish the violence of those individuals who might dissent from the general sentiment. This letter (a copy of which is marked No. 11) was delivered to one of the conferees going to Brownsville, but he afterwards informed the underwritten that the gentlemen to whom it was addressed did not "think it prudent to make any use of it, as the temper which prevailed was such that it would probably have done more harm than good."

The conduct of the meeting at Brownsville, notwithstanding the thin veil thrown over it by the resolve already mentioned, was said to be considered by many and especially by the violent party as a rejection of the terms. It was certainly a partial rejection of those proposed by the underwritten, and a total one of the preliminaries prescribed by the State commissioners who had required assurances from the members of that meeting only and not from the people themselves.

Having, therefore, no longer any hopes of a universal or even general submission, it was deemed necessary, by a solemn appeal to the people, to ascertain as clearly as possible the determination of every individual to encourage and oblige the friends of order to declare themselves, to re-call as many of the disaffected as possible to their duty by assurances of pardon dependent on their individual conduct, and to learn with certainty what opposition Government might expect if military coercion should be finally unavoidable.

To secure these advantages, the underwritten were of opinion that the assurances of submission required of the people ought not only to be publicly given, but ought also to be reduced to writing; and that the state of each county should be certified by those who were to superintend the meetings at which the disposition of the people was to be ascertained.

On the 1st instant, nine of the gentlemen appointed by the meeting at Brownsville, assembled at Pittsburgh, and in the afternoon requested a conference with the commissioners, which was agreed to. They produced the resolves by which they were appointed, and entered into some explanation of the nature of

their visit; but being desired to communicate it in writing, they withdrew, and soon after sent a letter addressed to the commissioners of the United States and of the State of Pennsylvania; to which an answer was immediately written.—(Copies of these letters are annexed, Nos. 12 and 13.)

As no part of their letter, although addressed to the commissioners from Pennsylvania, related to the preliminaries prescribed by them, they made no answer in writing, but in a conference held the next morning with those nine gentlemen, they verbally declared to them their entire concurrence in the sentiments contained in the letter from the underwritten; and they expressed, at some length, their surprise and regret at the conduct of the meeting at Brownsville. The conferees declared themselves satisfied with the answer they had received; avowed an entire conviction of the necessity and propriety of an early submission in the manner proposed, and offered immediately to enter into the detail for setting the time, place and manner of taking the sense of the people. (A copy of their letter, which also expresses these sentiments, is annexed No. 14.)

It was accordingly agreed between the commissioners on the one part and these gentlemen on the other, that the people should assemble for the purpose of expressing their determination and giving the assurances required, on the 11th instant, and the mode of ascertaining the public sentiments of the citizens resident in the fourth survey of Pennsylvania, was clearly and definitely prescribed by the unanimous consent of all who were present at the conference. It was evident that circumstances might arise to prevent the real disposition of the citizens from being fully ascertained at these meetings, and that even arts might be used to procure such an expression of the public mind, that, while it held up an appearance of submission, might be in reality, a false and delusive representation of it. It was, therefore, necessary that persons of character from every township or district, (who might be able, from their own knowledge or the comparison of all circumstances, justly to appreciate the public opinion,) should assemble and jointly certify their opinion whether there was such a general submission in their respective counties or not, that the laws could be peaceably carried into execution. For the same purpose, it was agreed to be proper, that the number of those who openly refused, as well as of those who promised to submit, in their respective townships or districts, should be reported to the commissioners. (A copy of this agreement, marked No. 15, is annexed.)

It appears that meetings were held in the several counties in pursuance of this agreement; but the underwritten, with extreme regret, find themselves obliged to report, that in the returns made

to them, no opinions are certified that there is so general a submission in any one of the counties, that an office of inspection can be immediately and safely established therein, on the contrary, the report of those who superintended the meeting in Westmoreland, states their opinion to be, that such a measure would not be safe.

From Allegheny county no report whatever has been received; and although it is understood that a very great majority of those assembled in the Pittsburgh district actually subscribed the declarations required, yet there is no reason to believe that there was a favorable issue in any other district. Information has been received that great violence prevailed in one of them, and that in another the majority declared their determination not to submit to the laws of the United States.

From Washington county a general return was duly transmitted to one of the commissioners at Uniontown, signed by twenty-eight of the superintendents of the meeting; they do not, however, state the number of the yeas and nays on the question for submission; they decline giving any opinion whether there is such a general submission that an office of inspection may be established therein, but certify their opinion and belief "that a large majority of the inhabitants will acquiesce and submit to the said law, under a hope and firm belief that the Congress of the United States will repeal the law."

The report from the superintendents in Westmoreland county, is equally defective, in not stating the numbers as required; but it certifies their opinion that as ill-disposed lawless persons could suddenly assemble and offer violence, it would not be safe immediately to establish an office of inspection in that county.

The county of Fayette rejected the mode of ascertaining the sense of the people, which had been settled between the under-written and the last committee of conference at Pittsburgh. The standing committee of that county directed those qualified by the laws of the State for voting at elections, to assemble in their election districts, and vote by ballot whether they would accede to the proposals made by the commissioners of the United States, on the 22d of August, or not. The superintendents of these election districts, report that five hundred and sixty of the people thus convened, had voted for submission, and that one hundred and sixty-one had voted against it; that no judge or member of their committee had attended from the fourth district of the county, to report the state of the votes there, and that they are of opinion that a great majority of the citizens who did not attend, are disposed to behave peaceably and with due submission to the laws. But it is proper to mention, that credible and certain information has been received, that in the fourth district of that

county, (composed of the townships of Tyrone and Bullskin,) of which the standing committee have given no account, six-sevenths of those who voted were for resistance (Copies of the reports stated are annexed, and numbered 16, 17, and 18.)

From that part of Bedford county which is comprehended within the fourth survey of Pennsylvania, no report or returns have been sent forward nor has any information been received that the citizens assembled there for the purpose of declaring their opinions upon questions proposed.

The written assurances of submission which have been received by the commissioners are not numerous, nor were they given by all those who expressed a willingness to obey the laws. In Fayette county a different plan being pursued, no written assurances were given in the manner required. In the three other counties, which, from the census taken under the laws of the State, appear to contain above eleven thousand taxable inhabitants, (in which none under the age of twenty-one are included,) the names subscribed to the papers received barely exceed two thousand seven hundred and of those a very considerable part have not been subscribed in the mode agreed on, being either signed at a different day, unattested by any person or wilfully varied from the settled form.

From credible information received it appears to the underwritten that in some townships, the majority, and in one of them, the whole of the persons assembled publicly, declared themselves for resistance; in some, although the sense of the majority was not known, yet the party for resistance was sufficiently strong to prevent any declarations of submission being openly made, and in others the majority were intimidated or opposed by a violent minority. But notwithstanding these circumstances, the underwritten firmly believe that there is a considerable majority of the inhabitants of the fourth survey who are now disposed to submit to the execution of the laws, at the same time they conceive it their duty explicitly to declare their opinion that such is the state of things in that survey, that there is no probability that the acts for raising a revenue on distilled spirits and stills can at present be enforced by the usual course of civil authority, and that some more competent force is necessary to cause the laws to be duly executed, and to ensure to the officers and well-disposed citizens that protection which it is the duty of Government to afford.

This opinion is founded on the facts already stated, and it is confirmed by that which is entertained by many intelligent and influential persons, officers of justice and others resident in the western counties, who have lately informed one of the commissioners that whatever assurances might be given, it was, in

their judgment, absolutely necessary that the civil authority should be aided by a military force in order to secure a due execution of the laws.

JAMES ROSS,*
J. YEATES,
WM. BRADFORD†

[The documents referred to in the foregoing, have been given in chronological order, without number.]

* JAMES Ross was born in York county, July 12, 1762. Educated at Pequea, under Rev. Dr. Robert Smith, taught at Canonsburg, the first classical school opened in the West. Studied law in Philadelphia, and admitted to the bar in 1784. He was a member of the constitutional convention of 1790, and an able defender of the Federal Constitution. He was United States Senator from 1794 to 1803, and a commissioner from the United States to the Western Insurgents. He died at Pittsburgh, November 27, 1847. He published "Speech on the Free Navigation of the Mississippi," 1808.

† WILLIAM BRADFORD was born in Philadelphia, September 14, 1755. He graduated at Princeton, in 1772. During the Revolution, major of brigade under Gen. Roberdeau; in 1776, a captain in Humpton's regiment, and from April, 1777, to April, 1779, was deputy muster-master general with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Studied law under Edward Shippen, and admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court in 1779. He was appointed Attorney General of Pennsylvania, August, 1780; a judge of the Supreme Court, August 22, 1791, and Attorney General of the United States, January 28, 1794. During this year he was one of the U. S. commissioners to confer with the insurgents of the Western counties. He died at Philadelphia, August 23, 1795. In 1793, Mr. Bradford published "An Inquiry how far the Punishment of Death is Necessary in Pennsylvania," and succeeded in effecting beneficent modifications in the penal code of that day.

RESOLVES OF THE INHABITANTS OF LUZERNE.

At a meeting of the Inhabitants of Luzerne County, held at the Court House in Wilkes-Barre, on Tuesday, the twenty-third day of September, 1794.

Mathias Hollenback,* in the Chair.

Lord Butler,† Secretary.

The following Resolutions were agreed to, viz:

1. *Resolved*, That it is the sense of this meeting, that as citizens of a free government, where the right of universal suffrage is allowed and incorporated with our constitution, and where the voice of the majority constitutes the law of the land, it is unquestionably our duty to obey the laws.

2. *Resolved*, That we revere the excellent constitution of the United States, and that we were willing by our personal service to support and carry into execution, the laws of the United States, made agreeable to that constitution.

3. *Resolved*, That we abhor the idea, that in a Republican government, the few should give laws to the many.

*MATHIAS HOLLENBACK was a native of Virginia, born 15th of February, 1752, coming to Wyoming in 1771. He was appointed by Congress an ensign in the Continental line, and at the battle of Millstone he especially distinguished himself. He was present at the battle of Wyoming, but his little band was obliged to give way before the horde of savages, and he escaped by swimming the river. On the retiring of the enemy, Mr. Hollenback was among the first to return, and exerted his utmost to infuse energy and confidence in his neighbors. At an early day he was chosen to command a regiment of militia, and on the organization of Luzerne county he was appointed an associate Judge, a position he filled with general satisfaction for nearly forty years. He died the 18th day of February, 1829, aged seventy-seven years.

† LORD BUTLER was the eldest son of Col. Zebulon Butler, a native of Lyme, New London county, Conn., removing to Wyoming in 1769. Col. Butler was thrice married, first to Ellen Lord, whose only son was born about 1756. Lord Butler was but a youth at the time of the Revolution, yet was sometime in camp with his father, who was in command of a regiment in the Connecticut line of the army. Mr. Butler was for many years one of the most active public men in Luzerne county. Beside the militia offices which he filled, until he rose to the rank of general, he held the commission of sheriff. He was a member of the Executive Council of the State, prothonotary of the county, member of the Assembly, etc. He was a faithful and able officer. He died at Wilkes-Barre.

4. *Resolved*, That being fully impressed with the sense of the blessings that daily flow from our government, we believe that there is no necessity of a revolution in the same.

5. *Resolved*, That this meeting highly reprobate the proceedings of the people in the Western counties of this State in their opposition to government. That we will at all times, when necessary, exert ourselves in support, Both of the government of the United States and of the State of Pennsylvania.

6. *Resolved*, That the foregoing resolutions be printed for the information of our fellow citizens.

The meeting closed with three cheers in favour of government.

Attest:

LORD BUTLER, *Secretary*.

SECOND PROCLAMATION OF PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

By the President of the United States of America.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, From a hope that the combinations against the constitution and laws of the United States, in certain of the Western counties of Pennsylvania, would yield to time and reflection, I thought it sufficient, in the first instance, rather to take measures for calling forth the militia than immediately to embody them, but the moment is now come when the overtures of forgiveness, with no other condition than a submission to law, have been only partially accepted, when every form of conciliation not inconsistent with the being of government has been adopted without effect; when the well-disposed in those counties are unable by their influence and example to reclaim the wicked from their fury, and are compelled to associate in their own defence; when the proffered lenity has been perversely misinterpreted into an apprehension that the citizens will march with reluctance, when the opportunity of examining the serious consequences of a treasonable opposition has been employed in propagating principles of anarchy, endeavoring through emissaries to alienate the friends of order from its support, and inviting enemies to perpetrate similar acts of insurrection—when it is manifest that violence would continue to be exercised upon every attempt to enforce the laws,—When, therefore, government is set at defiance, the contest being whether a small portion of the United States shall dictate to the whole union, and at the expence of those, who desire peace, indulge a desperate ambition:

Now, therefore, I, George Washington, President of the United States, in obedience to that high and irresistible duty, consigned to me by the constitution "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed;" deplored that the American name should be sullied by the outrages of citizens on their own government, commiserating such as remain obstinate from delusion, but resolved in perfect reliance on that gracious Providence which so signally displays its goodness towards this country, to reduce the refractory to a due subordination to the law, Do hereby declare and make known, that with a satisfaction, which can be equaled only by the merits of the militia summoned into service from the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, I have received intelligence of their patriotic alacrity, in obeying the call of the present, tho' painful, yet commanding necessity, that a force which according to every reasonable expectation is adequate to the exigency is already in motion to the scene of disaffection; that those who have confided, or shall confide in the protection of government, shall meet full succor under the standard and from the arms of the United States; that those who having offended against the laws have since entitled themselves to indemnity, will be treated with the most liberal good faith, if they shall not have forfeited their claim by any subsequent conduct, and that instructions are given accordingly.

And I do moreover exhort all individuals, officers and bodies of men, to contemplate with abhorrence, the measures leading directly or indirectly to those crimes, which produce this resort to military coercion; to check in their respective spheres, the efforts of misguided or designing men to substitute their misrepresentation in the place of truth and their discontents in the place of stable government, and to call to mind, that as the people of the United States have been permitted under the Divine favor in the perfect freedom, after solemn deliberation and in an enlightened age, to elect their own government, so will their gratitude for this inestimable blessing be best disting uished by firm exertions to maintain the constitution and the laws.

And lastly, I again warn all persons whomsoever and wheresoever, not to abet, aid or comfort the insurgents aforesaid, as they will answer the contrary at their peril; and I do also require all officers and other citizens, according to their several duties, as far as may be in their power, to bring under the cognizance of the law all offenders in the Premises.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these Presents, and signed the same with my hand.

Done at the City of Philadelphia, the twenty-fifth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and of the independence of the United States of America the nineteenth.

G'O. WASHINGTON.

By the President,
EDM. RANDOLPH.

GEN. WALTER STEWART TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept'r 25, 1794.

SIR:—Your Excellencie's two letters of the 20th & 22d Inst., I had the honor to receive. I found from conversation with many of the Officers of the Militia and other citizens, that it was much desired a Corps should be established in this city, from among those characters who do not come within the meaning of the Militia Law, or from others whos situations would not possibly admit of their Marching to the Westward. I also found that such a Corps had so fully taken possession of the public mind, that subscription papers were handing though the different wards (one of which I enclose to you) without any authority whatever; & as the extent of the Law had been gone to in the City, by calling on the four first Classes of the Militia, I thought it advisable yesterday to summon a Meeting of the Officers of the Division, when I made them the enclosed address, and this morning issued the explanatory orders which you will please also find enclosed. I am Informed the number of Men mentioned will be immediately enroll'd. The Oldest Lieut't Col. Commandant & two Majors will have the Command, and it will put an entire stop to all Irregular associations, which might and would otherwise have taken place. Efficient support, if necessary, can, agreeable to your orders, be given to the civil authority, the peace, happiness, & safety of the city preserved, & a reinforcement, if required, be immediately thrown into Fort Mifflin. On Saturday, or Monday, Col. Copperthwait will March with about 400 Men, & should any detachments offer from the City, they will join his Corps.

I shall continue, from time to time, to report to you the situation of things in this quarter, & doubt not I shall be able at all times, as I do now, to assure you that everything is in perfect Harmony, Peace & tranquility.

I have the honor,
to be, with due respect,
your Excellencie's obed't Serv't,
WALTER STEWART,

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

907

P. S.—I enclose another advertisement, the meaning of which I have not yet ascertained, but shall find, in a few days, who are at the Head of the business, and what their intentions are.

W. STEWART.

"SUBSCRIPTION PAPERS" FOR VOLUNTEERS.

PHILADELPHIA, 23d September, 1794.

We, the subscribers, voluntarily agree to provide ourselves, each with a Musket and Bayonet, which we will keep in good Repair, and that we will associate ourselves together in Defence of the Laws and Constitution of our Country, and do hereby ingage, in case either of them are infringed in an unlawful Manner, by any Person or Persons within the City of Philadelphia and its Liberties, and having Notice thereof, from any one or more of the Officers of the Militia chosen and agreed upon by us, to assist in bringing the Person or Persons so unlawfully engaged to a proper Sense of their Error; but if he or they persist in Error, then we engage and pledge ourselves to each other, to cause the Party or Parties offending to be secured, and be delivered to the civil Authority. This Association to continue in full Force until our Brethern and Fellow Citizens who are now on their March against the Insurgents, to the Westward, shall return to their respective Homes.

CALL FOR A MEETING OF VOLUNTEERS.

Liberty! Equality! Fraternity!

In an Æra when domestic disturbances exist in these States, and foreign hostilities seem to impend with that faction, which, tyrannizing at home, has long carried slavery—misery—devastation—ruin and blood into every quarter of the globe: which wages war against Republican principles and the Rights of Man; which formerly attempted to establish British despotism and colonial subserviency in America, A number of IRISH DEMOCRATS, residents in Philadelphia, deeming it their duty to stand to their arms, have formed a new Volunteer Company. Any of their COUNTRYMEN, of true Republican principles, desirous of being enrolled, are requested to attend next meeting, which will be held in Citizen Cordner's, Zachary's Court, opposite the City Tavern, at 7 o'clock to-morrow evening.

Tuesday, 23d Sept., 1794.

ADDRESS OF GEN. STEWART.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 25, 1794.

GENTLEMEN:—The Governor being call'd on his Executive duty, which will detain him sometime from the City of Philadelphia, has directed me, in case any emergency should arise during his absence, to assist by every means in my power the Civil Authority, either by Drafts from the Division I command or by such other mode as may appear most likely, in conjunction with the Mayor, to secure the peace and order of the City. Many of the Citizens have already expresst a Strong desire that a corps of Men not included in the requisition against the Western insurgents, (or who from peculiar circumstances could not leave their occupations or are exempt from Militia duty,) should be embodied in the City and its suburbs, and as they justly conceive, it will afford great consolation to those worthy Citizens, who have left under our charge, the sacred trust of their families & property.

The Governor has also directed that the Commanding Officer at Fort Mifflin shall apply to me for such drafts from the Militia as may from time to time prove necessary to preserve the peace & neutrality of the Port. This must prove a further incentive for such a Corps being at this particular time organized, & I now propose that you immediately exert yourselves to bring forward from your respective Commands, or from such other of our fellow Citizens as may be willing to engage in this particular Service, Five hundred men properly Officered. Arms will be delivered to Commanding Officers of Companies, for such men as are not already provided, but it is expected that no others will apply for them.

It is, Gentlemen, among the first duty's of freemen to be at all times prepared to guard the Liberty and vindicate the Laws & Constitution of their Country; when call'd on to a prompt discharge of this duty, an apathy can only arise from our undervaluing the blessings we enjoy, or prising our ease more than our Security. The United States have been insulted from abroad and at Home, and as they are able, so should they be prepared to repeal every repetition thereof. In a distant part of the State, where the Burthen was light & prosperity great, rebellion has boldly reared its crest and dared to menace the Union. At the Call of our Chief Magistrate our Brethren in Arms have nobly stopt forth to chastise the insurgents and avenge the Injuries of their Country. The Patriotism which they have displayed, is the surest pledge of their doing their duty. Let

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

309

us follow their example by preparing to preserve the rights of Neutrality, our Domestic Quiet, our Liberty and our Laws. They are, it is true, so well understood & so highly valued by the good Citizens of this part of the State, as almost to forbid the Idea of any agression among us, but freemen should nevertheless remember that the surest way of preventing such agresion is to be prepared to repel it.

Under a Conviction that these truths will be felt and acknowledged, I have (during the absence of our brethren in Arms) made this call on the patriotism of my fellow Citizens, and I flatter myself it will not be made in vain.

WALTER STEWART,
Major Gen'l.

DIVISION ORDERS.

PHILA., Sept. 25, 1794.

The Commanding officers of Corps, in the first Division, are requested to notify those men who have drawn in the 5, 6, 7, & 8th Classes, that such of them as are proper may enrol themselves in the city volunteer association, as well as such others in their respective districts, as are not included in, or under the Direction of the Militia law of the State.

Returns to be made by the Commanding officers of Battallions composing the first Brigade, of the enrolled men in their respective battallions, on Wednesday, the 1st day of October, to the Inspector of the Brigade, at which time they will also report the number of stands of arms the volunteers may require. The officers commanding Corps in the suburbs are requested to make returns in like manner to the Insp'r of the 2d Brigade on the same day, after which the whole Corps will be properly organized.

It must be understood, that in order to compleat the requisition for the Western expedition, the four first classes are not to be interfered with, nor are such as voluntarily enrol themselves, belonging to the four last classes, to be exempt from other duty should a further requisition take place.

WALTER STEWART,
Major Gen'l.

GOV. HOWELL'S ORDER OF THANKS TO THE CITI-
ZENS OF HARRISBURG.

HEAD QUARTERS,
HARRISBURGH, Sept. 25, 1794.

The commander of the Jersey militia detachment feels himself bound to acknowledge the politeness of the citizens of Harrisburgh to his corps, and requests that their gratitude and his own, joined with the highest respect, may be signified in any proper manner.

RICHARD HOWELL,
Com'd't Jersey Detachment.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

LANCASTER, 26th Sept'r, 1794.

DEAR SIR:—The Governor directs me to acknowledge the receipt of the various papers sent from Fayette county by Captain Lang. As the bearer of them mentioned that copies had been sent to the President, it is thought unnecessary to forward them by express; but they will be officially communicated. With the President, the whole business rests.

As my private opinion, permit me to state, that I believe the exertions of Government will be unremitting. The indignation of the Citizens against the late outrages, is equal to the provocation, and I have no doubt the punishment of the real delinquents will be exemplary.

I am,
Y'rs, &c.,
A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary.*

To ALBERT GALLATIN, Esquire.

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO THE MILITIA
OF LANCASTER.

FRIDAY, September 26th, 1794.

FELLOW CITIZENS:—I thank you sincerely for your compliance with the invitation to meet me at this time. On any other occasion, indeed, it would have been the greatest gratification that I could enjoy, thus personally to express the grateful sense which

I entertain of the repeated proofs of esteem and confidence that I have received from my fellow citizens throughout the State. But the immediate object of my present visit is of so serious and so painful a nature, that I must forbear the indulgence of my private feelings, in order to direct your whole attention to the support of our Government, which is hostiley resisted by an armed combination in the Western Counties.

The subject is so interesting, and the sources of information are so numerous, that you are doubtless apprised of the disgraceful events which have recently occurred in that quarter. It would be superfluous, therefore, to add anything to the existing information, but a solemn assurance, that on the part of the general Government, as well as on the part of the State, every reasonable effort has been made to bring the deluded Insurgents to a sense of their duty which they owe to their Country, without making the last awful appeal to arms. All consiliatory measures have, however, in effect, proved abortive; for although a considerable number of the citizens were originally well disposed, though many were intimidated, and though a portion of them has acquiesced in the terms of Pardon, a lawless multitude still continues in arms, ravaging the country, rejecting every amicable proposition, and bidding open defiance to all the powers of government. The Commissioners have returned from their pacific mission, with unfavorable impressions of the result: and in the last resort, the President has determined to employ the Militia of this and, if necessary, every State in the Union, to enforce obedience to the laws.

The insurgents vainly presuming upon their own prowess, or upon the insolent hope that a competent force could not be sent against them, have hitherto indulged the spirit of outrage, without remorse or restraint.

Their emissaries, likewise, have endeavoured to relax, or defeat every public exertion, by reciting tales of injuries and oppressions, which have never been suffered; or propagating fabricated statements of Taxes, which have never been imposed. Since they indeed have received accounts of the general resentment and Military preparation, that their conduct has produced, another mode seems to be adopted, the language of submission and peace is held out to delude us, probably, till the season of exertion has passed away, and a new opportunity shall be given to fortify the standard of anarchy.

But, my fellow Citizens, you have not been intimidated by their violence, nor will you be betrayed by their arts. The President's declaration, that he is not satisfied with the nature and extent of the submission to government, is the only thing that can now dispense with our exertions, which are directed

against the seditious, the turbulent, and the treacherous insurgent, not against the meritorious or peaceful Citizen. Men of the latter description will be safe wherever they reside or whatever course shall be pursued, but their safety is not incompatible with those vigorous measures which the reputation and existence of our government require. To convey this sentiment forcibly to your minds and to entreat every possible aid on your part, to avert the impending evil, are the essential objects of this visit. I am confident indeed, you will concur with me in thinking, that every good citizen is bound at this crisis, to lend an active assistance to the measures of government, but that the Militia officers in particular cannot, upon any pretext, dispense with the obligation I have heard.

Gentlemen, that with respect to the policy of those acts of Congress against which the rage of the Insurgents is ostensibly directed, as well as with respect to many other objects of Legislation, a diversity of opinion exists among our fellow Citizens. But I think no diversity of opinion can exist in an enlightened Republican community with respect to the necessity of obeying them, while they continue, as much as any other act, as much as any treaty, or even as much as the Constitution itself, the law of the land. They can be amended if they are imperfect, or they may be repealed if they are pernicious, but consistent with the oath or affirmation of every public officer, and the duty of every private Citizen, they cannot be disobeyed, or obstructed, or resisted.

Reflect for a moment on the fatal consequences of a contrary doctrine, upon our public and private prosperity. Suppose the Inhabitants of the populous Cities throughout the Continent were to refuse to pay the impost, suppose the collection of Taxes upon carriages, or the tax upon Snuff and refined sugar were to be forcibly resisted. Such a refusal and resistance, it is true, would be unconstitutional and unreasonable, but have not the parties interested in those cases as great a right to judge for themselves, or any other description of Citizens. And if a minority of any kind can justify an attempt to govern the majority, why not a minority of Merchants or Manufacturers as well as a minority of any other class of citizens. The same questions applied, as they may fairly be, to every instance of taxation, will shew obviously that our Government never should be supported, if every class of Citizens who were interested in opposing any particular duty, might ensure success to their opposition by taking arms against the State. There could be no revenue raised to protect us from any foreign violence or to secure us to the fruits of our industry. Discord and war would soon divide and ravage the continent, and the Republican fabrick, which

has been so honorably established, after a seven years' contest, must inevitably moulder into anarchy or harden into despotism.

But if a law be forcibly opposed because it is thought to be a bad law, it is a very serious enquiry, how far the example will betray the safety of individuals and the security of property. What protects a man's life or warrants the quiet possession of his estate? Is it not law? Then suppose one man were wilfully to kill another, would it be less a murder because the person slain was of a bad reputation or of a vicious course of life?

Again. Suppose one man were forcibly to seize upon the property in an another man's possession, would it be sufficient excuse that the possessor's title is doubtful? In both these cases, the law would be violated, and any upright jury would certainly punish the violators; for this plain reason, that till the law itself pronounces upon the crimes of the one man and upon the title of the other, it protects them both from outrage. Thus in the case of the Acts of Congress, to which I have alluded, let them be thought ever so bad, till the courts of justice pronounce them unconstitutional, or until the legislature repeals them, they are under the protection of the constitution, which we are bound by the most solemn ties to support. Any man, therefore, who violates them, violates that constitution upon which likewise, the safety of our lives and the security of our farms depend.

But to every candid mind, it must be evident that the present question is not confined to the policy of any Acts of Congress, but involves the very existence of our government. If we mean in any case to enjoy the security of the laws, we must in every case assert and maintain their authority; for, (as I have observed on another occasion,) if you permit them to be resisted or overthrown, with impunity, on any pretext, you in effect set an example to violate them on every pretext.

Regarding the subject in this interesting point of view, Gentlemen, that lawless perseverance of the Insurgents cannot fail to excite the most painful sensations; for, the strong sense of duty which we owe to our Country, to posterity and to ourselves, will not permit us, under such circumstances, to indulge those feelings of affection and attachment, which have hitherto guided our conduct towards our deluded fellow citizens.

The choice of peace and friendship, or of war and enmity, has been left to themselves. Having determined upon the latter, what can the Government do but prepare for its own preservation? What nobler motives can actuate virtuous minds than to assist in resisting the violence of lawless men and preserving their country from devastation and dishonor? With respect to the motives of the Insurgents, we must search further than the indisposition to pay a particular Tax, for an explanation of

their conduct. The devastation committed on private property by fires; the armed combination that marches with military parade thro' the country; the expulsion of every avowed friend to Government; the seizure of the public mail; the insults offered to commissioners, and the threats of establishing an Independent State, or of returning to the allegiance of Great Britain, are circumstances calculated not only to rouse an honest indignation, but to awaken suspicion of a deep and latent treachery.

It is time, therefore, my fellow-citizens, that the government, and every friend to law and order, should prepare to suppress, by the most effectual means, the tyranny that is attempted to be established by a few over the many; by a part of the community over the whole. The citizens of our sister States are already in arms, your brethren of the City and County of Philadelphia are already on their march. The quota of Chester, Delaware, Montgomery, and Bucks, eagerly preparing. Arms, ammunition, camp equipage and provisions, are plentifully provided. The Legislature has passed a law to raise the pay, and to allow a bounty to those who are destined for the present service; and of such critical importance is the object universally deemed, that an association of patriotic persons has been formed in Philadelphia for the purpose of raising subscriptions to provide for the families of the militia of the city, who shall be employed in the expedition.

But, indeed, there is scarce a principle that can actuate a benevolent and patriotic mind, which does not concur in recommending at this time the most firm and energetic measures. To assist in suppressing so violent a breach of the public peace, is only an act of duty in every good citizen; to shew our determination to punish every obstinate delinquent, may save our humanity the pain of doing it, and if the Militia of Pennsylvania shall evince, not only their disposition, but their power to aid the civil authority in executing the laws, the man of peace, as well as the patriot, will be relieved from the apprehensions of any necessity for the introduction of a standing army.

Let us look back, my fellow Citizens, but a few years, scarcely more than the term allotted for the life of an individual, and we shall be at once astonished at the prosperity of our Country, and ashamed at the ingratitude of any popular discontent. It is but little more than a century since our ancestors formed the enterprize of settling in America. And some have just quitted this wordly scene, who remembered when our Capital was distinguished only by a few Indian huts and our best cultivated farms were a wilderness.

Our fathers were compelled to constant labour and exposed to constant danger. The hope of transmitting affluence and

tranquility to their posterity was their greatest consolation, and mark with what a quick, with how great transition it is realized; scarce an Indian inhabits within our Territory; the comforts of life flow in abundance through all the channels that industry can invent; our agriculture, commerce and mechanics already rival the ancient establishments of Europe; our attainments in the arts and sciences are celebrated throughout the world; in questions of religion we have given the first example of universal toleration, and as a government the American Republic stands unrivaled by any ancient or modern political fabric. Is it a situation to be made the sport of lawless fury? What can the most visionary character expect to gain by a change? Is not every man that is honest safe? Is not every man that is industrious, comfortable? These questions are the touchstone of social happiness; and in no other country but ours, can they, at this time, be fairly answered in the affirmative.

Reflect, then, my fellow citizens, upon the awful crisis with regret, but encounter it with fortitude. Of the various description of people that constitute the American nation, none have contributed more to its honor and opulence, than the Germans, and none have a greater stake in preserving our government and laws from destruction. The mischief has already gone too far, as probably, to check the spirit of emigration from the distracted Countries of Europe, to our hitherto tempting shores, and in proportion to that effect, to any apparent want of disposition to support our Constitution, to any defect of power to protect our persons, and to any hazard in the possession of our estates, must be diminution of the value of labour, of property, and in short, of every right and privilege that is dear to man, in his separate or in his social Character.

To you Gentlemen, who belong to the militia, I now particularly address myself; to the conduct of the militia of Pennsylvania, the President's attention, the attention of all the citizens of the Union, is anxiously directed. I have pledged myself, that they will now, as upon every former occasion, manifest their zeal and spirit in the cause of their country. What say you to yourselves? Will you save your Constitution? Will you defend your laws? Will you assist to rescue from anarchy, as you did from despotism, the freedom and Independence of America? To these questions will you answer, as every patriotic citizen has hitherto answered? You will, with one voice, enable me to assure the Militia of other Counties, that you have cheerfully united with them in protecting our government from violence and our militia from reproach.

Is this, then, your resolution? If it is, I beseech you to declare it; fix the day when your quota will be ready to muster, and march to the place of rendezvous on the succeeding day.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

COL. GEORGE ECKERT* TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

READING, Sept. 26th, 1794.

DEAR SIR:—The Printer having disappointed me, has Occasioned the Delay in forwarding the Hand Bills, but am in hopes they will, notwithstanding, arrive time enough to have some good effect. We are trying every Thing in *Our Power* to see you soon at Carlisle.

I am, Sir,
Your most ob't
and very h'ble Servant,

GEO. ECKERT.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

COL. ALEX. RUSSELL TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

YORK TOWN, September 26th, 1794.

SIR:—Doubting whether my Communications, by letter of the 23d Instant, may have come to hand before you left the City, & hearing by Mr. Torrans that you have arrived at Lancaster, I have taken the liberty to write by express, & inform your Excellency, That notwithstanding, as well from Gen'l Orders, as from a particular Communication by letter from the Dep'ty Q'r M'r Gen'l, we expected the Arms & Equipments, Tents & Camp Equippage before this time, none have yet arrived. I have supposed it possible these things may be in Lancaster, & therefore write that you may Please to give Orders for their being forwarded. Several difficulties have occurred which I will omit troubling you with untill we have the honor of your presence in this County. There will be a necessity for, from 50 to 100 Rifles, a quantity of new Rifles lie here Contracted for by Major Gen'l Hand. I beg leave to suggest the propriety of obtaining an order for these & save the expence of Transportation. Samuel Russell, Jun'r Cornet of the Marshcreek Troop of Horse, is the bearer hereof.

I have the honor to be,
Your Excellency's,
Most Obed't & very humble Serv't,
A. RUSSELL,
Brigade Inspector of York County.

His Excellency THOS. MIFFLIN, Governor.

*GEORGE ECKERT was a native of Berks county, and served in the war of the Revolution. He was a lieutenant of the county, a deputy surveyor under Gen. Brodhead, in 1796, and Treasurer of Berks in 1797.

MAJOR MACPHERSON * TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

STRASBURG, 1 o'clock P. M.,

26th Sept'r. 1794.

SIR:—I have the honor to inform your Excellency of my having just arrived, with the Corps under my Command, all in good health and high spirits, at this place, where I propose remaining until to-morrow, it being necessary, to give the men half a day's rest, particularly, as they made a long march yesterday, and got extremely wet, as well as for the purpose of making some arrangements, which until now, I had not an opportunity of going into.

As your Excellency may perhaps leave Lancaster before our arrival—should that be the case—I beg to be honored with any commands you may have, by the return of the bearer.

I shall take up my march from this place to-morrow morning a little after Day-Break, and proceed to the Bridge over the

* WILLIAM MACPHERSON, a native of Philadelphia, born in the year 1756. Was educated at Princeton. At thirteen, he was appointed a cadet in the British army, and previous to the Revolution, his father having purchased for him a lieutenant's commission, he was made Adjutant of the 16th Regiment. Mr. MacPherson was stationed at Pensacola at the commencement of the war, when he offered to resign his commission, but it was not accepted. Subsequently, he was allowed by Sir Henry Clinton to resign, in consequence of his declaring that he never would bear arms against his countrymen. About the close of the year 1779, he joined the American army on the Hudson, and was appointed on the recommendation of Gen. Washington, Major by brevet. Major MacPherson always retained the esteem and friendship of the Commander-in-Chief. September 19, 1789, he was appointed Surveyor of the Port of Philadelphia, and in 1792, Inspector of the Revenue for the same. From 1793 to 1813, he filled the position of Naval Officer, having been continued by the successive administrations of Presidents Adams, Jefferson and Madison. In 1794, a large and respectable body of the citizens of Philadelphia formed themselves into several companies, as volunteers for the Western expedition, and Major MacPherson was invited to place himself at their head. They were organized into a battalion, and in compliment to him, styled themselves "MacPherson's Blues." They formed a part of the army under command of Governor Mifflin. On the threatened war with France, in 1798, the "Blues" were re-organized. On the 11th of March, 1799, Gen. MacPherson was appointed Brigadier General of the Provisional army, and commanded the troops sent into Northampton county. After the disbanding of the Provisional army, Gen. MacPherson retired from military life to his country seat, near Philadelphia, where he resided until his death, which took place November 5, 1813.

Conestoga—where I shall make a short Halt, and then proceed to Lancaster, which place I expect to arrive at, by half past 12 o'clock.

I have the Honor to be,
 Your Excellency's
 most obed't Serv't,
 W. MACPHERSON.
Maj'r Comm'd Volunteer Blues.

ORDERS OF MAJOR GENERAL HARMAR.

GENERAL ORDERS.

LANCASTER, 27th Sept., 1794

The Governor, intending to prosecute his route to Carlisle, to-morrow morning, takes this opportunity to express his entire satisfaction with the progress and appearances of the Detachments of Cavalry, Artillery, and Infantry, which have reached this borough from the quota of the City and County of Philadelphia, and of the County of Chester. The example of order, discipline, and expedition which they have given on their march, cannot fail to produce the most beneficial effects; and the Governor is happy in being able to assure them, that they will speedily be joined by their Fellow Citizens from the other Counties, included in the present requisition. To the Militia of Lancaster county in particular, he returns his best thanks, for the spirit and alacrity with which they are preparing to engage in a service so honorable and so interesting to every Freeman.

As many false and injurious reports are in circulation, respecting the State of the Western Counties, and it is probable that they proceed from a desire to relax and defeat the patriotic exertions of the Militia, the Governor thinks it incumbent upon him to guard his Fellow Citizens against the effect of such artifices, by stating that the most authentic advices lately received, do not justify any expectation of a general submission to the laws, and that nothing but an official declaration of the President's being satisfied with the nature and extent of the submission of the insurgents, can hereafter be sufficient to warrant a discontinuance of our military preparations.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief.

JOSIAH HARMAR,
Adjutant Gen.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. EDWARD HAND.

LANCASTER, 27th Sept'r, 1794.

SIR:—In a conversation with Mr. Secretary Hamilton, acting on behalf of the Secretary of War, he informed me that I could obtain from you a supply of Rifles, for a company of one hundred men, raising by Captain Seely, in Northampton county, for the Western Expedition. Though you should not have received an official instruction for that purpose, I hope you will think yourself justifiable in delivering the rifles upon my application, as it is certainly an object of great importance to the public service. Captain Seely will promise to account for them.

I have just received a letter from the Brigade Inspector of York county, informing me that he, likewise, is in want of Rifles, and requesting that an order might be given for putting into his possession, from fifty to one hundred of those which you have contracted for in York. As this proposition tends to save the expense of transporation, as well as to promote the general object of our armament, I hope it may be convenient to comply with it.

I am, with great esteem, Sir,
Your Most obed. Serv't,
THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To Maj. Gen'l HAND.

JASPER EWING, OF NORTHUMBERLAND, TO CHARLES HALL, OF YORK.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Sept. 27th, 1794.

D'R CHARLES:—I need not describe to you our situation; the disposition of the people instigated by a number of factious Characters has arisen to an alarming heighth.

A Liberty Pole was erected at Milton the 26th Inst. Upwards of three hundred were assembled—all expressing their disapprobation of the existing Laws. The Pole in North'ld was cut down by Messrs. Brady, Levy & Dr. Young. On Tuesday next they propose to erect another in Town which will be effected.

On our side no attempts has been made, as yet; were we unanimous we could defy their united efforts. But when the officers of Government take a decided part with the rioters, what can possibly be expected.

I could wish from my soul that we may be hon'd with a detachment: such a one as would convince these fellows that Government is not to be insulted with Impunity. Dr. Young & Levy will join you at Carlisle. They have been threatened with a coat of Tar and Feathers.

I expected that Gen'l Wilson would have wrote to the Gov'r, suggesting the propriety of granting us a Regiment; we could then exert ourselves. But at present we dare not.

Adieu; I wish you a pleasant campaign.

J. EWING.

I have packed up every article you wrote for, & with some difficulty have procured you a Bear skin.

RESOLUTIONS OF PITTSBURGH MEETING.

PITTSBURGH, Sept. 27, 1794.

At a meeting of a considerable number of the inhabitants of Washington, and other of the counties on the west of the mountains, the present state of the country, with respect to the late convulsion, was taken into view, and from comparing information, it appeared to them that the country was in fast progression if not wholly arrived, at a state of general submission to the laws; so as to render it unnecessary for any advance of force on the part of the government, for the purpose of assisting the civil authority in suppressing insurrection and preserving peace, and that measures ought to be taken, as speedily as may be, to communicate information of this favorable state of affairs to the government.

Resolved, therefore, That a meeting of the delegates of townships, of the 14th of August, at Parkinson's ferry, be called, to convene at the same place, viz: Parkinson's ferry, on Thursday next, the 2d of October, to take the above into consideration, and as it is of great moment, the delegates are earnestly requested to be punctual in their attendance, and at an early hour that day.

And it is recommended, that all justices of the peace and members of the committee, obtain and bring forward all signatures of the declaration of submission that may be taken, in order to lay before the committee, and forward to government, with such address or commissioners on the part of the country as may be thought advisable.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO DR. WALES, OF YORK.

YORKTOWN, 29th Sept'r, 1794.

SIR—The Governor has received a very honorable recommendation, for issuing a Commission in your favor, as Surgeon to the Marsh Creek Troop of Horse, on the western Expedition, and he directs me to inform you, that the recommendation shall be complied with upon our arrival at Carlisle. In the meantime, you will be pleased to consider yourself regularly appointed.

I am, Sir,

Y'r most obed. serv't,

A. J. DALLAS, Secretary.

To Dr. GEORGE WALES.

COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE TO GOV. MIFFLIN.

READING, Septem. 29, 1794, Monday.

DEAR SIR:—I arrived here last evening, having before I left Philadelphia, forwarded the allotment of arms and Camp equipage for Bucks County delivered to an officer sent from the County—*nearly* the proportion for Montgomery delivered to Col. Wentz who commands the quota from that County, the proportions for Chester and Delaware fully sent on to Downingtown. A great part of the supplies for York and Lancaster actually loaded, and some gone on, and arrangements made for the furnishing the Militia which were assembling at Reading, for which the arms and part of the Stores are arrived and the rest on the road. I found great difficulty in procuring carriage, few teams coming in from the Country, by which the Counties of York & Lancaster were supplied later than I could wish, and the Camp equipage for Harrisburgh & Carlisle are yet to come on, but I expect will move from the City this day or to-morrow. In short I have forwarded the stores as fast as I could procure them from the public Stores, and in many instances the Waggons have waited for the delivery from thence, and We shall be *greatly deficient in Knapsacks and Horsemen's tents*, which I could not procure fast enough for the demand, and having issued them fully as they were provided. I fear those who are latest in making the field will be most deficient, and some of the back Counties entirely without, but I have urged Col. Hodgdon to forward them as they are prepared to Harrisburgh or Carlisle.

21—VOL. IV.

Colonel Hamilton expressed a surprize at our calling for so many arms, but I stated to him in writing the cause. There are 1,000 muskets & 500 rifles at Carlisle, where the Counties of Dauphin, York, Cumberland & Franklin must be furnished. I know it is disagreeable to the Militia to march without arms, but it cannot be avoided.

¹ Col. Cowperthwait had collected above 400 men in the encampment at Peters's farm who were fully furnished with everything they required. The drafts from the County continued to come in, and he proposed marching to-morrow. I wrote to him expressing your anxiety for his marching and that no arms would remain to issue after Monday, but if the drafts continued to come in greater numbers than their quota, that he would apply direct to Colonel Hodgdon and get him to state their case to the Secretary of the Treasury, as I was under a necessity of proceeding to the Counties.

Captain Taylor's Corps marches this day from the City by way of Lancaster. Capt. Forrest's troop moved on Saturday for this place. At Norristown I found the Militia of Montgomery assembling. I urged them to hasten, but they will not march for here till Tuesday. To-morrow I expect the Bucks County Militia here, and on Wednesday those of this County assemble, till when, I think my presence necessary here. I hear nothing from Northampton.

Permit me to suggest to you that the whole of our State Militia, except the Cavalry (who I suppose are at Carlisle should encamp on the other side of Susquehanna on the first good ground that can be found, which I am told is not nearer than Robert Whitehill's farm, and that they should remain there some days till organized. I could there supply them with everything required while the magazines at Carlisle are forming, and which I suspect are not yet in readiness, and we shall be near enough to be considered at the general rendezvous. I fear that near Harrisburgh it is too sickly to remain, but Mr. E. Fox, who will be there, will take your orders till I arrive, which I expect will be on Friday.

I send this by two gentlemen of the City troop who remained to escort Mr. Brown, D. P. M. Gen'l, but he has not yet arrived here but is expected to-night and has a sufficient escort with him.

I am with great respect, Dear Sir,

Your most obed't Serv't,

CLEMENT BIDDLE.

Q. M. G. Penn'a.

I have issued Blankets to the most necessitous and have about 6 or 800 blankets coming on.

The rear of the Jersey Troops march from here to-morrow under Gen'l White. Gen'l Henry Miller, Q. M. G., is gone to Virginia.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

RELIEF TO THE FAMILIES OF THE PHILADELPHIA TROOPS.

PHILAD'A, 29th Sept., 1794.

At a meeting of the citizens appointed to procure Subscriptions for the relief of the families of persons who have marched against the western insurgents, John Barclay, Esq., was appointed Treasurer to the Funds, and to whom the monies collected will be paid. The following persons were appointed to distribute to the necessitous families of their respective wards, viz:

For New-Market ward,	David Smith.
Dock ward.	Levi Hollingsworth.
Walnut ward,	James Cox.
South ward,	Persifor Frazer.
Lower Delaware,	Andrew Bayard.
Chestnut ward,	John Stille.
Middle ward,	Israel Whelen.
North ward,	James Ash.
High street ward,	Mahlon Hutchinson.
Upper Delaware,	William Montgomery.
South Mulberry,	Andrew Guyer.
North Mulberry,	Godfrey Haga.

Published by order of the Meeting.

ROBERT RALSTON, *Secretary.*

THE FIRST TROOP OF PHILADELPHIA LIGHT HORSE.

CAMP ON CARLISLE COMMONS,
September 29th, 1794.

The Commanding officer of the First Troop of Philadelphia Light Horse, feels himself bound, by duty, as well as inclination, to acknowledge and applaud the conduct of the Troop under his command, during the late march. Their strict attention to orders—their decent and gentlemanly deportment towards the inhabitants, and that spirit of harmony and accommodation which they uniformly displayed, are happy pre-

sages of the success which must attend the patriotic cause in which they are engaged. May that noble spirit be ever continued as the surest means of obtaining the objects for which we contend—punishment of the guilty violators of the laws of our Country, and submission to them by all descriptions of Citizens—on which depend the Peace, Liberty and Safety of the People.

JOHN DUNLAP,* *Capt.*

LIST OF THE FIRST TROOP OF PHILADELPHIA LIGHT HORSE.

Captain—John Dunlap.

1st Lieut.—David Lenox.

2d Lieut.—Thomas Lieper.

2d Lieut.—William Hall

Cornet—John Lardner.

Adjutant—Jacob Cox.

Quarter Master—John Donaldson,

Surgeon—James S. Ewing,

Samuel Howell, jun.,	William Wilcocks,
----------------------	-------------------

Francis Johnston,	Robert C. Latimer,
-------------------	--------------------

David H. Conyngham,	Daniel Williams,
---------------------	------------------

John Meese,	George McCall,
-------------	----------------

John Redman,	Robert Andrews,
--------------	-----------------

William Lardner,	William Forrest,
------------------	------------------

Robert Smith,	Meredith Clymer,
---------------	------------------

*JOHN DUNLAP was born at Strabane, county of Tyrone, Ireland, in 1744. He came to this country at the early age of eight or nine, and served an apprenticeship at printing with his uncle, William Dunlap. In 1771 he assumed the business of his relative and issued "*The Pennsylvania Packet or General Advertiser*," and subsequently became one of the most extensive and successful printers in the country. During the occupancy of Philadelphia by the British, 1777-8, his paper was published at Lancaster. In connection with David C. Claypole, in 1784, it was issued daily—the first in the United States. The "*North American*" is the successor of Mr. Dunlap's paper. Prior to the Revolution Mr. Dunlap was a member of the City Troop, first as cornet and afterwards as lieutenant, and was with that company in the battles of Trenton, Princeton, &c. About the close of the war he became captain of the troop, and was in command during the Insurrection of 1794. Mr. Dunlap subscribed £4,000, in 1780, to supply provisions for the American army. He died on the 27th of November, 1812, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was buried with all the honors of war.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

325

William Miller, sen.,	Henry Nixon,
Joseph B. McKean,	Michael Keppele,
Andrew Pettit,	Henry Wikoff,
Robert Hiltzheimer,	John Melbeck,
Francis West,	Charles Ross,
John Caldwell,	Richard Willing,
Robert Rainey,	Benjamin Ringgold,
Benjamin Morgan,	Daniel S. Delany,
Anthony Benezet,	Robert Lewis,
Samuel Wheeler,	William Phillips,
Joseph Marsh,	William S. Budden,
Robert S. Bickley,	Joseph Simmons,
David C. Claypoole,	Francis Nichols,
John Vaughan,	Benjamin F. West,
Jonathan Robeson,	Patrick Moore,
Jonathan Williams,	William W. Burrows,
William Miller, jun.,	

COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

READING, Octo. 2, 1794.

DEAR SIR:—The President was here last Night and Went on this morning to Carlisle. He was urgent that the Militia should be hastened, and by Colonel Hamilton's directions, I have sent One of my Assistants down the road to hasten the Montgomery & Bucks Militia, part of which will certainly be here to-night.

There are about 90 men Armed from Northampton which are nearly all we may expect from there. The Cavalry of this County are by this time at Carlisle. Capt. Spade has a fine Company of Infantry ready to march, & I shall hasten the drafts from the County off to-morrow but do not expect they will be numerous, but I shall urge the whole to push on as the Secretary of the Treasury directed me to have them by all means ready to march from Carlisle on the 10th, but to provide means for the march of any that might follow.

I am very uneasy at being Detained, but cannot leave here before sometime to-morrow, especially as the Stores from Philadelphia are not come on, from which I am in dread of some disappointment in their being detained by the United States, agreeably to the orders left by me. Mr. Dallas' Waggon went on with my Own this morning. I have appointed Dr. Forrest, of Harrisburgh, (by whom this goes) to be Brigade Quarter Master to the 3d, or Gen'l Chambers' Brigade. Mr. Wm. M.

Biddle comes on in the same Capacity with the 2d, in Gen'l Murray's Brigade.

In hopes of having the honour to join you shortly, I am,
With the greatest Respect,

Your Excellency's Mo. Obed. Serv't,

CLEMENT BIDDLE,

Q. M. G. Penn'a.

Cap. Forrest's Troop from Philad. County marched from here
this morning.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

GEN. WM. IRVINE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

CARLISLE, Oct'r 2d, 1795.

SIR:—I have seen your General Orders respecting the quota of Militia of Pennsylvania, for general defence, and entertain the most gratefull sense of the honor you have done me, in appointing me to the chief Command. It is respectable with regard to number, & I hope to make it so in all respects, if our services should be called for. I am not accustomed to much boasting, but hope you will allow me to flatter myself that, at least no discredit will attend the State you represent, by the appointments you have made on this occasion. I am highly gratified in the selection you have been pleased to make in the other general officers who are associated with me, most of them veterans who have been tried, and their merit long acknowledged; their experience and ablities, which I am confident will be exerted, must lessen to me the difficulty unavoidably attending so arduous a duty. I have written to Generals Chambers & Wilson to meet me soon, to make the necessary arrangements in our district.

From the enquireys I have made, I fear there will be great deficiency of arms. If Dauphin County had been joined to the first division, I think it would have made the divisions more equal, & been more convenient for the people, perhaps this has been an error, or probably there may be reasons that have not occurred to me, I wish not to make any difficulty.

Sundry Staff Officers are omitted, but whether you think their appointment yet unnecessary, or whether you mean to leave that to me, I know not, but will be much obliged by information. You know sir, that neither the Adjutant General nor Quarter-master General are or can properly march or take the field, but when you do—and Deputies for so numerous a detachment

will be indispensably necessary, so will Commissarys, both of provision & military stores, and a Surgeon or Director General of the Hospital—as for Division, Brigade & Regimental Staff, they can be taken from the line when assembled. I hope you will excuse these suggestions—I should not make them, if I was not convinced you wish everything complete, & that I think it more than probable, the confusion and distress occasioned by the prevailing sickness, may have occasioned it to escape both you & your officers, whose duty it was, more immediately to enter into detail.

With the highest respect & esteem,

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obed't Humble Servant,

WM. IRVINE.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

P. S.—If you consider it your province to make the appointments mentioned, I ask the favor of you, to appoint Doctor Robert Johnston, of Franklin County, Surgeon or Director General.

Private.—If you think it proper (but otherwise by no means) I would like to have the first part of this letter published.

W. I.

The Governor.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SECOND MEETING AT PARKINSON'S FERRY.

Resolutions of the delegates of Townships, of the 14th of August, assembled at Parkinson's Ferry on the 2d of October, agreeable to the notice in the Pittsburgh *Gazette*.

Resolved, That it is the unanimous opinion of this meeting, that if the signature of the submision be not universal, it is not so much owing to any existing disposition to oppose the laws, as to a want of time and information to operate a correspondent sentiment; and with respect to the greatest number, a prevailing consciousness of their having had no concern in any outrage, and an idea that their signature would imply a sense of guilt.

Resolved, unanimously. That we will submit to the laws of the United States; that we will not, directly or indirectly, oppose the execution of the acts for raising a revenue on distilled spirits and stills, and that we will support, so far as the law requires, the civil authority in affording the protection to all officers

and to the citizens, reserving, at the same time, our constitutional rights of petition and remonstrance.

Resolved, unanimously, That in our opinion, in the four counties of Pennsylvania, westward of the Allegheny mountains, there is a general disposition to submit to all laws of the United States, and determined to support the civil authority in their execution.

Resolved, unanimously, That William Findley, of Westmoreland county, and David Redick, of Washington county, be appointed commissioners to wait on the President of the United States, and the Governor of Pennsylvania, with a copy of these resolutions, and to explain to government the present state of this country, and detail such circumstances as may enable the President to judge whether an armed force be now necessary to support the civil authority in those counties.

Resolved, unanimously, That the secretary transmit a copy of these resolutions, by post, to the President of the United States, and to the Governor of Pennsylvania, and have them printed in the Pittsburgh *Gazette*.

ALEXANDER ADDISON, *Secretary*.

DEPOSITION OF JUDGE ADDISON.

United States, Pennsylvania District, ss :

Before me, Richard Peters, Judge of the District Court in the United States, in the Pennsylvania District, appeared Alexander Addison, of the town of Washington, in the State of Pennsylvania, and made oath that he was present at Brownsville, or Redstone old fort, in the county of Fayette and State of Pennsylvania, on the 28th and 29th of August last, when what was called the Standing Committee met to receive the report of the committee appointed to confer with the commissioners on the part of government that the minds of all men appeared to be strongly impressed with a sense of the critical situation of this country, and the minds of almost all with a fear of opposing the current of the popular opinion, and this deponent believes these impressions were greatly increased by the appearance of a body of armed men assembled there from Muddy Creek, in Washington County, to punish Samuel Jackson as an enemy to what they called their cause.

This deponent further made oath that, on the 29th, Mr. Gallatin opened the business of the meeting by proposing a resolution, that in the opinion of that committee, it was the interest

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

339

of this country to accept of the terms offered by the commissioners, and by a speech of great length, stating the impolicy and danger of force in resistance of law, the incompetency of these western counties to contend with the United States and the necessity of submission. That Mr. Brackenridge followed him also at great length and to the same effect.

This deponent further made oath, that then Mr. Bradford rose and answered and opposed the various arguments used by Mr. Brackenridge and Mr. Gallatin, alluded to the revolutions in America and in France as models of imitation, and inducements to hope of success in the opposition of these counties to government, stated the capacity of these western counties from their situation as separated from the eastern country by mountains and from other circumstances to maintain a successful war against the United States, and in a state of separation to attain and secure all the essential objects and protection, safety and trade.

This deponent cannot undertake to repeat the expressions of Mr. Bradford, but is certain that he has stated the ideas which they communicated to him and his whole speech seemed manifestly calculated to keep up the opposition to government and prevent the adoption of the resolutions proposed by Mr. Gallatin.

This deponent further made oath that Mr. Bradford, in a conversation with this deponent on the 27th of September last, told this deponent that he made the speech before alluded to with a view to maintain his influence with the people under an opinion that unless some show of resistance was made to the terms of accommodation, the people would reject them and consider themselves as betrayed.

ALEX'R ADDISON.

ADDRESS OF CITIZENS OF HARRISBURG TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

HARRISBURGH, October 3d, 1794.

To His Excellency George Washington, President of the United States of America:

SIR:—While we, the burgesses and citizens of Harrisburgh, rejoice in the opportunity of presenting our respects to a character, so justly revered and dear to Americans, we cannot but lament that we should owe it to an interruption of the peace and prosperity of our country, those constant objects of

your public cares. We trust, however, that the just indignation which fires the breasts of all virtuous citizens, at the unprovoked outrages committed by those lawless men, who are in opposition to one of the mildest and most equal governments of which the condition of man is susceptible, will excite such exertions, as to crush the spirit of disaffection wherever it has appeared, and that our political horizon will shine brighter than ever on a dispersion of the clouds which now menace and obscure it.

Though our sphere of action is too limited to produce any important effects, yet we beg leave to assure your excellency that, so far as it extends, our best endeavours shall not be wanting to support the happy constitution and wise administration of our government.

Signed in behalf of the borough.

CONRAD BOMBAUGH,*

ALEX. BERRYHILL,†

Burgesses.

REPLY OF PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

To the Burgesses and other Citizens of Harrisburgh:

GENTLEMEN:—In declaring to you the genuine satisfaction I derive from your very cordial address, I will not mingle any expression of the painful sensations which I experience from the occasion that has drawn me hither. You will be at no loss to do justice to my feelings. But relying on that kindness of

* CONRAD BOMBAUGH was a native of Lancaster county, having been born on the Chicques, about 1750. He was a mill-wright by profession, and settled, at an early period, at Standing Stone, Huntingdon, where he established a mill. About the commencement of the Revolution he removed to Highspire, and when the county of Dauphin was organized, in 1785, we find him a resident of Harrisburg. He was a prominent citizen of the new town, and was honored by the highest office in the gift of its people. He died in April, 1821, aged seventy-one years.

† ALEXANDER BERRYHILL was a native of Paxtang Dauphin county, where he was born, about 1749. He was one of the first inhabitants of the city of Harrisburg on its being laid out in 1785. He erected a house on the corner of Market street and Dewberry alley, where he resided for a number of years. He was appointed a justice of the peace by Gov. Mifflin, and served as burgess of the then flourishing town. He was an elegant pensman, and an active and intelligent citizen. He died at Harrisburg.

Providence towards our country, which every adverse appearance hitherto has served to manifest, and counting upon the tried good sense and patriotism of the great body of our fellow citizens, I do not hesitate to indulge with you, the expectation of such an issue as will serve to confirm the blessings of peace we enjoy, under a constitution that well deserves the confidence, attachment and support of virtuous men. To class the inhabitants of Harrisburgh among this number, is only to bear testimony to the zealous and efficient exertions, which they have made towards the defence of the laws.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

H. H. BRACKENRIDGE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, October 3d, 1794.

His excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania:

SIR:—In haste from what is called Parkinson's ferry, in order to reach this place before the departure of the Post. I enclose you in haste, as the Post is Just Setting Out, or, as I would say, the Mail Just about to be Closed, a rough draught of a Copy of Resolutions of a meeting. They are Just as Copied Under a tree where the meeting was held. It is at the request and on behalf of the Secretary that I enclose them. He had not time to do himself that honour before my Setting Out.

I have the honour to be,

your excellency's most obedient humble Servant,

H. H. BRACKENRIDGE.

RESOLUTIONS AT TIOGA.

At a meeting of the inhabitants of the township of Tioga,* held on the 3d day of October, 1794, took into consideration the cause of the disturbances in the four western Counties of this State, with the measures pursuing by the General and State Governments against them.

* Formerly in Bradford county.

General Spaulding,* Moderator.

Obadiah Gore,† Clerk.

Voted, that the Constitution of the United States is wisely calculated to secure the liberties of the people and ought to be supported.

Voted, that the powers exercised by the legislature of the general government laying an excise is strictly constitutional, that it is the duty of every citizen of the United States to support and maintain the laws of the United States, and that the Executive of the General and State Governments are justifiable in calling out the Militia to enforce a due obedience to the Laws.

Voted, that if there are existing faults in our Constitution or Laws, or abuses in the administration thereof, it is more easy and expedient to correct such faults or such abuses by constitutional means than to appeal to arms and cause a revolution in government.

Voted, that this meeting highly disapprove of the present opposition to the Constitutional laws of the United States in some of the western counties of this State.

Voted, that we stand ready (if it be required) to turn out personally with our fellow citizens of the State and of the United States, to support that free government under which we live.

Voted, that the foregoing votes be published for the information of our fellow citizens.

OBADIAH GORE, *Clerk.*

*SIMON SPAULDING was born at Plainfield, Conn., in the year 1741, coming with his family during the Connecticut settlement of Wyoming. He was a captain in the Revolution, and done efficient service in Sullivan's expedition. To him was due the credit of the victory at Bound Brook, where he recovered the forage the British had gathered and took a number of prisoners. In 1783, in company with several of his neighbors, he removed from Wyoming to Sheshequin in Bradford county, a location he took a fancy to in the expedition to the Genesee country referred to. The General married Ruth Shephard in 1761. He died at Sheshequin, 24th January, 1814, aged seventy-three.

†OBADIAH GORE was the eldest son of one of the heroes of Forty-Fort. He was a native of Norwich, Connecticut, removing with his father's family to Wyoming at an early day. He was a lieutenant in the Continental service, and was on the lines before New York when occurred that fearful massacre of the 3d of July, 1778. He was a member from Westmoreland to the Connecticut assembly in 1781 and 1782, and subsequently an associate judge of the court in Luzerne county on the constitution of that court under the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania, 1798. He died at Sheshequin whither he had removed with Gen. Spaulding, in 1783.

PAYMASTER DALLAS TO ADJUTANT GENERAL
HARMAR.

CARLISLE, 4th Oct'r, 1794.

SIR:—In order to carry into effect the assurances which were given to the Militia, that an arrangement should be made for advancing to their respective families the amount of their monthly pay, I am obliged to request that you will favor me with the returns of such as are desirous of that accommodation, distinguishing their corps and places of abode in their proper counties. My intention is to forward an Express to the county Treasurers, upon the subject, as soon as it can be regulated by a view of the returns. How far it may be proper to make it the occasion of a General Order, I submit to your better knowledge of Military business.

I am, with great esteem, Sir,
Your Most Obed. Serv't,

A . J. DALLAS,
P. M. G. Penn'a Militia.

TO JOSIAH HARMAR, Esquire, Adjutant General of the Militia of Penns'a.

DAVID BRADFORD, OF WASHINGTON, TO GOVERNOR
MIFFLIN.

WASHINGTON, Oct'r 4th, 1794.

SIR:—This will be handed you by Mr. Redick, who, with Mr. Finley, waits on the Pres't of the U. S. & yourself, on the Subject of the unhappy Disturbances that have taken place here. I hope the Gloom is at length dispelled, and that the Sun will shine forth from the unclouded Heavens bright as usual.

We have had a very general meeting at Parkinson's Ferry, & concluded that it was a Duty we owed to Government & ourselves, to give the true present State of things. We hope this will be done by the Gent'n who wait upon you.

I am much mortified to hear that my Conduct is greatly misrepresented or entirely misunderstood in the late Occurrence. I must confess, I always disliked the Excise Law, but it was never in my mind to go farther than the Committees, who met at Pittsburgh, expressed in their Resolutions, to wit: a negative opposition.

After the first Effray at Nevills, when informed of it & consulted what ought to be done, I disapproved in the Strongest Terms, of the measures. Mr. Redick can explain to you my conduct, for he was present, and I hope it will not be unpleasing to you to hear it.

My conduct has been greatly misconstrued, at the last meeting at Redstone old Fort. Other Conduct would have defeated my Design, to wit: to bring about a submission to the Laws. I believe I may say, without arrogating more to myself than is due, that I have done as much as any here, towards a Reconciliation & Submission to the Laws. Mr. Redick was, in a great measure, witness to my Conduct in affecting this desirable End.

Had I acquiesced in the Terms, when first offered by the Com'r's the people, I am convinced, would have believed I had been bribed. A multitude dispersed over a Country cannot, in a Day, be reasoned into opinions & measures as an Individual may.

In fine, Sir, let me pray you to suspend your opinion respecting my Conduct, till time & a future Explanation will throw more light & afford means of a more correct Judgment thereon.

I am with sentiments of the highest Esteem & regard,

Y'r mo. Ob't humble Serv't,
DAVID BRADFORD.

Gov'r MIFFLIN.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO THE OFFICERS ON THE WESTERN EXPEDITION.

CIRCULAR.

CARLISLE, 5th Oct'r, 1794.

SIR:—In obedience to a Resolution of the General Assembly, I have transmitted to you herewith, a copy of the Act, entitled “An Act to provide for suppressing an Insurrection in the Western counties of this Commonwealth;” and also, a copy of an Act, entitled “An Act to enable such of the Militia of this Commonwealth as may be on service and absent from their respective counties, to vote at the next General Election.”

I am, Sir,

Your Most Obed. Serv't,

A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary.*

To the respective Field Officers and Captains of the Militia on the Western Expedition.

COL. JESSE FELL* TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WILKESBARRE, October 5th, 1794.

SIR:—This will be handed to you by Mr. George Eddy, who hath spent a few days in this County, I believe, much to the advantage of Government. At this Crisis, I think it my duty to inform you of the sentiments of this County, as nigh as my information will enable me to do it. The Inhabitants of Wilkes-barre and its neighbourhood are warmly attached in support of Government, and so are the well informed throughout the County. Where anything has been said in favour of the Insurgents, it is amongst the Ignorant, those opposed to any Government, and the disaffected in the late War; but as information gains ground daily, I hope we shall soon be unanimous of favour of Government in this County. As an assurance of our warm attachment to the present Cause of Supporting Government and quelling the Western Insurgents, we have embodied a company of Infantry which have this day marched forward; they have elected their Officers, Certificates whereof is enclosed. I hope this measure & their Conduct will meet your approbation. Should you have Occasion for more assistance and our frontier Situation warrant the measure, there are numbers in this County who have declared their willingness, if called upon, to turn out in Support of Government—amongst them, I may mention Col'n. Franklin, who always leads with him a Strong party. After taking advisement, I have lent to Capt. Samuel Bowman, the Publick muskets entrusted to my care, for the use of his company, with a few Catriges for their Safety. Perhaps they never can be used in a better Cause, neither may they be safe on their march without arms, as this is a voluntary business. I hope my Conduct therein may meet your approbation.

I am, Sir,

Your Obedient and very Humble Servant,

JESSE FELL.

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esq'r, Governor of Pennsylvania.

* JESSE FELL was a native of Bucks county, born in 1751, removing early to Luzerne. He was elected sheriff of the latter county and after the expiration of his term of office, was appointed by Gov. Mifflin associate judge, a position he held for thirty-five years. To him the credit is due for demonstrating by actual experiment, on the 11th of February, 1808, the burning of anthracite coal in a grate. In this particular he was a public benefactor, and deserves to be held in remembrance by the people of Pennsylvania. Judge Fell was a member of the Society of Friends. He died at Wilkes-Barre, August 11 1830.

MR. PUTNAM CATLIN TO GEORGE EDDY.

WILKESBARRE, October 6th, 1794.

SIR:—I have just returned from my tour up this River, & I have the pleasure to tell you that the Inhabitants where I have traveled, are all attached to the Gen'l Government, and are disposed to do everything in their power to support it. Two meetings were called, one at Tioga & one at Wyalusing, & each passed some votes expressive of this Disposition, which I suppose may be published.

I have inclosed to Captain Bowman, a letter directed to him & his Company, signed by Maj'r Saturlie, Capt. Matthewson Spalding and others, expressing their good wishes, & that they will back his Company if *times should go hard*, &c., which letter I wish you would read.

All that I can tell you about the *treaty*, is that the Oneida, Cayuga & Onondagua Indians, amounting to 150, had arrived at the place of the Treaty, & those at *Buffaloe*, (the Senecas, Mohawks, &c.,) had sent word by their *Runners*, that they should arrive by the 8th instant. It is expected it will be a *great treaty*, that is, the Indians will generally attend. This intelligence I had from Esq. Maxwell, of Tioga point, who had just arrived from the place of Treaty, & had seen the Indians. It is reported at the Lakes, that at the Garrisons of Detroit & Niagara, the people are in great consternation on account of the threat of the Indians, & it is expected the Indians will turn their arms on the British, take the Garrison & join the Americans, because the British have not supported them in the War agreeable to promise—ever since their late action with Gen'l Wayne, (in which they lost 300 warriors,) they have been disaffected towards the British. It is further reported that Gov. Simcoe has disappeared (& is not to be found) on account of the disturbance raised by the Indians—this news, I fear, is too good to be true.

I cannot express how much success, honor & pleasure I wish may attend you in your Expedition. My heart is with you. I know you will be overjoyed at meeting your own Company in the camp, and I am persuaded, too, that you will not forget our Little Band of Heroes who marched with you from this place.

I shall write to Capt. Bowman & if I have time, to some others of his Company.

I am, sir, with esteem & Respect,
Your most obed't Servant,

PUTNAM CATLIN.

Mr. GEORGE EDDY.

MR. TRIMBLE* TO JOHN CRAIG, OF NORTHAMPTON.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
PHILA, 6th October, 1794.

SIR:—Your letter of the fourth instant, to the Secretary of the Commonwealth, was this day received by Express. As the Secretary has gone with the Governor to Carlisle, I will as soon as possible transmit a copy of your letter to him for the consideration of the Governor. At present, I wish you to be informed that the doubts you mention have not been entertained here; the Brigade Inspectors of the City and County of Philadelphia, having, under the instructions from the Governor, proceeded to draft from the first, second, third and fourth classes of the Militia of their Brigades, and I believe the same has been done in the neighboring counties.

As soon as I receive an answer, it shall be forwarded with all dispatch.

I am, Sir,
Your Most Obed. Serv.,
JAMES TRIMBLE,
Dept'y Sec'y.

To JOHN CRAIG, Esquire, Brigade Inspect. of the County of Northampton.

RETURN OF CAPT. MATTHEW McCONNELL'S TROOP.

Return of the Philadelphia troop of Volunteer Greens, commanded by Matthew McConnell, now doing duty in the army of the United States at the encampment near Carlisle, October 8, 1794:

* JAMES TRIMBLE was born in Philadelphia, July 19, 1755. His father dying when quite young and being a good pensman, he was apprenticed a clerk in the Land Office under James Tilghman about 1770. In March, 1777, he became assistant to Col. Timothy Matlack, Secretary of the Supreme Executive Council, and under the Commonwealth was successively appointed deputy secretary down to January 14, 1835, the administration of Gov. Ritner, covering a period of fifty-nine years. Mr. Trimble married, in April, 1782, Clarissa, widow of John Hastings. Her maiden name was Claypoole and she was a descendent of Oliver Cromwell. She died at Lancaster, Feb. 6, 1810. Mr. Trimble assisted to remove the State records from Philadelphia to Lancaster in 1799, and from Lancaster to Harrisburg in 1812. He died at Harrisburg 25th January, 1836.

Matthew McConnell, Captain,
 John Morrell, First Lieutenant.
 John D. Blanchard, Lieut. & Adjut.
 John Cumming, Surgeon.
 John Inskeep, Quarter Master
 George Weed, Assistant do.

Troopers.

John Sitgreaves,	George Lauman,
Henry Miercken,	William Brown,
R'bt Crozier,	Peter Wikoff, Jun.,
Joshua B. Bond,	John Davis,
William Massey,	Henry Toland,
Charles Harris,	James Grubb,
David McCormick,	William Meredith,
Jonathan Smith, Jun.,	Franklin Wharton,
William Moore Smith,	John Crosby,
William McFadden,	William Mott,
Matthias Sadler,	Henry L. Waddell,
James Biggs,	Alexander Cochran,
Joseph R. Tatem,	Samuel N. Potts,
James Bacon,	Richard W. Meade,
Richard Potter	William Hunter,
Edward Price,	Caleb Foulke,
John Morgan Price,	Adam Hoops,
John Fairhairn,	David Levy,
Robert Campbell,	Charles Francis.

William Sergeant, acting as Brigade Major and Aid de Camp
 to General Proctor,

Jacob Gideon, Trumpeter.

Enrolled men equipped by the troop:

George Rawlin,	Joseph Blythe,
William B. Smith,	Chas. Tallman.
Martin Lombert,	

MESSRS. WILSON AND HUBLEY, OF NORTHUMBERLAND, TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

NORTHUMBERLAND, October 8th, 1794.

SIR:—It is with pain we are under the necessity to inform you, that a very disorderly and riotous spirit exhibits itself in several parts of this county, and particularly in Buffaloe & this town. We do not think that any Treasonable attempts against the Constitution & Laws of the United States are intended as yet

by our Northumberland anarchists, but it is hard to say with confidence, that an outrage may not hereafter be committed on the public peace, as a number of Liberty-poles (as they are erroneously called) have lifted their baneful & poisonous heads in several parts of the county. These poles have already been productive of much riot & confusion, & they still prove a standard for rioters to flock round. A few well disposed citizens ventured to cut down the pole, which was erected in this Town. A few days after, a second & much larger one was raised (by the same persons who were active in the first) and with more circumstances of irritation & firment than the former.

This pole was also *cut down* by order of Capt. Bowman, who arrived here yesterday with his Company of Luzerne Volunteers. The Town now seems quiet, but how long the calm may continue is difficult to determine. Under all these circumstances, we thought it most advisable to request the stay of Capt. Bowman & his company for a few days, until we can raise & equip a company of volunteers for the preservation of order & the suppression of riots & disorderly meetings of the people in this county. We hope that our example will be followed in this respect, in other parts of the county.

Capt. Bowman has very politely agreed to the above requisition, on condition that we would undertake to inform your Excellency the reason of his stay. Capt. Bowman requests that Mr. George Eddy, a volunteer in Capt. McPherson's Blues, may be permitted to remain in his company until he arrives at Carlisle.

Capt. Bowman is a very Gentlemanly Officer; his conduct since his arrival has given universal satisfaction to all good citizens; his company consists of about fifty men, all in full uniform, & in high spirits.

We are, With Respect,

Y'r Excellency's ob't Serv'ts,

WM. WILSON Br. Genr'l,

BER'D HUBLEY, Brig'e Insp'r.

GEORGE EDDY TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

NORTHUMBERLAND, October 9th, 1794.

SIR:—Agreeably to the furlough given me by Major McPherson, I left the City on the 20th ult'o, and on my arrival at Wyoming, Immediately in Co-operation with the leading People there, got resolves Expressive of their attachment to Government

It has also been mentioned to him, that among various false reports in circulation, contrived, no doubt, to check the zeal of the Militia for the service they are to perform, it is given out that the real ultimate intention is to employ them against the British posts or against the savages; he therefore desires me to authorize and instruct you to declare in his name to the troops, that no such intention has been or is entertained; that the sole object of their march was & is the suppression of the insurrection which exists in the Western counties in this State, & that their continuance in service will not be protracted a moment longer than is essential to this object.

In consideration of the difficulty of supplying, with exactness, certain small articles, which enter into the composition of the ration, owing to the extent of the demand & the shortness of the time to provide, I have the President's permission to inform you, that whenever the state of the supply will admit of it, there will be added to each ration of beef issued, a quarter of a pound.

With great respect & esteem,

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obed't serv't,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO CAPT. EBENEZER BOWMAN.

CARLISLE, 10th October, 1794.

SIR:—As I understand you have arrived with a Volunteer Company of Infantry, at Sunbury, I am induced, by the request of the Brigadier General and Brigade Inspector of Northumberland County, to consent to your remaining there for six days, or any longer period that may be essentially necessary to preserve peace and order. After that object is accomplished, I wish you to join the Army at Bedford, by the best and most expeditious route.

I am, Sir,

Your Most Obed. H'ble Serv.,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To EBENEZER BOWMAN, Esq.

GOVERNOR HOWELL, OF NEW JERSEY, TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

STRASBURG, 7 o'clock P. M.,*Oct'r 7th, 1794.*

SIR:—I had the Honor to Receive your Letter enclosing the Route, and had fixed my posts in the requisite Order. The Election is to be held at Fort Littleton of which the Pennsylvania Gentlemen are informed. Provisions are ordered to be drawn by the Whole, at the same time & for an equal Number of Days. The Troops are in high Spirits & to-morrow we ascend the Mountain, as the Hill is called. If there had been forage elsewhere I should have proceeded further this Day, but to-morrow I will reach Fort Littleton. My Compliments await the Gentlemen of you Corps, & *All is well.*

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most Obedient H'mble Serv't,
R'D HOWELL,
Command'g, &c.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLN.

GEN. KNOX TO MAJOR PARROT.

WAR DEPARTMENT, Oct. 14, 1794.

SIR:—I am directed by the President of the United States, to arrest the march of all the Jersey Militia, whether Cavalry, Artillery or Infantry, who had not crossed the Delaware on the twelfth. You will, therefore, please to order all those who have arrived at Trenton, or who shall arrive, to return to their respective homes. Let this be made known extensively.

I am, Sir, with respect,
Your obedient servant,

H. KNOX,
Sec'y of War.

Major PARROT, Commanding Officer of Trenton.

ADDRESS OF CITIZENS OF CARLISLE TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

CARLISLE, October 17th, 1794.

To GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Esq., President of the United States:*

SIR:—We, the subscribers, inhabitants of this borough, on behalf of ourselves and our fellow citizens, friends to good order, government and the laws, approach you at this time, to express our sincere admiration of those virtues which have been uniformly exerted with so much success, for the happiness of America, and which, at this critical period of impending foreign and domestic troubles, have been manifested with distinguished lustre.

Though we deplore the cause which has collected in this borough all classes of virtuous citizens, yet it affords us the most heartfelt satisfaction to meet the Father of our Country and brethren in arms, distinguished for their patriotism, their love of order and attachment to the constitution and laws; and while on the one hand we regret the occasion which has brought from their homes men of all situations, who have made sacrifices unequalled in any other country, of their private interests to the public good, yet we are consoled by the consideration, that the citizens of the United States have evinced to our enemies abroad and the foes of our happy constitution at home, that they not only have the will but possess the power to repel all foreign invaders and to crush all domestic traitors.

The history of the world affords us too many instances of the destruction of free governments by factions and unprincipled men. Yet the present insurrection and opposition to government is exceeded by none, either for its causeless origin or for the extreme malignity and wickedness with which it has been executed.

The unexampled clemency of our councils, in their endeavors to bring to a sense of duty the western insurgents, and the ungrateful returns which have been made by that deluded people, have united all good men in one common effort, to restore order and obedience to the laws, and to punish those who have neglected to avail themselves of, and have spurned at the most tender and humane offers that have ever been made to rebels and traitors.

We have viewed with pain, the great industry, art and misrepresentations which have been practised, to delude our fellow citizens. We trust that the effort of the general government, the combination of the good and virtuous against the vicious

and factious, will cover with confusion, the malevolent disturbers of the public peace, and afford to the well disposed the certainty of protection to their persons and property.

The sword of justice in the hands of our beloved President, can only be considered as an object of terror by the wicked, and will be looked up to by the good and virtuous as their safeguard and protection.

We bless that Providence which has preserved a life so valuable through so many important scenes, and we pray that He will continue to direct and prosper the measures adopted by you, for the security of our internal peace and stability of our government, and that after a life of continued usefulness and glory, you may be rewarded with eternal felicity.

REPLY OF GEN. WASHINGTON TO THE ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN:—I Thank you sincerely for your affectionate address. I feel as I ought, what is personal to me, and I cannot but be particularly pleased with the enlightened and patriotic attachment which is manifested towards our happy constitution and the laws.

When we look round and behold the universally acknowledged prosperity which blesses every part of the United States, facts no less unequivocal than those which are the lamented occasion of our present meeting, were necessary to persuade us that any portion of our fellow citizens could be so deficient in discernment or virtue, as to attempt to disturb a situation which, instead of murmurs and tumults, calls for our warmest gratitude to Heaven, and our earnest endeavors to preserve and prolong so favored a lot.

Let us hope that the delusion cannot be lasting; that reason will speedily regain her empire, and the laws their just authority, where they have lost it. Let the wise and the virtuous unite their efforts to reclaim the misguided, and to detect and defeat the arts of the factious. The union of good men is a basis on which the security of our internal peace and the stability of our government may safely rest. It will always prove an adequate rampart against the vicious and disorderly.

In any case in which it may be indispensable to raise the sword of justice against obstinate offenders, I shall deprecate the necessity of deviating from a favorite aim, to establish the authority of the laws in the affections of all rather than in the 'ears of any.'

G'O. WASHINGTON.

INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL HENRY LEE.

BEDFORD, 20th October, 1794.

SIR:—I have it in special instruction from the President of the United States, now at this place, to convey to you on his behalf the following instructions for the general directions of your conduct, in command of the militia army with which you are charged:

The objects for which the militia have been called forth are:

1. To suppress the combinations which exist in some of the western counties of Pennsylvania, in opposition to the laws laying duties upon spirits distilled within the United States and upon stills.

2. To cause the laws to be executed. These object are to be effected in two ways:

1 By military force.

2. By judiciary process and other civil proceedings.

The objects of the military force are two-fold.

1. To overcome any armed opposition which may exist.

2. To countenance and support the civil officers in the means of executing the laws.

With a view to the first of these two objects, you may proceed as speedily as may be with the army under your command, into the insurgent counties to attack, and as far as shall be in your power subdue all persons whom you may find in arms in opposition to the laws above mentioned. You will march your army in two columns from the places where they are now assembled, by the most convenient routes, having regard to the nature of the roads, the convenience of supply and the facility of co-operation and union, and bearing in mind that you ought to act until the contrary shall be fully developed on the general principle of having to contend with the whole force of the counties of Fayette, Westmoreland, Washington and Allegheny and of that part of Bedford which lies westward of the town of Bedford, and that you are to put as little as possible to hazard. The approximation, therefore, of your columns is to be sought, and the sub-division of them so as to place the parts out of mutual supporting distance to be avoided as far as local circumstances will permit. Parkinson's Ferry appears to be a proper point toward which to direct the march of the columns for the purpose of ulterior measures.

When arrived within the insurgent country, if an armed opposition appear it may be proper to publish a proclamation inviting all good citizens, friends to the constitution and laws, to

join the standard of the United States. If no armed opposition exist, it may still be proper to publish a proclamation exhorting to a peaceful and dutiful demeanor and giving assurances of performing with good faith and liberality whatsoever may have been promised by the commissioners, to those who have complied wth the conditions prescribed by them, and who have not forfeited their title by subsequent misdemeanor.

Of those persons in arms, if any, whom you may make prisoners; leaders, including all persons in command, are to be delivered to the civil magistrates, the rest to be disarmed, admonished and sent home, (except such as may have been particularly violent and also influential,) causing their own recognizances for their good behavior to be taken in the cases which it may be deemed expedient.

With a view, to the second point namely; the countenance and support of the civil officers in the means of executing their laws, you will make such dispensations as shall appear proper to countenance and protect, and if necessary, and required by them, to support and aid the civil officers in the execution of their respective duties for bringing offenders and delinqents to justice; for seizing the stills of delinquent distillers, as far as the same shall be deemed eligible by the supervisor of the revenue or chief officer of inspection, and also for conveying to places of safe custody such persons as may be apprehended and not admitted to bail.

The objects of judiciary process, and other civil proceedings, shall be :

1. To bring offenders to justice.
2. To enforce penalties on delinquent distillers by suit.
3. To enforce the penalties of forfeiture on the same persons by the seizure of their stills and spirits.

The better to effect these purposes, the Judge of the district, Richard Peters, Esq'r., and the attorney of the district, William Rawle, Esq., accompany the army.

You are aware that the Judge cannot be controlled in his functions. But I count on his disposition to co-operate in such a general plan as shall appear to you consistent with the policy of the case. But your method of giving directions to proceedings, according to your general plan, will be by instructions to the district attorney.

He ought particularly to be instructed (with due regard to time and circumstances)

1st. To procure to be arrested all influential actors in riots and unlawful assemblies, relating to the insurrection and combination to resist the laws, or having for object to abet that insurrection and these combinations; and who shall not have complied

with the terms offered by the commissioners, or manifested their repentance in some other way, which you may deem satisfactory.

2d. To cause process to issue for enforcing penalties on delinquent distillers.

3d. To cause offenders who may be arrested to be conveyed to jails where there will be no danger of rescue—those for misdemeanors, to the jails of York and Lancaster; those for capital offenses to the jail of Philadelphia, as more secure than the others.

4th. Prosecute indictable offenses in the court of the United States; those for penalties, or delinquents, under the laws before mentioned, in the courts of Pennsylvania.

As a guide in the case, the district attorney has with him a list of the persons who have availed themselves of the offers of the commissioners on the day appointed.

The seizure of stills is the province of the supervisor and other officers of inspection. It is difficult to chalk out a precise line concerning it. There are opposite considerations which will require to be nicely balanced, and which must be judged of by those officers on the spot. It may be useful to confine the seizure of stills to the most leading and refractory distillers. It may be advisable to extend them far into the most refractory county.

When the insurrection is subdued and the requisite means have been put in execution to secure obedience to the laws, so as to render it proper for the army to retire, (an event which you will accelerate as much as shall be consistent with the object,) you will endeavour to make an arrangement for attaching such a force as you may deem adequate, to be stationed within the disaffected counties, in such a manner as best to afford protection to well disposed citizens, and the officers of the revenue, and to suppress by their presence, the spirit of riot and opposition to the laws.

But, before you withdraw the army, you shall promise, on behalf of the President, a general pardon to all such as shall not have been arrested, with such exceptions as you shall deem proper.

The promise must be so guarded, as not to affect pecuniary claims under the revenue law. In this measure, it is advisable there should be a co-operation with the Governor of Pennsylvania.

On the return of the army, you will adopt some convenient and certain arrangements for restoring to the public magazines, the arms, accoutrements, military stores, tents and other articles of camp equipage and entrenching tools, which have been furnished, and shall not have been consumed or lost.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

349

You are to exert yourself by all possible means, to preserve discipline amongst the troops, particularly, a scrupulous regard to the rights of persons and property, and a respect for the authority of the civil magistrates, taking especial care to inculcate and cause to be observed this principle, that the duties of the army are confined to attacking and subduing of armed opponents of the laws, and to the supporting and aiding of the civil officers in the execution of their functions.

It has been settled that the Governor of Pennsylvania will be second, the Governor of New Jersey third in command, and that the troops of the several States in line, on the march and upon detachment, are to be posted according to the rule which prevailed in the army during the late war, namely, in moving toward the seaboard, the most southern troops will take the right in moving toward the north, the most northern troops will take the right.

These general instructions, however, are to be considered as liable to such alterations and deviations in the detail, as from local and other causes may be found necessary, the better to effect the main object upon the general principles which have been indicated.

With great respect,
I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

COL. ELI WILLIAMS TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

BEDFORD, 20th October, 1794.

SIR:—From Capt. Spark's knowledge of the Western Country and its resources, I am anxious to avail myself of his service, which I consider essential in procuring the necessary supplies for the Army now on its March to that Country. If he can be permitted to engage in this business I, promise myself that from his assistance the interest of the United States and the accommodation of the troops will be greatly promoted.

ELI WILLIAMS,
Agent for U. States prov'n D'ptm't.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO DR. EDWARD CUTBUSH.

CAMP AT BEDFORD,

21st Oct'r, 1794.

SIR:—Dr. Dorsey's indisposition having obliged him to withdraw from the Army, I find it indispensably necessary to appoint a successor to his Office. At this distance from the seat of Government a regular Commission cannot be immediately issued, but this letter shall be your sufficient Warrant and assurance for discharging the duties and receiving the emoluments of the Office of Surgeon General to the Militia of Pennsylvania, engaged in the service of the United States upon the Western expedition.

I am, Sir,

Your mo. obed't Serv't,

THO. MIFFLIN.

Dr. EDWARD CUTBUSH.

GENERAL ORDERS OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF
OF THE MILITIA.

HEAD QUARTERS,

BEDFORD, October 21, 1794.

Parole—

Countersign—

To-morrow, at the hour of eight in the morn'g, the light corps will advance; Major General Morgan will lead the one, acting with the left wing, and Major General Frelinghuysen the one with the right wing. On the next day, at the same hour, the army will move in two columns—the right wing, composed of the New Jersey and Pennsylvania lines, forming the right column, under the immediate command of his Excellency Governor Mifflin; the left wing, composed of the Maryland and Virginia lines, forming the left column, with the Commander-in-Chief. The Quarter Master General will continue with the right wing, and the proper officers in his department, and in the department of Forage, attended with a sufficient number of axemen must accompany the light corps, under whose protection they are to prepare all necessaries for the army. Abundance of straw must be ready for the troops, inasmuch as their health greatly depends on their sleeping dry and warm. The utmost regularity must be preserved on the march and in the mode of

encampment, which must always be in two lines, with the Cavalry in the centre, unless prohibited by the nature of the ground. Dragoons are dreadful in light and impotent in darkness—their safety during night must, therefore, be regarded. The Artillery to move as a park, and march in the centre. Constant communication must be preserved between the light corps and the main body, and between the respective columns, with all other precautions necessary to protect the troops from surprise and insult.

Whatever may be the professions of the Insurgents, they are not to be regarded. Men who have acted a part so atrocious will cheerfully add to their guilt, if it can be done with impunity. Carelessness in the conduct of the army will invite attempts upon it, and produce war, while vigilance in the conduct of it will arrest the one and the other.

The different columns will be precise in the execution of the daily marches assigned to them respectively, and if, from unavoidable accidents, either should fall short one day, the deficiency is to be made up the next day, otherwise, the mutuality in operation will be lost, and the army will be exposed to the disgrace and evils of discordant movements. The particular routes, with the necessary instructions, will be given to the commanding Generals, and will, of course, form the rule of their conduct.

When the right wing reaches , it will divide into two columns. The New Jersey line and brigade of Cavalry, under Brigadier White, forming one column, to be commanded by his Excellency Governor Howell, will take a direction to the right, while the Pennsylvania line, with a light corps, will pursue the original route under the order of Governor Mifflin. When these columns divide, the right will move from their right, and the left, from their left. Chosen parties of Horse must follow the rear of each wing, to arrest stragglers from the line and to protect the property of individuals, to the due preservation of which, in every respect, the utmost attention is to be paid by officers of every rank.

The President of the United States being about to return to the seat of government has been pleased to direct to the Commander-in-Chief, to present to the army his affectionate wishes for their welfare and happiness. In no way can the very grateful command be as fully executed as by publishing the very words of the President, which are accordingly subjoined.

UNITED STATES,

BEDFORD, Oct. 20, 1794.

To HENRY LEE, Esq., Commander-in-Chief of the Militia Army,
*on its march against the Insurgents in certain western counties
of Pennsylvania:*

SIR:—Being about to return to the seat of government, I cannot take my departure without conveying, through you, to the army under your command, the very high sense I entertain of the enlightened and patriotic zeal for the Constitution and Laws, which has led them cheerfully to quit their families and homes, and the comforts of private life, to undertake, and, thus far, to perform a long and fatiguing march, and to encounter and endure the hardships and privations of a military life. Their conduct hitherto affords a full assurance, that their perseverance will be equal to their zeal, and that they will continue to perform with alacrity, whatever the full accomplishment of the object of their march shall render necessary.

No citizen of the United States can ever engage in a service more important to their country. It is nothing less than to consolidate and preserve the blessings of that revolution which (at much expense of blood and treasure) constituted us a free and independent nation.

It is to give to the world an illustrious example of the utmost consequence to the cause of mankind. I experience a heartfelt satisfaction in the conviction, that the conduct of the troops throughout will be, in every respect, answerable to the goodness of the cause and the magnitude of the stake.

There is but one point on which I think it proper to add a special recommendation. It is this, that every officer and soldier will constantly bear in mind that he comes to support the laws, and that it would be peculiarly unbecoming in him to be in any way the infraction of them. That the essential principles of free government confine the province of the military when called forth on such occasions to these two objects:

1st. To combat and subdue all who may be found in arms in opposition to the national will and authority.

2d. To aid and support the civil magistrates in bringing offenders to justice.

The dispensation of this question belongs to the civil magistrate, and let it ever be our pride and our glory to leave the sacred deposit there unviolated.

Convey to my fellow citizens in arms my warm acknowledgments for the readiness with which they have thitherto seconded me in the most delicate and momentous duty the chief magistrate of a free people can have to perform—and add my affectionate wishes for their health, comfort and support. Could

my further presence with them have been necessary, or compatible with my civil duties, at a period when the approaching commencement of a session of Congress peculiarly urges me to return to the seat of government, it would not have been withheld. In leaving them, I have less regret, as I know I commit them to an able and faithful direction; and that this direction will be ably and faithfully seconded by all.

G' O. WASHINGTON.

To this parental counsel of our beloved chief magistrate, the Commander begs leave to add the flattering hopes he entertains, that the conduct of the army will justify the favorable anticipations formed of it. Thus shall we establish to ourselves a character the most amiable, and exhibit to posterity a model for all future armies.

Lest, however, some individuals may have crept into the ranks callous to all the feelings of honor and virtue, and consequently the fair character, so justly due to the great body of the troops, may be snatched from them by the licentiousness of a few, the commandants of divisions, brigades, regiments, and corps, are requested to examine minutely their respective troops, before the army moves, and to dismiss all whom they may deem unworthy of participating in the honorable service into which we have embarked.

Six rounds of ammunition are to be issued to all corps as yet unfurnished. The troops are to draw two days' provisions, on all alternate days during the march. The Pennsylvania and Maryland lines to draw on one day, and the New Jersey and Virginia lines on the next day. This system will be convenient to the superintendents of provision, and consequently tends to secure punctuality in the supplies.

The Commander-in-Chief has been pleased to appoint Colonel William Alexander and Major —— Nelson, Deputy Adjutant Generals; Dr. Welford, Surgeon General; Majors Hand, Morgan, and Chetwood, Aids-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief. They are to be respected accordingly.

It is to be understood that that no appointments in the line of the army are to affect appointments of any sort hereafter made.

HENRY LEE.

G. K. TAYLOR, Aid-de-Camp, A. A. G.

GOVERNOR LEE, OF VIRGINIA, TO GOVERNOR
MIFFLIN.

HEAD QUARTERS,
BEDFORD, Oct'r 25th, 1794.

Our conversation last Evening went fully into an explanation of the System announced in the orders of the Day.

I only, therefore, repeat to you my positive confidence in your wise and faithful execution of the part in this general operation assigned to you, and to request you will be so good as to bear in mind the extreme solicitude I feel that the Patriot Army under my command be not stained in their fair fame by the licentiousness of a few.

No Citizen is to be hurt in his Person, molested in his occupation, or injured in his Property.

I wish no Seizures of any sort, even of the deluded, as my instructions forbid the substitution of the Military for the civil authority. Suppress, therefore, I pray you, by precept and by example, every effort that may be made to lay hold of the Persons of Individuals, and banish entirely the mistaken Idea from the Army. Soften the calamity by your mildness to every one and lull the apprehensions of the guilty by your indiscriminate civility.

Of your Troops, at the same time, take due care, their lives are pretious and their honor is more pretious.

They are not to be fired on with impunity, nor are they to be insulted by resistance.

The General Orders of the Day will exhibit the plan of March, and the enclosed Paper will inform you of the route and daily Stages.

Assure your columns of the deep Interest I take in their fame and welfare, and accept my best wishes for your health and success.

I have the honor to be
with great respect & consideration,
Your Exc'y's most obt. serv't,
HENRY LEE.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

RESOLVES OF THE INHABITANTS OF GREENSBURGH.

At a meeting of the inhabitants of the Town of Greensburgh and Township of Hempfield, in the county of Westmoreland,

on Wednesday, the 22d day of October, 1794, convened for the purpose of giving to the deputies who are to meet at Parkinson's Ferry on the 24th inst., such unequivocal assurances of their disposition for submission to the laws, as would enable them to propose and adopt such measures on their behalf as would be decisive in manifesting their sincere regret for and abhorrence of the late violent measures, and of their firm determination to support and yield obedience to the constitutional laws of their country. The following resolutions were proposed and adopted :

1. *Resolved, as the sense of this meeting,* That it is the duty of every good citizen to yield obedience to the existing laws of his country.
2. *Resolved,* That we discountenance all illegal acts of violence, from whatever motive, and that for redress of grievances, the privilege and right of the citizen is to petition and remonstrate if necessary.
3. *Resolved,* That we will support the civil authority and all officers in the legal exercise of their respective duties, and assist in securing for legal trial, all offenders against the laws, when called upon.
4. *Resolved,* That the citizens of this town and township will give no opposition to the opening an office of Inspection therein, should the same be contemplated by the government, and that we will use our endeavors to remove improper prejudices, and recommend a peaceable and general submission.
5. *Resolved,* That a copy of the preceding resolutions be given to one or more of the deputies for the town or township who are to meet at Parkinson's ferry, on Friday, the 24th inst., together with a copy of the assurance paper, signed by the citizens of this meeting, in order that the same may be laid before the members of the said committee, and that another copy be made out for publication in the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, and that the same be attested by the chairman and clerk of this meeting.

A true copy.

DAVID MARCHAND, *Chairman.*

Attest:

THOMAS HAMILTON, *Clerk.*

We, the undersigned citizens of the town of Greensburgh & township of Hempfield, in the county of Westmoreland, being desirous of living in peace and of adopting such measures as appear to us most likely to ensure the same in future, as well as to promote the real interests of the country, do severally promise, engage and certify that we will support, when legally

called upon, the civil authority and all officers in the due execution of their respective powers under the laws of the land, and give our assistance in bringing to legal trial all offenders against the laws; and further, that if an office of inspection for the entering of stills, &c., is opened in the said town or township or in any other part of the same county, that we will give all necessary support in protecting the same against violence; and such of us as are distillers and design continuing in the same employment promise to enter the same when such office shall be opened, and that we will use our endeavors to defeat all combinations having for object the disturbance of the public peace and opposition to the laws aforesaid. In witness we have hereunto set our hands this twenty-second day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

A true copy.

DAVID MARCHAND, *Chairman.*

Attest:

THOMAS HAMILTON, *Clerk.*

N. B.—The above assurance or certificate was signed in the course of the evening by four hundred and twenty citizens, and it is expected the same, or something similar, will be entered into and subscribed in the other townships of the county of Westmoreland; in some parts of the same a similar assurance has been given, and in all it is expected a compliance will take place immediately.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE FINAL MEETING AT PARKINSON'S FERRY.

October 24th, 1794.

At a meeting of the committees of townships of the four western counties of Pennsylvania, and of sundry other citizens, held at Parkinson's Ferry, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, viz:

1st. *Resolved,* That in our opinion the civil authority is now fully competent to enforce the laws and punish both past and future offenses, inasmuch as the people at large are determined to support every description of civil officers in the legal discharge of their duty.

2d. *Resolved,* That in our opinion, all persons who may be charged, or suspected of having committed any offense against the United States, or the State, during the late disturbances, and who have not entitled themselves to the benefits of the act

of oblivion, ought immediately to surrender themselves to the civil authority, in order to stand their trial; that if there be any such persons among us, they are ready to surrender themselves to the civil authority accordingly, and that we will unite in giving our assistance to bring to justice such offenders as shall not surrender.

3d. *Resolved*, That in our opinion, offices of inspection may be immediately opened in the respective counties of this survey, without any danger of violence being offered to any of the officers; and that the distillers are willing and ready to enter their stills.

4th. *Resolved*, That William Findley, David Redick, Ephraim Douglass, and Thomas Morton, do wait on the President with the foregoing resolutions.

JAMES EDGAR, *Chairman.

Attest:

ALBERT GALLATIN, *Secretary.*

ANDREW BAYARD TO PAYMASTER DALLAS.

PHILADELPHIA, 24th October, 1794

DEAR SIR:—At a meeting of the Committee of distribution, (appointed by the Subscribers to the fund for the relief of the

* JAMES EDGAR was born in York county, Pennsylvania, on the Slate Ridge, November 15, 1744. His father's family emigrated to North Carolina; but he was never there, except on a visit to his relatives. He represented his native county in the constitutional convention of 1776. In the fall of 1779, he removed to Cross Creek Settlement, Washington county, where, with Col. John Canon, of Canonsburg, he was elected the first representative of that county. In 1781 he was elected to the council of censors. In 1788 he was appointed associate judge, which position he held until disabled by infirmity he was compelled to resign. He died on the first of January, 1806. Dr. Carnahan says of him: "This truly great and good man, little known beyond the precincts of Washington county, had a good English education; had improved his mind by reading and reflection; so that, in theological and political knowledge he was superior to many professional men. He lived in retirement on his farm, except when the voice of his neighbors called him forth to serve the church or the State. He was a ruling elder in the Presbyterian church, and on one occasion addressed a congregation of at least two thousand people, on the subject of the Insurrection, with a clearness of argument and a solemnity of manner, and a tenderness of christian eloquence, which reached the understanding and penetrated the heart of every hearer. The consequence was, that few, if any, in his neighborhood were concerned in that affair."

necessitous families of such of their fellow Citizens as are now serving in the City Militia on the Western expedition,) I was desired to write to you, & express the wish of the Committee, that you woud' (if consistent with your arrangements) appoint as soon as possible, a suitable person here, to pay the Orders, (left by some of the militia,) in favor of their families, from the pay due them for their services. The number of applicants to the Committee for the benefit of this fund, is daily encreasing, which not being intended as an entire support of them, but only in aid of the allowance made by government, we are fearful, that unless some mode is devised for affording them relief, their wants must soon become very urgent, especially as cold weather is fast approaching & fuel greatly advanced in price. The Committee trust you will see the necessity of the above mentioned appointment, & have no doubt you will cheerfully make every exertion in your power to further the benevolent design of their Institution. They will be much obliged to you, to forward a list of the names of those who direct their pay to be given to their families, that they may know how to apply their assistance accordingly, & will thank you to favor them with an answer on the subject at first opportunity.

With sentiments of esteem & regard,

I am, in behalf of the Committee,

Your very humble Serv't,

AND'W BAYARD.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. WILKINS.

HEAD QUARTERS OF THE RIGHT COLUMN,

CAMP BERLIN, BEDFORD. October 26th, 1794.

SIR:—You will be pleased to co-operate, as far as you are able, in raising for the maintenance of the Post at Fort Le Boeuf, one hundred and thirty men to serve six months after the expiration of the present enlistments, unless sooner discharged. The Pay and Rations will be the same as the pay and rations of the Troops of this State, now employed in the same service. I have directed Colonel Clement Biddle as Quarter Master General of Pennsylvania, to make the necessary arrangements for paying and furnishing the supplies. From them, therefore, you will receive particular instructions on that subject.

As the buisness will not admit of any delay, it will be proper to communicate my orders to Capt'n Denny by the most expeditious conveyance.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

359

On the other points contained in your letters, which have been received in the course of the March, I shall probably have an opportunity of personally conversing with at Pittsburgh. If not, I will write to you before I return to Philadelphia.

I am, Sir,

Your Most Obed't Serv't,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To JOHN WILKINS, Jun'r, Esquire, Brigadier General.

H. H. BRACKENRIDGE TO THE ARMY.

PITTSBURGH, October 26, 1794.

Citizens of the army advancing to the Western Country:

Serious intimations are given me that I am considered by you as greatly criminal in the late insurrection in this country, and that though I have shielded myself from the law by taking advantage of the terms of the amnesty proposed by the commissioners and sanctioned by the Proclamation of the President, yet that I shall not escape the resentment of individuals. It would seem to me totally improbable that republican soldiers, would sully the glory of voluntary rising by a single intemperate act. Nevertheless as it would wound me with exquisite sensibility, to be treated with indignity by words or looks short of violence, I beg leave to suggest to you that it is a maxim of reason, that a man "shall be presumed innocent until the contrary is proved," and I give you a strong presumption of my innocence, viz: that though having the opportunity of relinquishing the country, I stand firm, and will surrender myself to the closest examination of the judges, and put myself entirely on the merit or demerit of my conduct through the whole of the unfortunate crisis.

H. H. BRACKENRIDGE.

COL. THOMAS FORREST TO PAYMASTER DALLAS.

CARLISLE, Oct. 28th, 1794.

DEAR SIR:—I have at this Garrison four Companies of foot and a Troop of Horse. As they have frequently suggested their expectations of Pay, I have, by my Orders of yesterday, directed the Officers Commanding Companies, to make out muster rolls for their respective Companies and have appointed the first day of November next, for mustering the Troops.

The pay of the Dragoons, I have not been able to ascertain. If any decision has taken place with you at Head Quarters, please to inform me.

I would be happy to be informed when the Troops might expect payment, as it will be among the first of their enquiries after Muster.

As I am not properly acquainted with the nature of your appointment, If this application to you should be improper, please to direct them to the proper Officer.

I am, Sir, with the greatest respect,

Your obed't serv't,

THOMAS FORREST.

A. J. DALLAS, Esq.

NOTES ON THE MARCH FROM SEPTEMBER 30, UNTIL
OCTOBER 29, 1794.

CAMP NEAR CARLISLE,

Tuesday, Sept. 30, 1794.

We arrived here on Sunday at 2 o'clock and encamped at the back of the town—near us lay the Jersey troops.

Nothing material has occurred, except that yesterday a detachment of 20 horse, (of which I was one,) under adjutant Jacob Cox, was dispatched with a constable at their head, to take several of those who are here called Whiskey Boys. Two were, but some others, having notice of our approach, escaped. One of the dragoon's pistols went off by accident and shot a man in the groin, of which he since died. He was a brother to one of the persons we were in pursuit of, and during a parley at a farm-house the accident happened.

The two persons we brought in, were last night examined by the Attorney General, which proved their inveteracy to the government, & it is probable some of those gentry will soon suffer for their ill judged enmity to the best of countries and mildest of governments.

We rode through the woods in various directions in pursuit of these jockies; those we took did not appear much concerned.

At Harrisburg we found a flag erected with the words, "Liberty and Equality" on it, which we left standing as we found it, and here is a high pole with a red flag on it, describing the number of counties combined in the opposition.

This day we began to cook, which is one of the most troublesome parts of our duty. As yet we have lived very happily,

no disturbance having happened since we left the city. The event of the campaign appears to be quite unforeseen; No one pretends to say how long we shall stay here, but I believe it will be until the infantry and artillery arrive, which will be some days first. In the meantime parties will be dispatched to apprehend those who have been most active in the mischief, and I suppose they will be tried under the act of treason.

CAMP AT CARLISLE, *October 3, 1794.*

On Thursday Major MacPherson, at the head of a very respectable body of young men entered this town, and yesterday 17 pieces of artillery, under Capt. Thompson with Col. Gurney's battalion, arrived and immediately encamped near us. Here is a most extensive common, admirably calculated for the present purpose. It is sufficient to encamp 10,000 men on; at present are about 1,000, including Philadelphia horse, infantry and artillery—Lancaster, Berks, &c., horse.

This day, at 12 o'clock, we witnessed a most interesting scene. It was announced that the President of the United States was approaching. Immediately the 3 troops from Philadelphia, Gurney's and Macpherson's battalions, and the artillery paraded. The horse marched down the road about two miles, followed by the Jersey cavalry in great numbers. We were drawn up on the right of the road, when our beloved Washington approached on horseback in a traveling dress, attended by his Secretary, &c. As he passed our troop, he pulled off his hat, and in the most respectful manner bowed to the officers and men; and in this manner passed the line, who were (as you may suppose) affected by the sight of their chief for whom each individual seemed to show the affectionate regard that would have been to an honored parent. As soon as the President passed, his escort followed, we joined the train, and entered the town whose inhabitants seemed anxious to see this very great and good man; crowds were assembled in the streets, but their admiration was silent. In this manner the President passed to the front of the camp, where the troops were assembled in front of the tents; the line of artillery, horse and infantry, appeared in the most perfect order; the greatest silence was observed. President approached the right uncovered, passed along the line bowing in the most respectful and affectionate manner to the officers in front; he appeared to be well pleased. The spectacle was grand, interesting and affecting—every man, as he passed along, poured forth his wishes for the preservation of this most valuable of their fellow citizens. The Jersey troops returned, before this, to their own encampment, and were not present at this last sublime instance

of the cheerful subordination of citizens to the call of their chief, for the support of law and order.

Here you might see the aged veteran, the mature soldier, and the zealous youth, assembled in defence of that government which must (in turn) prove the protection of their persons, family and property.

As the troops are coming in daily, there will soon be here a most formidable body of men sufficient to subdue all the opposers of government, and, if necessary, any foreign foes.

BEDFORD, October 19th, 1794.

The friends of government and to order have penetrated to the very centre of the territory of sedition. We are now encamped in the country, and at the town of Bedford, with Pittsburgh in our front and Carlisle in our rear, at distance nearly equal. The insurgents, whose seditious disposition and conduct, called us from our habitations of peace and ease, to the fields of war and fatigue, tremble to each extreme. They now see the rod of their offended country shaken over them with a powerful hand and shrink from it, with a degree of pusillanimity, that is equaled only by their former audacity and violence,

No applauses can exceed the merit of our scouts, for activity and perseverance. Through the shades of midnight, they pass over rough and dangerous roads to very considerable distances, apprehend the insurgents in the houses and return with them to camp before the dawn of day. Such are the exertions of citizen soldiers in defence of a constitution which they revere and of laws which they determined to support. Ten or twelve of the advocates for faction and disorder were apprehended the night after our arrival at this ground, and several more have been since brought in. For their late insurrections and proceedings, the reward of some of them, will doubtless be death.

Our number at Carlisle, tho' considerable, were yet far inferior to what are now encamped on the commons of Bedford. I do not know the precise amount, but think it must be between six and eight thousand. The troops are uncommonly healthy, well armed and accoutred. Provisions are plenty and good, the utmost harmony and order prevails throughout the line. The troops are hourly advancing in the knowledge of tactics, and improving rapidly in the use of all the implements of war. A perfect unity of spirit and motives, appears to inspire and actuate the whole. We are truly formidable; had our armament at sea been equal during the last twelve months, to our land forces at present, I am confident the American Eagle would have repeatedly sailed in triumph from the naval combat.

BEDFORD, 230 miles w. from Philadelphia,

Oct. 20th, 1794.

Stupendous hills without inhabitants, narrow valleys badly cultivated, huge rocks where naught but moss has ever ventured, giddy precipices which the most daring approach with dread, headlong streams murmuring loudly at the roughness of their beds, and sickly vegetables contracted in size by the bleakness of their situation, and by deficiency of nutriment, are the only objects which have for several days past presented themselves to my view in continual succession. We have, however, at length arrived and are now encamped at a place where the enterprise and industry of man has reared more memorable monuments.

The town of Bedford does not indeed contain many houses, but some of them are sufficiently large & very convenient. A number of the buildings are stone, a few of them brick and the work not illly executed. Two or three houses are now rising which promise to be very convenient habitations.

The town of Bedford stands in a circular valley surrounded by mountains on every side except the North, where the rising ground descends to the denomination of hills. The dimensions of the valley I am not able to learn. The mountains to the N. W. are not sufficiently lofty to defend this village from the impression of the wind, and, therefore, must render its situation intensely cold in winter when they come from that quarter.

The inhabitants are, in general healthy, to this however, the present season has constituted an exception. Intermittents and some fluxes made their appearance here about the closing months of the last summer and in the beginning of the present autumn.

Of autumnal diseases scarcely the vestige remains among the troops of our regiment, nor has the diseases of winter yet made their appearance. I have endeavored to protect the troops from these more to be dreaded than the foe of which we are in search, by directing them to procure for themselves a panoply of flannel.

BEDFORD, 21st October, 1794.

Anarchy trembles, and order triumphs—consternation rides post-haste throughout the whole territory of sedition. The martial appearance, the health, the spirits and the good order of our military, exceed the most sanguine expectations of the warmest friends to order and good government. A spirit of fraternal harmony breathes throughout our whole line. Horse and Foot, Jerseyans and Pennsylvanians, regard each other in all their transactions as brethren embarked in a common cause,

and appear determined to co-operate, on every emergency, for that noblest of objects, the public good.

We have now in the common prison of this place, several infractors of the laws, whom the activity of our scouts have brought in, some from the distance of 40 or 50 miles. Those of them who may be clearly convicted of the greatest atrocities, will be doubtless removed from the possibility of future action. No violence is offered to any man in making him a prisoner, unless he either resists or attempts to fly—thus lenity marks the conduct of the friends to government in all their measures for re-establishing order, and more permanently securing the future peace of our country.

On the day after to-morrow we shall assume the line of march, and in two days pass the Allegheny—those everlasting hills that still rear their heads in the West. Our route will doubtless extend as far as Pittsburgh. I have a strong inclination to take a round in Braddock's field—the spot where heroes formerly bled, and where an army of licentious Insurgents lately assembled, for the purpose of dictating to a powerful nation.

JONES' MILL, Oct'r 29th, 1794.

I am distressed at the ridiculous accounts sometimes published in our papers. I assure you that there has not been a single shot fired at our troops to my knowledge. The whole country trembles. The most turbulent characters, as we advance, turn out to assist us, supply forage, cattle, &c. From Washington we hear of little but fear and flight; a contrary account as to one neighborhood (Pidgeon Creek) has been sent down, but no appearance of an armed opposition, and this the only part of the country where the friends of government are not triumphant. Our army is healthy and happy; the men exhibit unexpected fortitude in supporting the continued fatigues of bad roads and bad weather.

Our march to Berlin was one of the severest kind. The ascent of a mountain in fine weather, to a single traveller, must be laborious; judge then what it must prove in a heavy rain to an army, with all their train of artillery and wagons, each private soldier carrying his arms and knapsack, yet no discontent appeared and a double allowance of whiskey made them as happy as could be; the only difficulty we have found with them, in relation to the main object, was to restrain them from eagerly apprehending those who were pointed out as Whiskey boys; their resentment appears to be pressed into the aid of their principles, but their principles still guide their passions, and those they have occasionally seized have been regularly brought

to the judiciary. From the advanced corps nothing but good order and good humor is heard; they precede a day's march before us, and as we come up after them we find their conduct universally applauded. On the whole, I believe it may be said with truth, that no army thus hastily collected, ever before exhibited in the aggregate so much manly fortitude and active virtue.

SPECIFICATION OF PRICES IN WASHINGTON AND FAYETTE COUNTIES.

We, the underwritten, being called upon by the commander-in-chief to declare the current prices of the undermentioned articles, do declare them to be according to the best of our judgment, agreeably to the following specification in the counties of Fayette and Washington:

Onions	2s. 6d.
Potatoes	2 6
Turnips	1 0
Oats	2 0
Corn	2 6
Indian meal	2 6
Cabbage per hundred	10 0
Fowls per head	6
Turkeys . do	2s. 6d. to 3 9
Ducks	2 0
Geese	2 6
Mutton per lb.	4
Pork, fresh	4
Bacon	8
Hay per ton	40 0
Flour per barrel	26 0
Cyder . do	35 0
Whiskey per gallon	3 9
Straw brought to Camp, per bundle	2

The price of transportation of oats, hay, corn, flour, whiskey and meat, is not considered, and must depend on distance.

Signed by

JOHN MINOR,
EPHRAIM DOUGLASS,
JOHN CORBLEY.

November 1, 1794.

GEN. HENRY LEE'S ANSWER TO THE WASHINGTON COMMITTEE.

**HEAD QUARTERS,
UNION-TOWN, 1st Nov'r, 1794.**

Your declarations of the good intentions of the people of Washington county, who have been pleased to depute you to present to me certain papers containing assurances of fidelity to government, cannot but excite the most agreeable sensations in my breast. To restore happiness to our deluded fellow citizens of this country, by restoring to them the competent enjoyment of the blessings flowing from the government established by the people of the United States, is the chief object of the advance of the army under my command, and its stay here will depend on the execution of the work.

Those individuals to whom may justly be attributed the awful crisis which has arrived, among the many groundless tales which they have industriously circulated to mislead their fellow citizens, in pursuit of their wicked and ambitious schemes, told them that the excise law was odious to the people, that the administration was corrupt, that British influence swayed the measures of Congress, and that under this load of complicated guilt, it was only necessary to erect the standard of opposition to government, to secure the accomplishment of your mistaken wishes.

Unfortunately for your peace and our happiness, you believed their assertions, and a species of violence, disgraceful to the name and character of the United States, ensued; they told you too, that no army could be brought into action against you by the government, and had the audacity to repeat their assertion, even after the troops had reached their points of rendezvous.

Such was your delusion, that no counter declaration on the part of government obtained any credit. At length you begin to discern the truth and to know your real good. You see a formidable force suddenly collected in obedience to the law of Congress, crossing the mountains at a very inclement season of the year, determined to subdue all who may dare to resist, and anxious to protect all who submit to the constitution and laws.

Hereafter you cannot credit the tales of the vicious and designing, because your experience of their baseness and falsehood is so impressive and solemn as to leave not a doubt in your minds of the perils to which they have exposed your lives and fortunes. Derive wisdom from experience; confide not in the man who courts your respect by defaming your government,

and be as sincere in your active endeavors to restore order, as you are warm in your professions to do so; then will my task be easy, and your future felicity certain.

Return to your country, and assure your fellow citizens, that no man will receive injury, either in person or property, from the army. Advise them to bring to our camp all the necessaries of life they may have to spare, for which promise them, from me, a fair price in cash. Tell them it is the pride, as it is the duty of all my fellow citizens in arms with me, to maintain, and not to violate the laws of our country; and tell them further, that such is the positive injunction of the President of the United States; at the same time, mention to all my expectation that exactions in price will not be attempted by any, because it would not only manifest a want of sincerity in the professions of friendship which have been made on the part of the inhabitants, but would convey a desire to deprive the troops of those articles essential, not only to their comfort, but to their health, to which deprivation no consideration can induce me to submit them.

HENRY LEE.

By the Commander-in-Chief:
G. K. TAYLOR, Aid-de-Camp.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE WITH
GEN. LEE'S REPLY.

UNION TOWN, November 1, 1794.

Messrs. Findley, Reddick, Douglass and Morton, inform the inhabitants of the counties of Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette and Allegheny, that in consequence of their appointment to wait on the President of the United States, they proceeded on that duty, but on their way to Bedford, where it was expected the President might probably be seen, they learned that he had left the army for the seat of government; they, therefore, on consideration, took the right wing of the army, commanded by the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, in their way, where they conversed with the Governor as well as with the Secretary of the Treasury on the subject of their mission, and proceeded to the other wing, to Governor Lee, of Virginia, (the commander-in-chief,) who after receiving the various papers and faithful information, which they could give, presented them with the following letter which they now lay before the people for their serious consideration:

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

*Henry Lee to Messrs. Findley, Reddick, Morris and Douglass,
deputies from the people of the counties of Fayette, Washington,
Allegheny and Westmoreland.*

GENTLEMEN:—The resolutions entered into at the late meeting of the people at Parkinson's Ferry, with the various papers declaratory of the determination of the numerous subscribers to maintain the civil authority, manifest strongly a change of sentiment in the inhabitants of this district. To what cause may truly be ascribed this favorable turn in the public mind, it is of my province to determine.

Yourselves in the conversation last evening, imputed it to the universal panic which the approach of the army of the United States had excited in the lower order of the people.

If this be the ground of the late change, and my respect for your opinions will not permit me to doubt it, the moment the cause is removed the reign of violence and anarchy will return. Whatever, therefore, may be the sentiments of the people respecting the present competency of the civil authority to enforce the laws, I feel myself obligated by the trust reposed in me by the President of the United States, to hold the army in this country until daily practice shall convince all that the sovereignty of the constitution and laws is unalterably established. In executing this resolution, I do not only consult the dignity and interest of the United States, which will always command my decided respect and preferential attention, but I also promote the good of this particular district.

I shall, therefore, as soon as the troops are refreshed, proceed to some central and convenient station, where I shall patiently wait until the competency of the civil authority is experimentally and unequivocally proved. No individual can be more solicitous than I am for this happy event, and you may assure the good people whom you represent, that every aid will be cheerfully contributed by me to hasten the delightful epoch.

On the part of all good citizens, I confidently expect the most active and faithful co-operation, which in my judgment, cannot be more effectually given than by circulating in the most public manner the truth among the people, and by inducing the various clubs which have so successfully poisoned the minds of the inhabitants, to continue their usual meetings for the pious purpose of contradicting, with their customary formalities, their past pernicious doctrines. A conduct so candid should partially atone for the injuries which, in a great degree, may be attributed to their instrumentality, and must have a propitious influence in administering a radical cure to the existing disorders.

On my part, and on the part of the patriotic army I have the honor to command, assure your fellow citizens that we come to

protect and not to destroy, and that our respect for our common government and respect to our own honor, are ample pledge for the propriety of our demeanor.

Quiet, therefore, the apprehensions of all on this score, and recommend universally to the people to prepare, for the use of the army, whatever they can spare from their farms necessary to its substance, for which they shall be paid, in cash, at the present market price; discourage exaction of every sort; not only because it would testify a disposition very unfriendly, but because it would probably produce very disagreeable scenes.

It is my duty to take care that the troops are comfortably subsisted, and I cannot but obey it with the highest pleasure, because I intimately know their worth and excellence.

I have the honor, to be, gentlemen,
your most obedient servant,
with due consideration,
HENRY LEE.

ORDERS OF MAJOR GENERAL LEE.

HEAD QUARTERS,
UNION (Beeson's) TOWN, *Nov'r 2, 1794.*
GENERAL ORDERS.

The army will resume its march on the morning of the 4th, at the hour of eight, when a signal gun will be fired. They will advance in two columns composed of the respective wings. The right column will take the route by Lodge's to Budd's ferry, under the command of his excellency governor Mifflin, who will please take the most convenient situation in the vicinity of that place for the accommodation of the troops, and wait further orders. The left column will proceed on the route to Peterson's, on the east side of Parkinson's ferry, under the orders of major general Morgan; they will march by the left in the following manner:—Light corps, cavalry, artillery, Virginia brigade, Maryland brigade, the baggage to follow each corps, and the public stores of every kind, in the rear of the Virginia brigade. On the first day, the light corps and artillery will march to Washington Bottom, fourteen miles; the Virginia brigade to Peterson's farm, twelve miles; the cavalry under major Lewis, will move with the commander-in-chief—the bullocks to precede the army at daylight. On the second day the column will proceed to the camp directed to be marked out between Parkinson's and Budd's ferries. Should brigadier gen-

eral Smith find the second day's march rather too much, he will be pleased to divide the same into two days. The quarter master general will immediately take measures for the full supply of forage and straw at the different stages. The commissary will place the necessary supply of provisions at particular intermediate stages, where issues will be necessary; it must invariably be the duty of the officer of the day to place guards over the straw as soon as the van reaches the ground, and to see the same fairly divided amongst the troops, which must be in the following ratio:—Forty-five loads to the light troops; forty-five loads to the Maryland brigade, and sixty loads to the Virginia brigade; to the cavalry six loads, and to the artillery, four loads. The brigadiers and commanders of corps will give the necessary orders, that the regimental, field, staff and company pay rolls, for one month's pay, from their first commencement of service, be immediately made out, for which purpose the regimental paymasters will call on the inspector and muster master general, for the proper forms, which pay rolls are to be examined with the muster rolls, and countersigned by the inspector and muster master generals, before application is made to the paymaster general. The inspector and muster master generals of the respective line, will also make pay rolls for the General staff, to be countersigned by the commander-in-chief previous to payment.

HENRY LEE.

By the Commander-in-Chief.

G. K. TAYLOR, *Aid-de-Camp.*

PAYMASTER BROWN TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

CAMP, 7th November, 1794.

SIR:—I take the liberty to subjoin an account of one months' pay, made to the militia of Pennsylvania; and a balance of money in my hands. By this you will be pleased to observe that it is necessary that money be provided to complete the payment of another month, which will be due from the 14th to the 20th instant. The Horse have not been paid, but some advances have been made on account; and I understand they do not mean to require a settlement of their pay at present, but may want some further advances on account.

I beg the favor of knowing what can be done in this business for my government, and have the honor to be, Sir,

Your very ob. Serv't,

JOHN BROWN,

A. P. M. G. Militia of Penn'a.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

371

Paid Col's Harris Reg't, P receipt	\$3,144 05
Stevenson . . do	1,402 81
Wentz . . . do	2,475 01
Foster . . . do	2,033 20
Fisher . . . do	937 66
Hanna . . . do	2,076 89
Cowperthwait do	3,147 01
McClellan . . do . . Horse	475 66
Mosher's . . do	2,746 27
Mays . . . do	2,686 20
McFarlane . . do	3,196 00
Gurney's . . do	3,275 23
Artillery	1,885 94
McPherson's, (not settled) suppose	3,000 00

	32,482 82
Cash on hand	\$7,500
Lent Mr. Sec. Hamilton	4,000

	11,500 00
Required for this month, dollars	20,982 82
Add advance to Cavalry	\$2,000

	20,982

	22,982 00

PRICES OF PROVISIONS AS APPROVED BY GEN. LEE.

November 1st, 1794,

We, the underwritten inhabitants of the counties of Washington, Allegheny and Westmoreland, being requested by the Commander-in-Chief of the army now in and near the said counties to declare the prices of sundry articles necessary for the army, are of opinion, that the prices undermentioned are sufficient for the following articles, being as much as they usually command in the country:

Rye, per bushel	8s. 0d.
Oats	2 6
Corn	2 6
Indian meal	2 6
Flour, common	22 6
Ditto, fine	25 0
Ditto, superfine	27 0
Hay, per ton	50 0

Cabbage, per 100	10s.	0d.	to 16s.	6d.
Fowls, each			0	6
Onions, per bushel	6	6	to 9	6
Cyder, per barrel			30	0
Whiskey, per gallon	3	0	to 3	6
Straw				
Mutton, per lb		0		3½
Fresh pork, per lb		0		3
Bacon		0		8
Potatoes, per bushel		2		0
Turnips, per bushel	0	9	to 0	10
Turkeys, each	2	6	to 3	9
Ducks, per head				
Geese, per head		2		6
Butter, per lb.	0	8	to 0	9
Cheese	0	8	to 0	9

The price of transportation of oats, hay, corn, whiskey, flour and meal is not considered and must depend on distance; milk not being usually sold the price is difficult to ascertain, two pence a quart will, however, be an ample price.

DAVID REDICK,
THOMAS MORTON,
WM. FINDLEY.

November 8th, 1794.

In addition to the foregoing it is proper to add that 25s. 0d. per hundred is the established price for beef on the foot; and that 2s. 0d. instead of 2s. 6d. per bushel for oats, is found to be the highest price heretofore given in the country, and of course will be the highest price given by the army.

The above is published by order of the Commander-in-Chief for the information of all concerned, and it is presumed by him that a standard of current prices fixed generally by men who have been highly trusted by the people will be universally acquiesced in.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief.

G. K. TAYLOR,
Aid-de-Camp.

GENERAL HENRY LEE TO THE INHABITANTS OF
THE FOUR WESTERN COUNTIES.

To the Inhabitants of certain Counties lying west of the Laurel Hill, in the State of Pennsylvania:

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS:—You see encamped in the bosom of your district, a numerous and well appointed army,

formed of citizens of every description, from this and the neighboring States of New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia, whom the violated laws of our common country have called from their homes to vindicate and restore their authority.

The sacrifice of private interest and ease; the relinquishment of family and friends, and of all the domestic comforts and enjoyments; the fatigues of a long and arduous march, at an inclement season; the many inconveniences and hazards of military life, could not withhold them from obeying with alacrity so sacred a call. Actual hardships and sufferings, such as might try the patience of troops the most inured to military toils, have only served to display in strong colours the genuineness of the patriotic sentiments by which they are impelled, and to furnish a memorable example of the fortitude and perseverance capable of surmounting all obstacles which may be expected from men who are moved by principle and the love of their country. The scene before your eyes ought to be an instructive one; it ought to teach many useful truths, which should, for your own happiness, make a deep and lasting impression on your minds.

In the sudden collection and rapid movement into your country, of so respectable a source, you behold an unequivocal proof of the ability and determination of the people of the United States to uphold the government they have established, as well as of the energy and resources of that government.

You see the fallacy of the suggestions by which most of you have been deceived, as to the power of the government, and the inclination of the great body of the citizens to support and maintain the authority of the laws.

In the largeness of the force which has come into your country (though partial inconveniences may attend it) may be discerned another evidence of the clemency, as well as of the power of government.

A beloved President, whose wisdom and virtues will be indelibly engraven on the hearts of every true American, to the latest posterity, unmindful of the neglect with which his parental overtures were treated, has still sought to save the deluded from the fatal consequences to which the violence of their passions has exposed them by convincing the most obstinate and the most rash that resistance would be madness.

Those who have been perverted from their duty may now perceive the dangerous tendency of the doctrines by which they have been misled, and how unworthy of their confidence are the men by whom, for personal and sinister purposes they have been brought, step by step to the precipice from which they have no escape but in the moderation and benignity of that very government which they have vilified, insulted and opposed.

The friends of order may also perceive in the perils and evils that have for some time surrounded them, how unwise and even culpable is that carelessness and apathy with which they have permitted the gradual approaches of disorder and anarchy.

All ought to see the extreme danger of sporting with public passions, of misrepresenting the measures of government, of converting differences of opinion about the means of promoting the public good, into evidences of pernicious designs of interested and corrupt aims of criminal plots against the liberty and happiness of the people.

Let chimeras like these no longer disturb our tranquillity; let them be banished as the inventions of men, who, at the expence of truth, and at the hazard of the peace and tranquillity of the community, seek either to destroy a fabric which the people have reared as the depository of their happiness, or to gratify their rivalships and resentments to promote their own agrandizement.

In thus addressing myself to you, you must be sensible that I can have no motive but my solicitude for the restoration of your happiness, to establish and perpetuate which is the principal object of the command with which I am entrusted. The attainment of this and every other end of my trust, with as little inconvenience to individuals as shall be practicable, is what I anxiously desire and will materially depend upon yourselves.

Under the influence of this sentiment, I recommend to the citizens in general to give every evidence in their power of a disposition friendly to the constitution and government, to demean themselves peaceably and remain quietly at home, to contribute all in their power towards the accommodation and supply of the army, to prepare and produce freely what they have to spare of the necessities of life, and to content themselves in the sale thereof with the price to which they have been accustomed, avoiding all appearance of exaction and extortion.

By this conduct the evils unavoidably incident to the presence of an army will be in a great degree mitigated, if not effectually removed.

I further recommend to all the well-disposed to manifest their good intentions by taking and subscribing without delay, sincerely and truly, an oath to support the constitution and obey the laws, and by entering into an association to protect and aid all the officers of government in the execution of their respective duties, and to protect them from ill-treatment of every sort. For this purpose a paper will be deposited with magistrates in each county according to the form subjoined.

I do also exhort all men capable and willing to bear arms, truly attached to their government and country, to array themselves into regiments, one for each county, and to place themselves under such officers as may be selected by the Governor of the State, known to be firm friends to order and right, upon the express conditions of holding themselves in constant readiness to act in defence of the civil authority, whenever called upon, receiving for their services the same pay and subsistence as is allowed to the militia of the United States, when in actual service.

In pursuance of the authority vested in me by the President of the United States, and in obedience to his instructions, I do moreover assure all who may have entitled themselves to the benefit of the amnesty proffered by the commissioners, heretofore sent by him to this district, and who may not have forfeited their title by subsequent misconduct, that the promise will be faithfully and liberally observed, and that all possible endeavors will be used to prevent injury to the persons or property of peaceable citizens, by the troops, whose sole province it is to subdue these, if any there should be, hardy enough to attempt an armed resistance, and to support and aid the civil authority as far as may be required. To the promulgation of these, my orders, I with pleasure add my assurances, that every exertion will be made by me, and, from my knowledge of the officers and soldiers of the army, I am persuaded with full success, to carry these wise and benevolent views of the President into complete effect.

Given under my hand at Head Quarters, near Parkinson's Ferry, this eighth day of November, 1794.

HENRY LEE.

By the Commander-in-Chief.

G. K. TAYLOR, *Aid-de-Camp.*

I, A. B., do solemnly, in the presence of Almighty God, swear and declare, that I will faithfully and sincerely support the Constitution of the United States and obey all laws thereof, and will disown opposition thereto, except by way of petition and remonstrance, and all attempts to resist, obstruct or ill-treat the officers of the United States in the execution of their respective duties; So help me God.

And in pursuance of the above oath, I do hereby engage and associate myself to and with all others who may subscribe these presents, to countenance and protect the officers of the United States in the execution of their said duties according to law, and to discover and bring to justice all persons who may be

concerned, directly or indirectly, in illegally hindering or obstructing the said officers or any of them in the execution of his or their duty, or in doing any manner of violence to them or any of them. In witness of all which I have hereunto subscribed my hand, the day and the year above written.

A. B.

GENERAL HENRY LEE TO GENERAL WM. IRVINE.

HEAD QUARTERS, NEAR PARKINSON'S FERRY,

November 9th, 1791.

SIR:—From the delays and danger of escapes which attend the present situation of judiciary investigations to establish preliminary processes against offenders, it is deemed advisable to proceed in a summary manner, in the most disaffected scenes, against those who have notoriously committed treasonable acts; that is, to employ the military for the purpose of apprehending and bringing such persons before the judge of the district, to be by him examined and dealt with according to law, to you is committed the execution of this object within that part of Allegheny county to which you are advancing.

As a guide to you, you have herewith a list of persons: (No. 1. who have complied with the terms offered by the commissioners of the United States, are entitled to an exemption from arrest and punishment, and who are therefore not to be meddled with. You have also a list No. 2. who, it is understood on good grounds, have committed acts of treason, and who may, therefore, be safely apprehended.

Besides these, you may, in the course of your operations, receive satisfactory information of others who have committed like acts, and whom, in that case, you will also cause to be apprehended. The acts alluded to are the following:

1st. The firing upon, imprisoning, or interrupting in the course of his duty, the Marshal of the District.

2d. The two attacks on the house of John Neville, Esq., Inspector of the Revenue.

3d. The assembling, or aiding assembling of an army at Brad-dock's Field, in the county of Allegheny, on the 1st of August last.

4th. The assembling and acting as delegates at the meeting at Parkinson's Ferry which began on the 14th of the same month.

5th. The meeting at Minco Creek meeting-house, termed a society, sometimes a congress.

6th. The destruction of property and the expulsion of persons at and from the town of Pittsburgh.

7th. The interruption and plundering of the public mail and the injuries to the houses and violence to the persons of Benjamin Wells, John Webster and Philip Regan, officers of the revenue.

8th. The planting of May poles, impudently called liberty poles, with the intention to countenance and co-operate in the insurrection. You will carefully direct your inquiries toward civil and military officers, who have been extensively concerned in the enormities committed; it being their special duty to have prohibited, by their exertions, every species of enormity. But in the apprehension of persons not named in the list, (No. 2,) you will use great circumspection to embrace none but real offenders, nor will you be too promiscuous or too general. The persons apprehended ought to be leading or influential characters or particularly violent. You will find a list, (No. 3,) this paper comprehends witnesses. The individuals are to be brought forward and treated as such. Direct all who may be apprehended by you to be conveyed to your camp until further orders. Send off your parties of horse, with good guides, and at such a period as to make the surprises, however distant or near, at the same moment, or intelligence will precede them, and some of the culprits will escape. I presume the proper hour will be at day break on Thursday morning, and have, therefore, desired the operation to be then performed in every quarter.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
With great respect,
Your most obedient servant,

HENRY LEE.

List No. 1, mentioned in this letter, is in the possession of Governor Howell and will be sent to you if required. Wait not for it. List No. 3 is not to be expected, as no witnesses are to be summoned for the district for which you act.

NOTICE FOR RECEIVING OF OATHS OF ALLEGIANCE.

PITTSBURGH, Nov. 10, 1794.

To the Citizens of Allegheny County:

The period has now arrived wherein the good citizens of the county of Allegheny may, with safety, step forward in defense of the laws and the good order of the country.

His Excellency Henry Lee, General and Commander-in-Chief of a large, respectable and well regulated army of your fellow citizens, now within the four Western counties of Pennsylvania, hath given in charge to us, the subscribers, that each of us do immediately open books and receive the tests or oath of Allegiance of all good citizens. And it is expected that the friends to government will not hesitate a moment in complying with the requisition, it being absolutely necessary that his Excellency should know a state of the minds of the people before the army is withdrawn. We believe the intention is not to distress, but to relieve the deluded part of the union.

A. TANNEHILL,
JOHN WILKINS,
Justices of the Peace.

NOTICE OF THE INSPECTOR OF REVENUE.

NOTICE is hereby given, that on Thursday, the 20th inst., an OFFICE OF INSPECTION will be opened at Pittsburgh, for the county of Allegheny; at the Town of Washington, for the county of Washington; at Greensburgh, for the county of Westmoreland, and at Union-Town, for the county of Fayette.

All distillers are required forthwith to enter their stills at the Office of the county in which they respectively reside, and to do further what the laws prescribe concerning the same, of which they may receive more particular information from the Officer of Inspection with whom entry is made.

JOHN NEVILLE,
Inspector of the Revenue, District of Pennsylvania, 4th Survey.
November 10, 1794.

CAPT. D'HEBECOURT TO GEN. HENRY LEE.

HEAD QUARTERS,
GALLIOPOLIS, Nov'r 15, 1794.

SIR:—I have the honor to inform your Excellency that on the 30th of October, having understood that David Bradford, of Washington, was going down the river in a small canoe, by himself, and had passed opposite to Galliopolis but a little while ago, I thought it was my duty, as being a public officer at this post, to give orders to stop him. Consequently, I sent three of the spies, and a subaltern officer, with orders to take

him and deliver him to my possession at Gallipolis, where I intended to keep him under a strong guard till I had been honored with your orders.

My men overtook him on the 31st, about eleven in the morning, 80 miles below the Big Scioto; but unluckily for them, he had two hours before got into a boat of the Contractors, where they found 18 men, all ready to protect Bradford, and massacre any who would undertake to take him away. My men, after having used their best endeavors, and exerted all measures which prudence and inferiority could suggest in such occurrence, compelled to give up to the majority, and follow the boat as long as possible to try to get a reinforcement from some of the stations on the river; they offered 50 dollars to any man who would turn out with them to take Bradford; but they found the most part of the people disposed in his favor, and inclined to serve his cause.

By several reports, I have right to conjecture that Bradford landed at Limestone, and was conducted to some part of the country where he could safely preach his doctrine, and spread the flame of a new insurrection. It will be almost impossible to take him alive in a country where the majority is in favor, and a matter of great chance if he can be killed without any fatal consequences. I yesterday saw Capt. Jolly, of the mouth of Whelen, who communicated to me the orders issued by your Excellency, to take Bradford, or to kill him, rather than suffer him to escape. I gave to Capt. Jolly all the information which I had, and ordered him to proceed to Limestone where he could receive some directions favorable to his purpose.

That boat of the Contractors, aboard which Bradford was found, was bound to Fort Washington, under the command of a certain Samuel Duncan, and loaded with coal; there were several passengers on board, who by their hostile disposition appeared to be particularly attached to Bradford. All the information you may wish to have on this important subject can be easily obtained at Fort Washington where S. Duncan delivered his boat.

I am mortified that my undertaking has been unsuccessful, where I would have been happy to have my attachment for this country fully manifested.

And if your excellency thinks that I could be of any service in this affair, and would honor me with some orders they should be performed with the greatest vigilance and punctuality.

I am your Excellency's
most humble and obedient servant,

D'HEBE COURT,

Captain commanding Militia at Gallipolis.

His Excellency Governor LEE, Commander-in-Chief of the Army at Pittsburgh.

ROUTE OF THE ARMY ON THEIR RETURN.

The army will make a short movement from Pittsburgh on Tuesday, the 18th. The line of march to be taken up the next day. The following are the stations allotted for each day's march:

	Miles.
1st day's march to Hellman's, from Pittsburgh	15
2d, to Dutchman's, two miles west of Greensburgh	14
3d, to Nine Mile Run	11
4th, two miles E. of Ligonier	11
5th, Wells's r., foot Laurel ri	0
6th, Stony Creek, 2 miles E.	11
7th, Ryan's	15
8th, Bedford	24
9th, Crossings of the Raystown branch of the Juniata . .	14
10th, E. side of Sideling hill	20
11th, Burd's—Fort Lyttleton	12
12th, Strasburg	17
13th, Shippensburg	11
14th, Carlisle	21

GEN. SMITH'S ADDRESS TO THE MARYLAND TROOPS.

CAMP NEAR PIERCE'S FERRY,

Nov. 15, 1794.

To the officers and soldiers of the Maryland brigade:

FELLOW-CITIZENS IN ARMS:—It is with pleasure that I congratulate you on the order to return to your own homes after having performed the most sacred of all duties, that of having contributed to the support of our free and excellent government and its laws. A duty which you have performed in a most severe and inclement season and over the most mountainous and rugged part of America, with a fortitude and patience that does honor to yourselves and your country. You have assisted to convince the world that the free men and free republics can and will support their constitution and their laws without the aid of a standing army, and that altho' a few may be deluded into errors by designing and ambitious men, yet that the great body of the people of America are lovers of order and are ready to risk their lives to prevent anarchy and confusion. Permit me to acknowl-

edge my personal obligations to you for the order of discipline that has reigned in the ranks, and for the able assistance I have received from the infinite attention to their duty that has been so conspicuous among the officers. It is with the highest satisfaction that I can assert that you have literally obeyed the injunctions of your beloved President; that going to enforce the laws, you have carefully avoided the infraction of any.

You will, each of you, return to your respective counties with considerable military information, which you will diffuse among our fellow citizens, and strongly impressed with the necessity of an efficient and well regulated militia. Permit me to add that I shall at all times be happy in hearing of your personal welfare and to assure you that I am with sincere regard,

Your fellow citizen,

SAMUEL SMITH.

MAJOR JOSEPH KER TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

November 17th, 1794.

SIR:—The enclosed Queries, &c., having appeared essential, are respectfully submitted for your answer thereto.

I remain your very humble servant,
JOSEPH KER,
Brigade Inspector Phil'a C'y.

ALEXANDER J. DALLAS, Esquire, Sec'ty to the Commonwealth.

Section 1 Requires, That each and every free able-bodied white Male Citizen, of this or any other of the United States, residing in this Commonwealth, who is or shall be of the age of Eighteen years, and under the age of forty-five years, Except as is hereinafter Excepted, shall be Enrolled, &c.

Quere. What constitutes a citizen under the Militia Law, and whether all residents who are not citizens are Exempt?

Sect'n 2 Of act of Congress of 8th May, 1792, Exempts all Custom house officers with their Clerks.

Quere. Are the characters of Inspectors of the Customs included in said Exemptions?

Sect'n 2 Of State Law exempts all young men under the age of Twenty-One years, and Servants purchased Bona fide and for a valuable consideration, except in Cases of Rebellion, or Actual or threatened Invasion, &c.

Quere. Does the Last call embrace either of those Terms?

Sect'n 10 Says, That every person refusing or neglecting to perform his Tour of duty in person or by substitute, shall pay

Twelve dollars for every such neglect or refusal. If the Tour was to be for a Term not exceeding One Month, and in proportion if the Tour was to be for any longer Term.

Quere. As the Last call was for a Tour of Duty, but no time specified, but generally understood for two Months. Can the fine be now ascertained, and if so, what is the amount?

Sect'n 22 Seems to give a general power to Courts of Appeal, and afterwards rather confines to two reasons only.

Quere. Does this Sect'n give to Courts of Appeal a power to afford relief to those who appeal On any other Terms than Inability of body and unavoidable absence?

Quere. If Minors & Servants were liable to Last Call, and delinquency took place, from whence are the fines to be recovered?

Addition to Quere on section 10. Section 20 lays a fine of 12 Dol. for non-attendance, the attorney general has given his opinion that tho' the duty is but for one day the fine of 12 Dols. is incurred and *in proportion if the tour was to be for any longer term.*

Quere 1. If the tour be for some days in the second month, is the fine to be a part of the 12 Dols. proportioned to the number of days?

Quere 2d. The law of the U. S., as I am informed, specifies that militia called in service by the U. S., are to serve 3 months, are the citizens of this State to be fined for more than 2 months on the present occasion.

GENERAL ORDERS OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

HEAD QUARTERS,
PITTSBURGH, November 17th. 1794.

Parole—Wayne.

Countersign—Carlisle.

The complete fulfillment of every object dependent on the efforts of the army, makes it the duty of the commander-in-chief to take measures for the immediate return of his faithful fellow soldiers to their respective homes, in execution of which no delay will be permitted, but that which results from the consultation of their comfort.

On Tuesday Morning, at the hour of eight, the Pennsylvania Cavalry will be ready to accompany his Excellency Governor Mifflin whose official duties renders his presence necessary at the seat of government.

On the next day the first division of the right column, consisting of the Artillery and Proctor's Brigade under the orders of Major General Irvine, will commence their march to Bedford on the route commonly called the Old Pennsylvania road.

The following day, at the same hour, the New Jersey line will move under the command of his Excellency Governor Howell, who will be pleased to pursue from Bedford such routes as he may find most convenient.

On the subsequent day, at the same hour, the residue of the Pennsylvania line, now on this ground, will march under the command of Brigadier General Chambers taking the route heretofore mentioned, and making the same stages as shall have been made by the leading division.

Major Freelinghuysen, with Elite Corps of the right column, will follow the next day and pursue the same route.

Brigadier General Smith, with the Maryland line, will move to Union Town agreeably to orders heretofore communicated to him, and from thence to proceed on Braddock's road to Fort Cumberland, where he will adopt the most convenient measures in his power for the return to his troops to their respective counties.

Brigadier General Mathews will move on Wednesday next to Morgan Town, from thence to Winchester by the way of Frankfort. From Winchester the troops will be marched to their respective Brigades under the Commanding Officers from each Brigade.

As soon as the public service will permit afterwards, the Elite corps of the left column, under General Dark, will follow on the route prescribed for Brigadier Mathews and be disbanded as they reach their respective Brigades.

All arms, accoutrements, camp equipage of every sort, belonging to the United States, must be deposited at the following places and to the following Public officers: Those with the New Jersey line at Trenton with Major Hunt; those with the Pennsylvania line at Lancaster, to the care of General Hand, and at Philadelphia to the address of the Secretary of War; those of the Maryland line at Fredrick Town with the proper officer there; those with the Virginia line at Winchester to the care of General Mathews. Reports must be made by the Commanding Generals of all articles thus deposited, one of which must be put to the Secretary of War and the other to the Commander-in-Chief.

All arms, accoutrements and camp equipage in the possession of the troops belonging to the particular States, must be returned to the State officers and State Arsenals, from which they were received, reports of which must be made by the commanding generals, one of which must be transmitted to the Governor of the State to which the articles may belong, and the other to the Commander-in-Chief.

All sorts of ammunition, military stores, medical stores, clothing, unissued quarter master's stores and commissary's stores, not necessary to the troops returning, must be deposited at Pittsburgh with Major Craig, and at Bentley's farm, with the Quarter Master there.

The Corps destined for the winter defense will move without delay to Bentley's farm, on the west side of the Monongahela, near Perry's ferry, where they will receive orders from Major General Morgan.

The Virginia Cavalry will take the route by Morgan Town, from thence to Winchester, by Romney's, the Commandant will receive particular instructions as to their time and manner of march.

The right column will receive their pay (still due) at Bedford, the Maryland line at Fort Cumberland, and the Virginia line at Winchester.

In the punctual and certain execution of this honorable attention to the rights of the soldiers, the commander-in-chief reckons confidently on the personal superintendence of the commanding generals, who will very much gratify him by communicating particularly the completion of this injunction, as he will feel himself commanded by attachment to the troops, and admiration of the principles which actuate them, to take care that they be not in any instance submitted to wrong.

HENRY LEE.

G. K. TAYLOR, Aid-de-Camp.

ORDERS OF MAJOR GENERAL MIFFLIN.

CAMP NEAR PITTSBURGH, Nov'r 17, 1794.

The governor of Pennsylvania being obliged to return to Philadelphia, in order to attend to his civil duties of the approaching session of the General Assembly, which will commence on the first day of December, cannot, in justice to his feelings, forbear the expression of his pride and happiness in reviewing the exertions of his fellow citizens, upon an occasion so interesting to the honor and prosperity of the Union. The alacrity with which they engaged in the service, the zeal and spirit with which they have manifested their determination to defend the constitution and laws,—the honorable attention which they have shown to discipline and order, and the exemplary patience with which they have sustained the fatigues of a long and tedious march—furnish a lasting monument of their patriotism, and cannot fail to command universal admiration and respect.

The influence of such a conduct will suppress the spirit of anarchy and discord at home, and give an additional lustre to our national character abroad.

Under the fullest confidence that the same laudable conduct will continue on the march home, the governor takes an affectionate leave of his fellow citizens, and wishes them an early return to their respective families and domestic pursuits. For which the quarter master general and commissary general are making the necessary arrangements.

By order of Major General Mifflin.

JOSIAH HARMAR,
Adjutant General.

GENERAL ORDERS OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

HEAD QUARTERS,

PITTSBURGH, Nov. 18th, 1794.

In this moment of separation of the army, the commander-in-chief would commit a violence on his own feelings, was he not to express, in the most public manner, the respectful and grateful sense he entertains of their merit and services. Moved by the purest principles which can actuate the human mind, they stepped forward in a menacing crisis to vindicate the insulted majesty of the people, to uphold our political fabrick, and to restore the sovereignty of the laws.

To no citizens was ever committed a more important task; it has been completely executed, and in a manner which gives new lustre to the patriotism which impelled the exchange of domestic comfort for the toils of a camp. The suffering and wants inseparable from military service have been greatly increased by the inclemency of the weather; they have been met with fortitude, and borne without a murmur. Animated by love of country and respect for order, the only emulation has been, who best should execute their duty. Ready to combat and subdue all who might dare to resist—they have been equally ready to forgive and protect; thus adorning the military character by the endearing and winning virtues of humanity.

Complete the memorable example so far exhibited, by terminating your term of soldiership correspondently to its beginning and progress. You thus secure to yourselves the reward of your own breasts, and you secure to your country every good expected from your patriotism and valor.

The general officers and commandants of corps will add to the many obligations imposed in the course of this service on the commander-in-chief, by regarding with unremitting attention this his last injunction.

To the officers of every description he presents his warmest thanks for the faithful and able support which he has derived from their exertions in every stage of the execution of the objects intrusted to his direction, and he intrusts them to convey to his fellow soldiers, in the most lively terms, his respectful attachment and his best wishes for their safe return and happy meeting with their friends.

At a general court martial, whereof col. Lane was president, sergeant Greenwood, sergeant Wolpart, James Simpson and William Braggs were sentenced to receive corporal punishment. The commander-in-chief approves the sentence of the court and remits the punishment directed.

He is induced to do this from a conviction that the prisoners were not guilty of any premeditated crime from respect to the intercession made in their favor, and from his disinclination to mark the return of the army by the disgrace of any individual, he flatters himself his clemency will be attributed to the proper motives and will produce the effects he promises to himself from it.

Major General Morgan will command the force destined for the winter defense. He is requested to accelerate the collection of the troops at Bentley's Farm near Perry's Ferry in order to establish them in quarters without delay.

HENRY LEE.

G. K. TAYLOR, Aid-de-camp.

REPORT OF SURGEON GENERAL CUTBUSH.

Nov'r 18th, 1794.

SIR:—I have the honor to inform you that there are not exceeding fifty men sick in the Pennsylvania line.

I am, Sir, yours &c.,

EDWARD CUTBUSH,

Sur. Gen. Pennsylvania.

N. B.—There have been only 5 deaths; another expected to die from a blow received in falling a tree.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

PHILADA., Nov. 19, 1794.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives.

When we call to mind the gracious indulgence of Heaven, by which the American People became a nation; when we survey the general prosperity of our country, and look forward to the riches, power and happiness to which it seems destined; with the deepest regret do I announce to you, that during your recess, some of the Citizens of the United States, have been found capable of an insurrection. It is due however, to the character of our Government, and to its stability, which cannot be shaken by the enemies of order, fully to unfold the course of this event.

During the session of the year 1790, it was expedient to exercise the legislative power granted by the Constitution of the United States, "to lay and collect excises." In a majority of the States, scarcely an objection was heard to this mode of taxation. In some, indeed, alarms were at first conceived, until they were banished by reason and patriotism. In the four western counties of Pennsylvania, a prejudice, fostered and embittered by the artifice of men who labored for an ascendancy over the will of others, by the guidance of their passions, produced symptoms of riot and violence. It is well known that Congress did not hesitate to examine the complaints which were presented, and to relieve them as far as justice dictated or general convenience would permit. But the impression which this moderation made on the discontented, did not correspond with what it deserved; the arts of delusion were no longer confined to the efforts of designing individuals.

The very forbearance to press prosecutions was misinterpreted into a fear of urging the execution of the laws, and associations of men began to denounce threats against the officers employed. From a belief, that, by a more formal concert their operation might be defeated, certain self-created societies assumed the tone of condemnation. Hence, while the greater portion of the people of Pennsylvania itself were conforming themselves to the acts of excise, a few counties were resolved to frustrate them. It was now perceived, that every expectation from the tenderness which had hitherto been pursued, was unavailing, and that further delay could only create an opinion of impotency or irresolution in the government. Legal process was, therefore, delivered to the Marshal, against the rioters and delinquent distillers.

No sooner was he understood to be engaged in this duty, than the vengeance of armed men was aimed at his person and the personal property of the inspector of the revenue. They fired upon the Marshal, arrested him and detained him for sometime as a prisoner. He was obliged by the jeopardy of his life to renounce the service of other process on the west side of the Allegheny mountain, and a deputation was afterwards sent to him to demand a surrender of that which he had served. A numerous body repeatedly attacked the house of the Inspector, seized his papers of office and finally destroyed by fire his buildings and whatsoever they contained. Both of these officers, from a just regard to their safety fled to the seat of government, it being avowed that the motives to such outrages were to compel the resignation of the Inspector, to withstand by force of arms the authority of the United States, and thereby to extort a repeal of the laws of excise and an alteration in the conduct of government.

Upon the testimony of these facts, an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States notified to me, that "in the Counties of Washington and Allegheny, in Pennsylvania, "laws of the United States were opposed and the execution "thereof obstructed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings or by "the powers vested in the Marshal of that district." On this call, momentous in the extreme, I sought and weighed what might best subdue the crisis. On the one hand the judiciary was pronounced to be stript of its capacity to enforce the laws. Crimes which reached the very existence of social order, were perpetrated without controul, the friends of government were insulted, abused and overawed into silence, or an apparent acquiescence; and to yield to the treasonable fury of so small a portion of the United States would be to violate the fundamental principle of our constitution, which enjoins that the will of the majority shall prevail. On the other, to array citizen against citizen, to publish the dishonor of such excesses, to encounter the expence and other embarrassments of so distant an expedition, were steps too delicate, too closely interwoven, with many affecting considerations to be lightly adopted. I postponed, therefore, the summoning the militia immediately into the field, but I required them to be held in readiness, that if my anxious endeavours to reclaim the deluded and to convince the malignant of their danger should be fruitless, military force might be prepared to act before the season should be too far advanced.

My proclamation of the seventh of August last, was accordingly issued and accompanied by the appointment of Commissioners who were charged to repair to the scene of insurrection. They

were authorized to confer with any bodies of men or individuals. They were instructed to be candid and explicit in stating the sensations which had been excited in the Executive, and his earnest wish to avoid a resort to coercion; to represent however, that without submission, coercion must be the resort, but to invite them at the same time to return to the demeanor of faithful citizens by such accommodations as lay within the sphere of the executive power; pardon, too, was tendered to them by the government of the United States and that of Pennsylvania, upon no other condition than a satisfactory assurance of obedience to the laws.

Although the report of the Commissioners marks their firmness and abilities, and must unite all virtuous men, by shewing that the means of conciliation have been exhausted; all of those who had committed, or abetted the tumults, did not subscribe the mild form which was proposed as the atonement; and the indications of a peaceable temper were neither sufficiently general nor conclusive to recommend or warrant a further suspension of the march of the Militia.

Thus, the painful alternative could not be discarded. I ordered the Militia to march, after once more admonishing the insurgents, in my proclamation of the twenty-fifth of September last.

It was a task too difficult to ascertain with precision the lowest degree of force competent to the quelling of the insurrection. From a respect, indeed, to economy, and the ease of my fellow citizens, belonging to the militia, it would have gratified me to accomplish such an estimate. My very great reluctance to ascribe too much importance to the opposition, had its extent been accurately seen would have been a decided inducement to the smallest efficient numbers. In this uncertainty, therefore, I put into motion fifteen thousand men, as being an army, which, according to all human calculation, would be prompt and adequate in every view, and might, perhaps, by rendering resistance desperate, prevent the effusion of blood. Quotas had been assigned to the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia,—the Governor of Pennsylvania, having declared on this occasion an opinion which justified a requisition to the other States.

As Commander-in-Chief of the Militia, when called into the actual service of the United States, I have visited the places of general rendezvous, to obtain more exact information, and to direct a plan for ulterior movements. Had there been room for a persuasion that the laws were secure from obstruction—that the civil magistrate was able to bring to justice such of the most culpable as have not embraced the proffered terms of amnesty, and may be deemed fit objects of example; that the friends

of peace and good government were not in need of that aid and countenance which they ought always to receive, and, I trust, ever will receive, against the vicious and turbulent; I should have caught with avidity the opportunity of restoring the Militia to their families and home. But succeeding intelligence has tended to manifest the necessity of what has been done; it being now confessed by those who were not inclined to exaggerate the ill conduct of the insurgents, that their malevolence was not pointed merely to a particular law; but that a spirit, inimical to all order has actuated many of the offenders. If the state of things had afforded reason for the continuance of my presence with the army, it would not have been withholden; but every appearance assuring such an issue as will redound to the reputation and strength of the United States, I have judged it most proper to resume my duties at the seat of government, leaving the chief command with the Governor of Virginia.

Still, however, as it is probable, that in a commotion like the present, whatsoever may be the pretence, the purpose of mischief and revenge may not be laid aside; the stationing of a small force for a certain period in the four western counties of Pennsylvania, will be indispensable whether we contemplate the situation of those who are connected with the execution of the laws, or of others, who may have exposed themselves by an honorable attachment to them.

Thirty days from the commencement of this session being the legal limitation of the employment of the militia, Congress cannot be too early occupied with this subject.

Among the discussions which may arise from this aspect of our affairs, and from the documents which will be submitted to Congress, it will not escape their observation, that not only the Inspector of the Revenue, but their officers of the United States in Pennsylvania, have, from their fidelity in the discharge of their functions, sustained material injuries to their property. The obligation and policy of indemnifying them are strong and obvious. It may also merit attention whether policy will not enlarge this provision to the retribution of their Citizens, who, though not under the ties of office, may have suffered damage by their generous exertions for upholding the constitution and the laws. The amount, even if all the injured were included, would not be great, and on the future emergencies, the government would be amply repaid by the influence of an example that he, who incurs a loss in its defence, shall find a recompence in its liberality.

While there is cause to lament that occurrences of this nature should have disgraced the name or interrupted the tranquillity of any part of our community, or should have diverted to a

new application any portion of the public resources, there are not wanting real and substantial consolations for the misfortune. It has demonstrated that our prosperity rests on solid foundations, by furnishing an additional proof, that my fellow citizens understand the true principles of government and liberty; that they feel their inseparable union; that notwithstanding all the devices which have been used to sway them from their interest and duty, they are now as ready to maintain the authority of the laws against licentious invasions as they were to defend their rights against usurpation. It has been a spectacle displaying to the highest advantage, the value of Republican government, to behold the most and the least wealthy of our citizens standing in the same ranks as private soldiers, pre-eminently distinguished by being the army of the constitution—undeterred by a march of three hundred miles over rugged mountains, by the approach of an inclement season or by any other discouragement. Nor ought I to omit to acknowledge the efficacious and patriotic co-operation which I have experienced from the chief magistrates of the States, to which my requisitions have been addressed.

To every description, indeed, of citizens, let praise be given, but let them persevere in their affectionate vigilance over that precious depository of American happiness, the Constitution of the United States. Let them cherish it, too, for the sake of those who from every clime are daily seeking a dwelling in our land. And when in the calm moments of reflection, they shall have retraced the origin and progress of the insurrection, let them determine, whether it has not been fomented by combinations of men, who careless of consequences and disregarding the unerring truth that those who rouse cannot always appease a civil convulsion, have disseminated from an ignorance or perversion of facts, suspicions, jealousies and accusations of the whole government.

Having thus fulfilled the engagement which I took, when I entered into office, "to the best of my ability, to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States," on you, gentlemen, and the people by whom you are deputed, I rely for support.

GENERAL ORDERS OF MAJOR GENERAL LEE.

November 20, 1794.

The head of departments are requested to bestow every possible attention to the fair and immediate liquidation of all demands against the United States for the subsistence and other charges

appertaining to the army. In the execution of this important duty they will be governed uniformly by the strictest regard to equity, always preferring in dubious cases the individual's right, if marked by particular circumstances of damage.

In the payment of ferriages for any part of the army or its baggage, a sum fully adequate for the use of the boats and hands employed therein is to be given and not the established rates per head and wheel.

The supplies of provisions and forage which cannot be readily transported to the camp of the troops destined to continue during the winter must be sold for and on account of the United States.

The commanding officers of the several State lines composing the army, are required immediately to make returns of the troops engaged in their respective lines for the winter defence, comprehending arms and every other article belonging to the public in their possession.

With deep regret the commander-in-chief announces the death of major Watkins, of the Maryland line, and Lieut. Jones, of the Virginia line, both of whom in their several stations, ably and honorably discharged their duties. To their memory we will pay the highest tribute of respectful condolence; they must be buried with the honors of war and attended to the grave conformably to their rank. This last homage of profound respect, the commander-in-chief presents to their manes as the highest testimony he can give of his sense of the merit of fellow soldiers, who fell victims to the toils and sufferings to which the virtuous army under his command was unavoidably subjected in the course of a campaign undertaken to stop the progress of anarchy, and to perpetuate to their fellow citizens the inestimable blessings of order and good government.

HENRY LEE.

G. K. TAYLOR, Aid-de-Camp.

GENERAL ORDERS OF MAJOR GENERAL LEE.

November 21, 1794.

The commander-in-chief has directed me, in the most public manner, to declare his surprise and mortification in discovering that some of the magistrates with whom have been deposited books for the purpose of enabling the citizens of this district to manifest their attachment to their government by taking the oath of allegiance, and subscribing an association, as recommended in his address of the 8th instant, have assumed the privilege of annexing fees to their agency. This conduct is so

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

393

repugnant to the system he has strenuously endeavored to establish, as well as so opposite to that spirit of affection and kindness which he is anxious to inculcate and diffuse among the inhabitants, that he feels himself obligated at once to stop the practice, and hereby requires all magistrates who will not officiate without a fee or reward, to return the books in their possession, that they may be otherwise placed. Should any moneys be necessarily expended in printing the certificates to be given by them to the people who may comply with his recommendation, he considers himself answerable for it, and will, on production of the accounts, discharge the same.

By order of the commander-in-chief,

THOMAS NELSON, *dep. adj't gen.*

ADDRESS OF THE SENATE TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

November 22d, 1794.

To the President of the United States:

SIR:—We receive with pleasure, your speech to the two Houses of Congress. In it we perceive renewed proofs of that vigilant and paternal concern for the prosperity, honor and happiness of our country, which has uniformly distinguished your past administration.

Our anxiety arising from the licentious and open resistance to the laws, in the Western counties of Pennsylvania, has been increased by the proceedings of certain self-created societies, relative to the laws and administration of the government, proceedings in our apprehension founded in political error, calculated, if not intended, to disorganize our government, and which, by inspiring delusive hopes of support, have been influential in misleading our fellow citizens in the scene of insurrection.

In a situation so delicate and important, the lenient and persuasive measures which you adopted, merit and receive our affectionate approbation; these failing to procure their proper effect, and coercion having become inevitable, we have derived the highest satisfaction from the enlightened patriotism and animating zeal with which the citizens of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia have rallied round the standard of Government, in opposition to anarchy and insurrection.

Our warm and cordial acknowledgments are due to you, Sir, for the wisdom and decision with which you arrayed the

militia, to execute the public will, and to them for the disinterestedness and alacrity with which they obeyed your summons.

The example is precious to the theory of our government, and confers the brightest honor upon the patriots who have given it.

We shall readily concur in such farther provisions for the security of internal peace and a due obedience to the laws as the occasion manifestly requires.

The effectual organization of the militia and a prudent attention to the fortifications of our ports and harbours, are subjects of great national importance, and, together with the other measures you have been pleased to recommend, will receive our deliberate consideration.

The success of the troops under the command of General Wayne cannot fail to produce essential advantages. The pleasure with which we acknowledge the merits of that gallant General and army, is enhanced by the hope that their victories will lay the foundation of a just and durable peace with the Indian tribes.

At a period so momentous in the affairs of nations, the temperate, just and firm policy that you have pursued in respect to foreign powers, has been eminently calculated to promote the great and essential interest of our country, and has created the fairest title to the public gratitude and thanks.

JOHN ADAMS,

Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.

REPLY OF PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

GENTLEMEN:—Among the occasions, which have been afforded, for expressing my sense of the zealous and stedfast co-operation of the Senate in the maintenance of government, none has yet occurred more forcibly demanding my unqualified acknowledgments than the present.

Next to the consciousness of upright intentions, it is the highest pleasure to be approved by the enlightened representatives of a free nation. With the satisfaction therefore, which arises from an unalterable attachment to public order, do I learn, that the Senate discountenance those proceedings which would arrogate the direction of our affairs without any degree of authority derived from the people.

It has been more than once the lot of our government to be thrown into new and delicate situations, and of these, the insurrection has not been the least important. Having been compelled at length to lay aside my repugnance to resort to arms,

I derive much happiness from being confirmed by your judgment in the necessity of decisive measures and from the support of my fellow citizens of the militia, who were the patriotic instruments of that necessity.

With such demonstrations of affection for our constitution, with an adequate organization of the militia, with the establishment of necessary fortifications, with a continuance of those judicious and spirited exertions which have brought victory to our Western army, with a due attention to public credit and an unsullied honor towards all nations, we may meet, under every assurance of success, our enemies from within and from without.

G'O. WASHINGTON.

MAJOR GENERAL LEE TO CAPT. D'HEBE COURT.

HEAD QUARTERS,

PITTSBURGH, Nov'r 22, 1794.

SIR:—I have received your letter of the 10th inst. and maturely considered its contents.

I am concerned that the party in pursuit of Mr. Bradford were unsuccessful in efforts to arrest him, in as much as I fear the late convulsions of this part of the country may, in a great degree be ascribed to his counsels and efforts. I hope, at the same time, that he will yet be delivered into the hands of justice, that he may expiate by his punishment, those offenses which he is supposed to have committed against that country from which he derived his existence and support; but while I wish that he should be taken, I wish not that he should be destroyed; on the contrary, I should be affected with great concern, should I hear that he had been killed, or even treated with unnecessary severity or cruelty. It is the happiness as it is the pride of America, that no person can be deprived of his property or existence but by law. The principles of justice, on which are founded those of the law, pronounce that before he shall be deprived of the latter, he shall be confronted with his accusers, allowed the benefit of exculpatory testimony, and permitted to urge whatever he may think necessary for his defense.

Conformably to this idea, the several offenders who have been seized in this deluded country, have been regularly delivered to the civil power which will deal with them according to their merits.

Permit me, therefore, to assure you, Sir, that the information you have received, that I wished Bradford to be killed, rather

than suffered to escape, is erroneous, and that I shudder at the idea of hunting to death a fellow being.

If, by your exertions, he could be sent to this place alive, you would confer an obligation on me, and on the United States; at the same time, in that event, I should wish him to be treated with every civility consistent with his safe custody.

I am, &c., &c.,

HENRY LEE.

D'HEBE COURT.

GEN. FRELINGHUYSEN TO COL. MACPHERSON AND
CAPT. DUNLAP.

H'D Q'RS, BEDFORD, Nov. 23d, 1794.

To Colonel William McPherson, commanding the Infantry, and Captain John Dunlap, commanding the Cavalry of the advanced Corps of the right wing of the Militia Army:

GENTLEMEN:—In the hurry of making the arrangements at Pittsburgh, for the march of the advanced Corps of the right wing, it became impracticable to communicate to you the General Orders of the 18th instant. A copy of them is now inclosed, and you will, of course, acquaint your respective Commands with the sentiments of our worthy Commander-in-Chief respecting their and their fellow soldiers patriotic conduct in supporting the Laws and the Constitution, and the happiness of their Country.

Whilst you are discharging this duty, I request you will likewise express to them my high satisfaction with their soldierlike deportment, during the whole time I had the honor to command them. While I live, I shall recollect with pleasure the fortitude and patience with which they endured the severe toils and hardships of the Campaign, and the promptitude with which they obeyed every order. To my latest breath, I shall keep in my mind with the liveliest sensibility, the remembrance of their politeness and attention to me on every occasion.

I am, Gentlemen,

with sentiments of pure regard,

Your most obedient and

very humble servant,

FRED. FRELINGHUYSEN.

DISTRICT ATTORNEY RAWLE* TO JUDGE ADDISON.

PITTSBURGH, November 24, 1794.

SIR:—The Judge of the district having spent several days in this town for the purpose of examining into the cases of persons accused, and taking the examination of witnesses relative to offences committed within the district against the United States, and his public business requiring his attendance in another part of the district, I am under the necessity of requesting your attention to the continuance of that inquiry which public justice requires, to the offences committed as above mentioned.

The list inclosed, and the expected cases in Governor Lee's proclamation, will indicate the persons in regard to whose conduct during the late convulsion, it is desirable to establish the truth.

I will be obliged to you, sir, to reduce their testimony to writing, and to furnish me with the depositions, and to bind the witnesses over in a reasonable sum expressed in dollars, to appear and testify in behalf of the United States at the next circuit court of the United States, stated or special, to be held within the district aforesaid.

The following cases I desire you to notice particularly:

1. To bind over a certain Matthew Logan, as a witness against Ebenezer Gallagher.
2. To take the recognizance of Thomas Hughes, Esq., if he shall offer bail and good securities in no less sum in the whole than 3,000 dollars, for his appearance to answer. The charge against him is his having been one of the blackened party who attacked the house of Capt. Faulkner, and his having signed a contemptuous and improper paper on the 11th of September last. His offence, therefore, is of a bailable nature.
3. To send for and bind over as witnesses, Major Richard Talbot and Rev. Philip Dodridge of Hopewell township, and John Fennell of Cross Creek.

*WILLIAM RAWLE, a native of Philadelphia, was born 28th day of April, 1759, of Quaker parentage. His early legal studies were prosecuted under the direction of Counsellor Kemp of New York. Towards the close of the Revolution he went to England, and entered the Middle Temple where he pursued his studies with untiring assiduity. In 1783 he returned to this country and devoted himself to his profession. President Washington appointed him District Attorney for the United States in 1791, a position he held for eight years, when he resigned. In the year 1828, Dartmouth College conferred on him the degree of LL. D. He died April 12, 1836, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

These instances are not mentioned as the exclusive cases in which your assistance is requested. To your judgment every other case is with great confidence committed. Truth will gradually reveal itself, and testimony of which we are ignorant.

With great consideration and respect,

I have the honor to be,

W. RAWLE.

To JUDGE ADDISON,

DISTRICT ATTORNEY RAWLE TO JUDGE ADDISON.

GREENSBURG, November 26, 1794.

JUDGE ADDISON:

Permit me to request you will be good enough to send for a Doctor Robinson, Wm. Parker, Esq., Daniel Depuy and Wm. Irwin, and endeavor to ascertain from their examinations from whom they received instructions to harangue Col. John Hamilton's battalion on the 4th of July last in opposition to excise law, (as it is called,) for it appears, on inquiry, that a regular plan had been formed to prevent the execution of the law by the extirpation of all the officers, and that the attack upon Gen. Neville's was an execution of their system.

I am with great respect,

your servant,

W. RAWLE.

GEN. HENRY LEE TO JUDGE ADDISON.

HEAD QUARTERS,
PITTSBURGH, November 26, 1794.

SIR:—Major General Morgan, who will command the troops destined to continue in this district, will be always ready to support the civil authority when required.

To you, as the head of the judiciary, belongs the right of demanding this aid whenever in your judgment it shall be necessary. I am persuaded the wisdom and vigor which will be displayed by the officers of justice, in their several stations, will probably be found equal to all future exigencies. Should my hopes prove fallacious, the power of the protection established by me cannot fail in the immediate suppression of every irregularity, and will, I trust, be instantly restored to.

Praying that this district may long enjoy peace and tranquility, I return home with pleasing anticipations of their growing prospects and happiness, in which I cannot but feel myself deeply interested.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
with great respect,

Your obedient servant,
HENRY LEE.

To Hon. ALEXANDER ADDISON.

GOVERNOR LEE, OF VIRGINIA, TO GOVERNOR
MIFFLIN.

HEAD QUARTERS,
PITTSBURGH, November 26th, 1794.

SIR:—The period having arrived when the army, entrusted to my direction by the President of the United States, having accomplished the object of their advance into this country, are about to return home, I should commit violence on my own feelings, was I not to express to your Excellency my very high ideas of their merit.

Suddenly brought into the field, they were unprepared for the hardships which they encountered. Nevertheless, disregarding the distress to which they were consequently, in a greater degree exposed, they continued to evidence with firmness and zeal, the purity of the principles by which they were moved, and terminated their campaign in perfect correspondence with the patriotism which impelled them to exchange domestic enjoyments for the toils and privations inseparable from military life. To all is due the tribute of applause which ever attends the faithful and animated discharge of duty; but to one class something more is due. Those inestimable and friendless citizens who fill the ranks, seem to have been scarcely noticed in the legal provisions for compensation.

If the example exhibited by my companions in arms is * * consolation from my hopes that the * * * tion the inequality which at * * * and to the soldiers, and so far as respects the faithful army under my orders, will be pleased to manifest their sense of the conduct of the troops, by rendering the pecuniary compensation of the soldier proportionate to that given to the officer. The justice and policy of such interposition are alike evident, and will be peculiarly acceptable.

Another point in which both officers and soldiers are interested, claims, in my humble opinion, legislative notice. Altho'

the wise and temperate system, adopted by the President of the United States, averted the heaviest of all human calamities, and saved the effusion of blood, yet the sufferings which the army experienced from the extreme severity of the weather, have deprived many families of their dearest friend and chief support. To alleviate their miseries, by extending to them, with equity and liberality, the public aid, is the only possible retribution which can be made by the community, and I flatter myself it is only necessary to make known the existence of such cases, to secure to the sufferers the requisite legal provision.

I forbear to gratify my affectionate attachment to my fellow citizens in arms with me, by yielding to my solicitude for their welfare, and subjoining the many observations which my knowledge of their virtue and sufferings crowds upon my mind, in the confidence that their conduct best bespeaks their worth, and that the Legislature will take pleasure in manifesting their respect to real merit.

HENRY LEE.

The Governor of Pennsylvania.

PROCLAMATION OF GEN. HENRY LEE.

By HENRY LEE, Esq., Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Major General therein, and Commander-in-Chief of the Militia Army in the service of the United States.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, Information hath been given to me, that *David Lock*, of Washington County, *Ebenezer Gallagher* and *Peter Lyle*, of Allegheny County, charged with the Commission of Treason against the United States, have this morning, made their escape from the Fort at the town of Pittsburgh, to which place they had been committed by the civil authority; I do, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me, hereby offer a reward of Six Hundred Dollars, to be paid to any person or persons who will apprehend the said offenders, and deliver them to the Commanding Officer of the said Fort or the keeper of the Goal at the City of Philadelphia, or the sum of Two Hundred Dollars for any one of them who shall be apprehended and delivered as aforesaid. And I do hereby call upon and require, as well all magistrates and other officers of justice, as well all disposed citizens desirous of supporting the laws, and avoiding a return of the anarchy and confusion in which the Western Counties of Pennsylvania have lately been involved,

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

401

to use their utmost endeavors to cause the above mentioned Offenders to be brought to justice.

Given under my Hand at Head Quarters, in Pittsburgh, this 24th day of November, 1794.

HENRY LEE. [L. S.]

By order of the Commander-in-Chief.

JAMES HEARD, *Aid-de-Camp.*

PETER LYLE is about 5 feet 10 inches high, light complexion and light hair, about 30 years of age, very talkative, had on a blue-coat and white under jacket.

DAVID LOCK is stout, square built, 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high, light complexion, short sandy hair, flat nose and large lips, had on a round white hat, cloth coloured great coat, yellow cassimer waistcoat and breeches.

EDENEZER GALLAGHER is 6 feet high, fair complexion, light hair, had on a green coat, a bold, talkative man, born in New Jersey.

ACT OF CONGRESS TO PLACE TROOPS IN THE
WESTERN COUNTIES.

AN ACT to authorize the President to call out and station a corps of Militia in the four western counties of Pennsylvania for a limited time.

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That a force not exceeding two thousand five hundred non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates, to be composed of the militia of the United States, be called forth and stationed in the four western counties of Pennsylvania, if, in the judgment of the President, the same shall be deemed necessary to suppress unlawful combinations and to cause the laws to be duly executed: *Provided*, that the term of service of any one quota of the militia to be called into actual service, pursuant to this act, shall not exceed three months after they shall have arrived at the place of rendezvous.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby authorized, if, in this judgment, it should be deemed expedient to direct voluntary enlistments of any of the militia of the United States, in lieu of all or any part of the force herein authorized to be called forth

for the purposes aforesaid, for a term of service not exceeding thirty days after the commencement of the next session of Congress.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

JOHN ADAMS,

Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.

APPROVED—November the twenty-ninth, 1794.

G' O. WASHINGTON,
President of the United States.

Deposited among the Rolls in the Office of the Secretary of State.

EDM. RANDOLPH,
Secretary of State.

GENERAL LEE'S PROCLAMATION OF PARDON.

By HENRY LEE, Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Major General therein, and Commander-in-Chief of the Militia Army, in the Service of the United States.

A PROCLAMATION.

By virtue of the powers and authority in me vested by the President of the United States, and in obedience to his benign intentions therewith communicated, I do, by this, my proclamation, declare and make known to all concerned, that a full, free and entire pardon (excepting and providing as hereafter mentioned) is hereby granted to all persons residing within the counties of Washington, Allegheny, Westmoreland and Fayette, in the State of Pennsylvania, and in the county of Ohio, in the State of Virginia, guilty of treason or misprision of treason against the United States, or otherwise directly or indirectly engaged in the wicked and unhappy tumults and disturbances lately existing in those counties; excepting, nevertheless, from the benefit and effect of this pardon, all persons charged with the commission of offenses against the United States, and now actually in custody or held by recognizance to appear and answer for such offenses at any judicial court or courts, excepting also, all persons avoiding fair trial by abandonment of their homes; and excepting moreover, the following persons, the atrocity of whose conduct renders it proper to mark them by name for the purpose of subjecting them, with all possible certainty, to the regular course of judicial proceedings, and whom all officers, civil and military, are required to endeavor to apprehend and brought to justice, to wit:

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

408

Benjamin Parkinson,	Arthur Gardner,
John Holcroft,	Daniel Hanilton,
Tho. Lapsley,	William Miller,
Edward Cook,	Edward Wright,
Richard Holcroft,	David Bradford,
John Mitchell,	Alexander Fulton,
Thomas Spiers,	William Bradford,
Geo. Parker,	Wm. Hanna.
Edward Magner, jun.,	Thomas Hughes,
David Lock,	Ebenezer Gallagher,
Peter Lyle,	John Shields,
William Hay,	William McElhenny,
Tho. Patton,	Stephenson Jack,
Patrick Jack, and Andrew Highlands, of the State of Pennsylvania, and—	Patrick Jack, and Andrew Highlands, of the State of Pennsylvania, and—
William Sutherland,	Robert Stephenson,
William McKinley,	John Moore and
John McCormick, of Ohio county, in the State of Virginia.	John Moore and

Provided, That no person who shall hereafter wilfully obstruct, or attempt to obstruct the execution of any of the laws of the United States, or be in any wise aiding or abetting therein, shall be entitled to any benefit or advantage of the pardon hereinbefore granted: *And provided also*, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend to the remission or mitigation of any forfeiture of any penalty incurred by reason of infractions of, or obstructions to, the laws of the United States for collecting a revenue upon distilled spirits and stills.

Given under my hand, at Head Quarters, in Elizabeth Town, this twenty-ninth day of November, 1794.

HENRY LEE.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief.
G. K. TAYLOR, *Aid-de-Camp.*

ORDERS OF GENERAL MORGAN.

GENERAL ORDERS.

CAMP, BENTLEY'S FARM, Nov. 30, 1794.

The General anticipates the happiest issue that the army he has the honor to command will afford to the laws and friends of good order and government, in the four western counties of Pennsylvania. The willingness with which the citizens have enrolled themselves to co-operate with the army in the restoration of obedience to the laws, are pleasing evidences that the unhappy delusion which lately pervaded this country, under the auspices of the friends to anarchy, are at an end.

The General hopes that the army now hutting for winter quarters, will consider themselves as in the bosom of their friends, & that they will vie with each other in promoting the love and esteem of their fellow citizens, and pointedly avoid every species of spoliation on the property of the inhabitants.

The officers commanding fatigue parties are particularly directed not to suffer the sugar or other trees producing fruit or comfort to the farmer to be cut down for building or any other purpose whatever.

The burning of fencing, where there is such an abundance of fuel so easily procured, is strictly forbid, and a violence offered to the person, or depredation on the property of any individual, by the soldiery, will be punished in the most exemplary and summary manner.

DANIEL MORGAN.

THE REVENUE INSPECTOR'S NOTICE.

PITTSBURGH, Nov 27, 1794.

I am directed to notify all persons in the counties of Allegheny, Fayette and Bedford, against whom suits have been commenced in the court of the United States for neglecting to enter their stills, that upon their coming forward immediately to the Collectors of each county, and paying one year's arrearages upon the capacity of the still and the costs of suit, a bill of which will be furnished, the actions will be discontinued.

JOHN NEVILLE,

Inspector of the Revenue, 4th Survey, District of Pennsylvania.

ADDRESS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, December 1, 1794.

SIR:—The House of Representatives, calling to mind the blessings enjoyed by the people of the United States, and especially the happiness of living under constitutions and laws which rest on their authority alone, could not learn with other emotions than those you have expressed, that any part of our fellow citizens should have shewn themselves capable of an insurrection, and we learn, with the greatest concern, that any misrepresentations whatever, of the government and its proceed-

ings either by individuals or combinations of men should have been made, and so far credited as to foment the flagrant outrage which has been committed on the laws.

We feel, with you, the deepest regret at so painful an occurrence in the annals of our country. As men regardful of the tender interests of humanity, we look with grief at scenes which might have stained our land with civil blood. As lovers of public order, we lament that it has suffered so flagrant a violation. As zealous friends of Republican Government, we deplore every occasion which in the hands of its enemies, may be turned into a calumny against it.

This aspect of the crisis, however, is happily not the only one which it presents. There is another which yields all the consolations which you have drawn from it. It has demonstrated to the candid world as well as to the American people themselves, that the great body of them, everywhere, are equally attached to the luminous and vital principle of our constitution, which enjoins that the will of the majority shall prevail. That they understand the indissoluble union between true liberty and regular government. That they feel their duties no less than they are watchful over their rights. That they will be as ready at all times to crush licentiousness as they have been to defeat usurpation. In a word, that they are capable of carrying into execution that noble plan of self-government which they have chosen as the guarantee of their own happiness, and the asylum for that of all from every clime who may wish to unite their destiny with ours.

These are the just inferences flowing from the promptitude with which the summons to the standard of the Laws has been obeyed; and from the sentiments which have been witnessed in every description of Citizens, in every quarter of the Union. The spectacle, therefore, when viewed in its true light, may well be affirmed to display in equal lustre the virtues of the American character, and the value of Republican Government. All must particularly acknowledge and applaud the patriotism of that portion of our Citizens, who have freely sacrificed everything, less dear than the love of their country to the meritorious task of defending its happiness.

In the part which you yourself have borne through this delicate and distressing period, we trace the additional proofs it has afforded of your solicitude for the public good. Your laudable and successful endeavors to render lenity in executing the laws conducive to their real energy, and to convert tumult into order, without the effusion of blood, form a particular title to the confidence and praise of your constituents. In all that may be found necessary, on our part, to complete this benevo-

RESOLUTIONS OF THE NEW JERSEY LEGISLATURE.

NEW JERSEY HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, Dec. 3, 1794.

Resolved, That the Legislature embrace the present occasion of expressing their approbation of the measures pursued by the President of the United States, for suppressing the insurrection in the four western counties of Pennsylvania, and with pleasure view his solicitude and care for a due execution of the laws and support of the constitution.

Resolved, That the Legislature of this State entertain a high sense of the virtue, patriotism and alacrity of the commander-in-chief, in complying with the requisition of the President of the United States, for calling into service the militia of this State against the insurgents of the four western counties of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That the patience and magnanimity with which the officers and privates of the militia of this State, who have marched under that requisition, have encountered the fatigues and difficulties of a long and arduous march, at so inclement a season of the year, justify the Legislature in declaring *that they have deserved well of their country*; and the Legislature felicitate themselves and their fellow citizens, that so direct and unconstitutional a violation and resistance of the laws of the United States, has been so completely discomfited and defeated.

SECRETARY OF WAR TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, December 5th, 1794.

SIR:—The President of the United States has instructed me to transmit to your Excellency the enclosed Resolve, containing the unanimous thanks of the House of Representatives to the Militia in actual service for the suppression of the late insurrection.

The President having personally been a witness to the military merits of the embodied Militia, experiences the highest gratification in communicating this honorable approbation, the most precious recompense that could be offered to enlightened freemen. It is his devout hope, that the Militia of the United States, may ever be found to be the faithful and invincible protectors and vindicators of the great principles of Law and Liberty.

The citizens of America fixing in their minds as an indelible truth, that obedience to the laws, and the defence of their coun-

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

400

try, are sacred and indispensable duties, will render its freedom and happiness perpetual.

The President embraces cordially the present occasion, to tender your Excellency his sincere thanks for your zealous and powerful co-operation in the suppression of the late insurrection, as well for your exertions in calling out the Militia, as for your service in the field.

I have the honor to be,

With great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

H. KNOX,

Secretary of War.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

RESOLVES OF GONGRESS.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
THURSDAY, December 4, 1794.

- *Resolved unanimously,* That the thanks of this House be given to the gallant officers and privates of the Militia of the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, who on the late call of the President, rallied round the standard of the laws, and in the prompt and severe service which they encountered, bore the most illustrious testimony to the value of the Constitution, and the blessings of internal peace and order: And that the President be requested to communicate the above vote of thanks in such manner as he may judge most acceptable to the patriotic citizens who are its objects.

Attest: JOHN BECKLEY, Clerk.

True Copy from the Original on File in the War Office.
JOHN STAGG, JUN., Ch. Cl'k.

ANNUAL ADDRESS OF THE GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA, December 6, 1794.

Gentlemen of the Senate and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

It affords me the highest satisfaction to meet you under circumstances, which justify an assurance, that law, order and

tranquillity have been restored in the Western Counties of the State. The crisis which occasioned the late extraordinary call of the Legislature; which menaced the reputation, as well as the peace of the community; and which imposed the necessity of resorting from the judicial to the military; has been resisted and overcome, in a manner equally honorable and efficacious. Such, indeed, have been the measures pursued and such have been their success, that the sensations of indignation and regret, which the insurrection originally excited in the mind of every virtuous Citizen, will be fairly exchanged for the sensations of an honest pride and a laudable exultation. That men should be so depraved as to swerve from the duty which they owe to society; or so ignorant as to abandon the interests which they derive from its protection, may be reckoned among the imperfections of our nature, and will be found among the sources of public calamity in every age and in every Country. But the example of an enlightened people, rising with zeal and affection to maintain the constitution which they had established with freedom and deliberation; of an insulted Government solicitous to reclaim rather than to punish its deluded or refractory Citizens; and of an extensive Republic possessing the power to enforce obedience to its laws, has for the first time been exhibited to the world, and forms the glorious characteristic of the American nation.

At the opening of the last session, I communicated the circumstance of riot and outrage, which attended the insurrection, and the steps which had been taken on the part of the United States as well as of Pennsylvania, to rescue the offenders from their delusion by the influence of reason and truth; or in the event of an obstinate perseverance in a lawless course, to subdue and punish them. Actuated by passions the most intemperate, and seduced by hopes the most visionary, the insurgents slighted all the overtures of Government; falsely construing its benevolence into fear, and its aversion to the use of force, into the consciousness of a defect of power. The pleasing prospect, therefore, of reconciling them to their duty by amicable means, could no longer be indulged with safety or justice to the Union; and accordingly, the President directed the Militia destined for the suppression of the insurrection, to repair to the respective places of rendezvous. It will be remembered, Gentlemen, that often before this summons, I represented to the Legislature, the imperfect state of our Militia law and the embarrassments that were likely to occur in drafting and organizing any part of the Militia for actual service. The experiment proved the justice of my apprehensions. For, however, promptly the orders were issued, however explicit in their terms, to obtain a

full and immediate compliance with the President's requisition, doubts of success were suggested in almost every return which I received from the Brigade inspectors; and at length, it became manifest that neither the regard which I felt for the honor of the State, nor a personal solicitude to discharge my Federal obligations, could be gratified by an implicit reliance upon the ordinary process of the law. Under this impression I determined in the first place to invite a voluntary enrollment of the Citizens, (a measure which appeared in my judgment to be strictly conformable to the spirit of the provision that authorizes the drafted Militia to employ substitutes,) and the next place I determined to visit every county included in the requisition for the purpose of removing difficulties in the organization of the several quotas; of dispelling any dangerous prejudices that might exist by a faithful communication of the facts and principles connected with the expedition; and of stimulating the people to an exemplary exertion in support of that Constitution which every enlightened and honest man must contemplate as the palladium of American Liberty and the sanctuary of human happiness.

To the expedient of raising the quota of Pennsylvania by voluntary enrollments, the Legislature has already given a liberal and efficient sanction; but I feel myself unequal to the task of recommending with adequate energy to your grateful attention, the alacrity, spirit and perseverance of our fellow Citizens, in vindicating the violated authority of the laws. As soon as the situation of our Country was duly described and understood; the daring and cruel career of the malcontents; the subversion of the judicial authority; the failure of every conciliatory effort; and the resulting necessity of an appeal to arms; produced in perfect unison with my anticipations, one common sentiment of resentment, one common determination to defend the peace and order of society, against the machinations of licentiousness and anarchy. In this patriotic work the veterans who had achieved our Independence and established our Government, were associated with the virtuous youth of the rising Generation, who justly thought, that the best acknowledgement for the invaluable inheritance prepared for them must be to cherish and protect it. The rich and the poor were alike emulous to distinguish themselves; so that to the scene exhibited by their conduct, in which all the advantages of fortune were surrendered and forgotten, we are indebted for a practical illustration of the equal rights and equal obligations of the Citizens of the American Republic. The pride of opinion and even the acrimony of party, yielded likewise to the generous enthusiasm. Controversies relating to the impolicy of parti-

cular measures were no longer sustained; but every class and description of citizens impressed with this fundamental truth, that where there is no law there can be no liberty, with equal ardor and fidelity combined in the maintenance of the general cause. The same principles and the same practice were displayed by the Citizens of our Sister States, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia. Advancing, indeed, under the President's requisition, to aid us in restoring the tranquillity of Pennsylvania, they have added another important feature to the transaction, by evincing the reality and the energy of our political union, and by furnishing the most endearing proofs of a fraternal attachment, which disclaims all territorial boundary and distinction.

With an army thus constituted of Citizens, who cheerfully relinquished all the avocations, indulgences and emoluments of private life to affect the sovereignty of the laws, in a remote and rugged country, at an inclement season of the year, there should be no room for doubt or apprehension respecting the event. Yet that the triumph of order might also be the triumph of humanity, the number of the troops, with as much wisdom as benevolence, was made so great, (amounting to 15,000 men,) as to overawe, in the most desperate and rash, any disposition for hostility and resistance. The approach of this formidable force, accordingly, produced the meditated effects. The spirit and celerity with which it was collected, soon convinced the Insurgents, that they had nothing to hope from the inactivity nor from the countenance of any part of the community. The friends of Government, resuming their confidence in its power and disposition to protect them, became vigilant in counteracting the instruments of sedition and in disseminating a knowledge of the duties and interests of a free people. The desire of acquiring information was awakened amongst honest, though deluded men, by the universal abhorrence, which stigmatized the insurrection; and impending danger sunk into submission, those whom virtue had ceased to control, and truth was unable to convince. Thus without the effusion of blood, without an injury to private property, and without a violation of any personal right, has the object of Government been attained. The Courts of Justice being reinstated in their legitimate authority; the laws of the Union enjoying a free operation; the good Citizen reaping the reward of his services; and the delinquent incurring the punishment of his crimes. But amidst the many remarkable facts, which the history of this event must embrace, none can be more honorable, none will be deemed more pregnant with beneficial consequences, than those which afford an example of the strict subordination of the military to the civil power; and by proving the competency of our Militia

to enforce obedience to the laws, destroy every pretext for the introduction of a standing army.

But considering the various probable effects of the calamity which we deplore, the sources of consolation abundantly present themselves. It has been the aim of other Governments to derive from similar convulsions an accession of authority and strength; but the American Republic constituted and administered by the People, and invincible while employed in asserting their rights, despairs to seek either honor or power from an adventitious influence. The people made, and the people only can maintain it. This truth, applied particularly to our civil compact, contains, indeed, the vital principle of all republicanism; that principle which establishes an indissoluble union and correspondence of interests, feelings and actions between the Government and its Citizens; and which uniformly raised, and will, I am confident, forever raise the arm of an American Freeman to crush the sedition of domestic traitors, as well as to repel the invasion of a foreign foe.

Thus, placing the power and stability of our Government on a legitimate basis, the determination to support our Constitution and laws so forcibly expressed during the late crisis, cannot fail to elevate the federal character abroad and to improve the general happiness at home. From one view of this part of the subject however, I receive peculiar pleasure. We have witnessed the alacrity with which the call of the President was obeyed by men of every political sentiment; and we have heard the unanimous voice with which the lawless conduct of the Insurgents has been reprobated in every quarter of the Union; the same motives and the same end have been avowed and demonstrated by all. Shall we not, then, be permitted to hope that mutual confidence in matters of integrity, and mutual deference in matters of opinion, will hereafter extinguish those feuds and soften those asperities, which, in a degree greatly to be lamented, have often disturbed the harmony of social life, and have sometimes deranged the system of political operations? Let us, at least, Gentlemen, lend all of our aid to the accomplishment of so salutary an object. Let our advice and example diffuse among our fellow Citizens the principles of conciliation and affection towards each other, and towards the Governments which are entrusted with the superintendence and direction of their common interests.

While we review the circumstances which have attended the insurrection, in order to select the means of consolation, the wisdom of the Legislature will naturally combine with that pursuit an investigation of the most effectual measures to prevent the recurrence of a similar calamity. Allow me, therefore,

Gentlemen, to press upon your consideration, the constitutional injunction, "to provide by law as soon as conveniently may be, for the establishment of Schools throughout the State in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis." I have on other occasions, indeed, observed, that to multiply, regulate and strengthen the sources of education is the duty, and must be the delight of every wise and virtuous Government; for, the experience of America has evinced that knowledge, while it makes us sensible of our rights as men, enforces our obligations as members of society. But on no occasion could the observation be more emphatically urged than the present; since I may confidently appeal to the conviction of every mind which has been employed in examining the origin and progress of the late disturbances, for an assurance that ignorance (whose natural concomitants are credulity and temerity) has been the principal cause of the deprecated mischief. Reflecting then, that a provision for the establishment of public schools was contained in the old constitution of the State; and that its insertion in the new Constitution shows the continued opinion of its policy; I trust I shall be excused after a lapse of near twenty years, in soliciting your immediate attention for this interesting branch of the Legislative trust. While your predecessors enjoy the reputation arising from an early and faithful payment of the State debts; from a judicious disposition of the public treasure and resources; and from an unexampled but successful amelioration of our penal code; may the theme of your praise flow from institutions that shall illuminate the minds of our fellow citizens, and establish science on a pure and permanent foundation!

In the course of the communications which I have heretofore addressed to the legislature, a variety of topics have been suggested that may be thought still to merit a share in your deliberations. In general, I shall content myself with a bare reference to those communications; though I cannot omit the repetition of my anxiety for the organization of our Militia, upon a plan in its terms more perspicuous and in its operation more efficient than the present. The improvement, likewise, of our roads and rivers becomes daily more interesting, owing to the emigrations, which furnishes us with an almost daily increase of population. The situation of affairs during the late expedition, has considerably embarrassed the execution of my design to obtain a critical and general survey of the improvements, undertaken by the existing contracts; but as far as my information or observation will extend, there is ample encouragement to persevere in the beneficial policy, which actuated your predecessors on this subject.

As the enlistments of the corps stationed at the Fort on Mud Island having expired; it will require legislative consideration, whether the same circumstances which originally led to that establishment, for preserving the peace and neutrality of the port, do not now require its continuance. The proper instructions have been issued for maintaining the garrison at Fort Le Bœuf; but it is probable that the temporary provision which Congress has made for keeping a military force in the Western counties, will supersede the necessity of your interposing at this time for the protection of our frontiers. Indeed, the recent victory obtained by the gallant army under the command of General Wayne, promises a speedy relief from every apprehension of savage depredation. As it seems already to have changed the arrogant and hostile tone of the Northern Indians, it can hardly fail to produce a disposition for peace among the western tribes, who have so severely felt the power and prowess of their enemy.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. HARMAR.

PHILADELPHIA, 10th December, 1794

SIR:—A resolve, expressing, in terms the most cordial, the unanimous thanks of the House of Representatives of Congress to the Militia in actual service for the suppression of the late Insurrection, has been communicated to me by the President in a manner which cannot fail to enhance the value of so honorable a testimonial. The House of Representatives of the General Assembly, have likewise declared in similar language, the high sense which they entertain of the ardor, magnanimity and perseverance of our fellow Citizens, upon an occasion so interesting to the reputation and tranquillity of the State. You will be pleased immediately to transmit the several resolves relating to the subject and the letter from the war Department, (copies of which are for that purpose enclosed,) to the Major General and Brigadier Generals of the division of the Pennsylvania Militia employed on the Expedition; and you will instruct the Brigade Inspectors to pursue the most public, expeditious and effectual measures for making the same known to all the officers and privates of the quota taken from their respective Brigades.

It is not in my power to add to the force of praise, thus spontaneously flowing from the highest sources of political authority; but as it would give me pain on any occasion to suppress a heartfelt acknowledgement of the patriotic service, upon which that praise is bestowed, let the tribute of my grateful thanks accom-

pany the communication of the present letter to our fellow citizens.

I am, Sir,
Your Most Obedient Servant,
THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To JOSIAH HARMAR, Esq., Adjutant General of the Militia of Penns'a.

RESOLVES OF THE PENN'A HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVRS,
WEDNESDAY, December the 10th, 1794.

Resolved. That the thanks of this House be given, to the Officers and Privates of the Militia of this Commonwealth, who have been recently employed, in suppressing the Insurrection in the Western counties of the State, for their patriotic ardor in offering their services, and their magnanimity and perseverance in encountering and sustaining the hardships and privations of a military Life, for the purpose of supporting the Constitution and the Laws.

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to convey to them the purport of the foregoing resolution in such a manner as shall appear to him to be the most likely to answer the intentions of this House.

GEORGE LATIMER,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 10th December, 1794.

SIR:—The Secretary at war, in a letter of the fifth instant, transmitted to me a Resolve, containing the unanimous thanks of the House of Representatives to the Militia in actual service for the suppression of the late Insurrection; and stated at the same time your acknowledgments upon the subject.

I have taken measures immediately to communicate this honorable testimonial to the officers and Privates of the Pennsylvania quota; but I cannot omit more particularly to express the high

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

417

satisfaction which I derive from the assurances that my conduct on the late interesting occasion has met with your approbation.

I am, with perfect respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's

Most Obedient,

Humble Servant,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To the President of the United States.

RESOLVES OF THE SENATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN SENATE,

SATURDAY, December 13th, 1794.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Senate be given to the officers and Privates of the Militia of this Commonwealth, who lately marched to vindicate the laws of their Country, for the zeal, firmness, ardor and obedience to law, which distinguished their conduct in the course of that service; and that they be informed that the Senate considers the patriotic ardor, combined with moderation, which they have displayed on this important occasion, as an evidence of the strongest nature of the security of the rights and stability of the laws and Government of the people of this State.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolution be transmitted to the Governor and that he be requested to communicate the contents thereof to the Militia who have served in the late expedition.

WILLIAM BINGHAM,*

Speaker of the Senate.

* WILLIAM BINGHAM was a native of Philadelphia, where he was born about 1750. He graduated at the college of Philadelphia at the age of eighteen. During the Revolution he was agent for the Colonies at Martinique. In 1786 he was a delegate to the Continental Congress from Pennsylvania, and from 1795 to 1801 U. S. Senator. He was a member of the State Senate in 1792-4 and Speaker of that body during the latter year. He was one of the wealthiest men in the Province, which gave him position and influence. He made several visits to Europe where he was courted by the aristocracy, two of his daughters marrying the Baring's. Mr. Bingham died while on a visit at Bath, England, February 6, 1804.

ADDRESS OF THE SENATE OF PENN'A TO GOV.
MIFFLIN.

SENATE,FRIDAY December 14th, 1784.

SIR:—Contemplating the flourishing condition of Pennsylvania, we feel the liveliest gratitude for the benevolent dispensations of Providence, from which have flowed the accumulating blessings of her agriculture and commerce, and the encrease and happiness of her citizens. And viewing the order, the freedom and the equality which at this period prevail throughout the Union, we readily concur in the opinion, that the happiness of America, has been essentially promoted by the same and operation of her political institutions.

It is with great pleasure that we observe in the judicious and patriotic exertions of the executive magistrate, an incontrovertible proof of the sincerity of your wish to facilitate the labors of the Legislature and to perpetuate the happiness of our country. An equal solicitude for the public weal and a reciprocal regard for the ease and honor of your administration will, we trust, be manifest in all our proceedings. And while we take this opportunity of promising an early attention to the various objects which you have submitted to our consideration we confess, that ample encouragement is derived from their importance and utility to animate us to prosecute with zeal the task which the confidence of our fellow citizens has assigned to us.

Signed by order of the Senate.

SAMUEL POWELL,
Speaker of the Senate.

GEN. DANIEL MORGAN TO JUDGE ADDISON.

HEAD QUARTERS, December 15, 1794.

SIR:—I am at loss to know how to act with respect to the people charged with treasonable practices against the United States, who have come under my notice.

Since Judge Peters left this country he wrote to me that they were to come under my notice. I will thank you to inform me in what way I am to act. The inclosed petition from Shields and Lapsley, with some depositions I think comes more under your notice than mine. A number of characters mentioned in

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

419

Governor Lee's proclamation have delivered themselves to me, who I have paroled at my own risk upon their giving me their words to come in whenever called on. If Shields and Lapsley had given themselves up to me, I should have used the same lenity with them, as I believe the people of this country wish to come to order and my intention is to encourage it as much as it lies in my power. Your immediate answer will particularly oblige,

Sir, your obedient servant,

DANIEL MORGAN.

To Judge ADDISON, Washington.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. HARMAR.

PHILADELPHIA, *December 16th, 1794.*

SIR:—The Senate of the General Assembly entertaining a high sense of the patriotic ardor, which combined with an exemplary moderation, has been displayed by the Army employed during the late expedition in vindicating the laws of our Country, have requested me to communicate their thanks to the Officers and Privates of the Militia forming the quota of this Commonwealth upon that important occasion.

You will be pleased, therefore, to transmit copies of the Resolution, of the Senate to the Major General and Brigadier Generals of the Division of the Pennsylvania Militia employed on the expedition; and you will instruct the Brigade Inspectors to pursue the most public, expeditious and effectual measures for making the same known to all the Officers and Privates of the quota taken from their respective Brigades.

I am, Sir,

Your Most Obed. Servant,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To JOSIAH HARMAR, Esq., Adjutant General of the Militia of Pennsylvania.

GOVERNOR LEE, OF VIRGINIA, TO GOVERNOR
MIFFLIN.

HEAD QUARTERS,
WINCHESTER, *December 17th, 1794.*

SIR:—I have the pleasure to transmit to you a copy of the resolution of the house of Representatives, expressive of their

sense of the merit of the officers and soldiers composing the army lately under my command, together with an extract of the letter from the Secretary of War enclosing the same.

Feeling, as I always shall do, the most lively interest in every occurrence which concerns my late faithful companions in arms, I enjoy vast satisfaction in presenting these honorable recognitions of their worth and patriotism.

To you, Sir, I beg leave to assign the very agreeable task of promulgating them to the troops, which, under your Excellency's orders, formed a part of the late army, and request you will be so good at the same time, to present my congratulations with my best wishes for their health, honor and prosperity.

I have the honor to be,

Your ob't humble serv't,

HENRY LEE.

Governor MIFFLIN.

[For Letters see pages 408, 409.]

DISTRICT ATTORNEY RAWLE TO JUDGE ADDISON.

PHILADELPHIA, December 24, 1794.

DEAR SIR:—I have just now the pleasure of receiving yours of the 5th inst. Agreeably to your request, I proceed to make as full a statement of the reasons for excepting the persons specified in the proclamation as the present opportunity will admit.

The offenses of B. Parkinson,* John Holcroft,* Daniel Hamilton* and David Bradford, are too generally known to require a particular enumeration. Arthur Gardner,* one of those who, on the 4th of July, at the meeting of Colonel Hamilton's battalion, agreed to oppose excise law by arms, etc.; met at Couch's; united in the attack on Gen. Neville's; issued orders for the meeting at Braddock's Field; of assisting at Catfish, the 14th of August, in raising liberty pole. Thomas Lapsley, active at Neville's. William Miller, active at Neville's and opposed to signing the paper; very contemptuous of the laws and processes of the United States.

Edward Wright, at Neville's; at Braddock's Field; opposed to signing submission.

Richard Holcroft set Neville's house on fire; active and acrimonious at Braddock's Field.

John Mitchell,* at Neville's, and robbed the mails.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

421

Alexander Fulton, at Neville's; privy to robbing the mail; signed circular letter to convene the meeting at Braddock's Field.

Thomas Spiers, same as Fulton, except being at Neville's.
William Bradford, robbing the mail.

George Parker,* at Couch's fort, Neville's, Braddock's, and Militia meeting, July 4, at Col. John Hamilton's.

William Hanna, atrocious conduct at Neville's house; shot at General Neville.

Edward Wagner, at Neville's, and menaces against those who signed the paper.

Thomas Hughes, one of the men with blackened faces who attacked Faulkner, etc.

John Shields, a principal in the affair at Neville's.

William Hay, went to Couch's and thence to Neville's and menaced one man if he would not go; also at Braddock's.

William M'Ilhenny, at Neville's.

Thomas Patton* is, I fear, a mistake either of the clerk or the press, at least I do not at present recollect nor can I lay my hands on the papers relative to such a person.

Patrick Jack,* S. Jack and A. Highlands concerned in the outrage on Regan and the destruction of Wells.

(Those marked with a * delivered themselves to General Morgan under the direction of Judge Peters.)

The others are the three fugitives already examined by Judge Peters and ordered for trial, and the Virginians who will probably be apprehended in the State where they reside.

The youth of George Parker was not known when his name was inserted. In respect to these submissions it is understood not to avail those who fly from home. It cannot be a bona fide submission in such cases. This also applies to Shields and Lapsley, yet it is open to them all to explain the reasons of their absence; if proved to be of a justifiable nature, their right to present immunity will be restored.

I am with sincere respect, yours, etc.,

W. RAWLE.

To the Hon. A. ADDISON.

COL. ALEXANDER RUSSELL TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

YORK, December 29th, 1794.

RESPECTED SIR:—I take the liberty of troubling your Excellency once more on the subject of Militia Law; & 1st by way of information,—Immediately after the Troops Marched on the

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

Western Expedition I held the Appendix & according to my construction of the Law, levied a whole fine \$10 or no fine, without respect to Circumstances admitting no excuse but inability of body or absence from the Brigade. I have as yet Deferred the Collection for the following reasons viz: I have been informed that in some of the Neighbouring Counties a different construction of the law has obtained, and the fines have been varied, more or less according to the circumstances of the Delinquent; now I think uniformity ought to pervade the several Counties, & would wish to know whether my Construction has been right or wrong. Also I have fixed Minors amongst which are apprentices exempted from Militia duty except in cases of Rebellion, &c. I would wish to know how these are to be collected and whether the Parents & Guardians or Masters can be compelled to pay? Another reason I would here leave to mention is, that many are fined who are not worth so much in the world, & to take what little they have would occasion great distress &c.

On these points I request your direction as soon as possible, & what conduct has taken place in the Lower Counties: an immediate collection in this County being necessary to quiet the minds of those who bravely obeyed their Call & Indeed it will be in vain ever to make another legal call of Militia in this County unless the fines are collected from Delinquents. I must further request your direction respecting the Master day. In this County the Militia very generally Mastered notwithstanding every man is finable for want of Arms & Equipments.

Shall I collect from the whole or only from the Absentees?

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's Most Obedient &
very Humble Servt.

A. RUSSELL

*Brigade Inspector of the Militia of First County.
His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Governor, &c.*

SECRETARY DALLAS TO EDMUND RANDOLPH, SECRETARY OF STATE.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
PHILADELPHIA, 8th January, 1783.

SIR:—The House of Representatives has called for all communications from the General Government relative to the rise and progress of the late Insurrection. You will remember your promise to send me copies of those Letters from the commissioners of the United States, which, for the sake of an expedi-

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

428

tious communication, you only read to the Governor, &c. The circumstances of the times having, probably, prevented an attention to the subject, permit me to remind you of it, and to request that you will be so good as to forward them with all convenient dispatch.

With sincere respect and esteem,

I am, Sir,

Your Most Obed. Hble. Serv.,

A. J. DALLAS,

Secretary.

To EDMUND RANDOLPH, Esq., Secretary of State of the United States.

OPINION OF ATTORNEY GENERAL INGERSOLL* ON
THE MILITIA LAW.

SATURDAY, *January 10th, 1795.*

DEAR SIR:—In answer to the questions proposed by Major Ker, I beg leave to make the following observations:

1st. I do not consider the word Citizen, in the first section of the Militia law, as used by the Legislature in its legal and constitutional sense, but every person who has a permanent residence here (Ambassadors, Members and Officers of Congress and those expressly exempted by law only are excepted) are liable to be called upon to do Militia duty.

2nd. Inspectors of the Customs are undoubtedly comprehended in the second section of the act of Congress of the eighth of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, which exempts Custom House Officers from Militia duty.

* JARED INGERSOLL was a native of Connecticut, born in 1749. He graduated at Yale College, 1766. His father having been appointed stamp-master general for New England, in 1765, was compelled to resign, and in 1770 was appointed admiralty judge for Pennsylvania. The son went to London, entered the Middle Temple and studied law five years. Though residing in London, he espoused the cause of the colonies in the Revolution, and returned to Philadelphia. He was a member of the old Congress of 1780-1; a representative in the U. S. constitutional convention in 1787; attorney general of Pennsylvania during Governor Mifflin's administration, and U. S. district attorney for Pennsylvania. He received and declined the appointment of chief justice of the U. S. In 1812 he was the Federal candidate for vice-president. He was president judge of the district court of Philadelphia at the time of his death, which occurred in that city, October 81, 1822. He was the author of a pamphlet on the "Stamp act," 1766.

3rd. The last call does embrace minors and servants purchased bona-fide.

4th. As the last call was for a tour of duty but not time specified, the law ascertains it to have been for two months.

5th. The Courts of appeal are to hear and redress any grievances without being restricted to the instances of inability of body and unavoidable absence, otherwise, one part of the twenty-second section would be inconsistent with the other.

The proceedings must be the same against Minors and Servants who are fined as against others.

When the Militia are called to perform a tour of duty and notified by the inspector in the usual way, the fine for not performing a tour of duty is at the rate of twelve dollars per month, but if the Governor in case of Rebellion or Invasion call the Militia into immediate and actual service, the fine is sixteen dollars per month for such offence; how the fact was in this particular at the last call, the Secretary of the Commonwealth can best inform.

I do not recollect that I have given any opinion what fine is to be imposed where the duty called for is but for one day.

It is not the time the Militia served, but the time for which they are called out that regulates the fine.

I know nothing of the law of the United States which is said to specify that when the Militia are called on service by the United States, they are four months, but in the present instance I am clearly of opinion they can be fined for a neglect of performing a tour of duty of two months only.

By permanent residence, in my answer to the first question, I mean the residence of persons who are settled here, in exclusion of those who merely sojourn with an intention to depart.

I am, D'r Sir, yours,

JARED INGERSOLL.

ALEXANDER J. DALLAS, Esqr., Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

CIRCULAR LETTER OF SECRETARY DALLAS.

January 10th, 1795.

The call for suppressing the late insurrection was made under the seventeenth section of the Militia Act, and, therefore, in conformity to the Attorney General's opinion the fine on delinquents is Sixteen Dollars.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

425

The insurrection act does not alter the General Militia Law, relative to the period for which the *drafted* Militia should serve, and, of course, it is only for two months.

A. J. DALLAS,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

REPORT OF SECRETARY DALLAS RELATIVE TO WANT OF PROMPTNESS OF THE MILITIA.

FRIDAY, January 16th, 1795.

The Secretary of the Commonwealth, in compliance with the request of the Committee of the General Assembly, appointed to enquire into the causes of the Militia not turning out promptly on the late requisition of the President of the United States, to suppress an Insurrection in the Western Counties of Pennsylvania, and by direction of the Governor, this day made the following Report, viz:

In the compliance with the request of the Committee, "appointed to enquire into the causes of the Militia not turning out promptly on the late requisition of the President of the United States, to suppress an Insurrection in the Western Counties of this State," the Secretary of the Commonwealth has the honor to furnish copies of all official papers and documents, relative to the expedition, and in explanation thereof, he respectfully reports:

That from time to time as the intelligence of the rise and progress of the riots in the County of Allegheny was received, the subject was contemplated by the Governor, in all the aspects which its nature and importance could present:

1st. He viewed it as immediately requiring the animadversion of the Judicial power.

2nd. As affecting the rights and jurisdiction of the Federal Government.

3rd. As claiming a prudent interposition of the Executive Authority for averting the evils of a civil war.

4th. As involving the interesting questions, whether our existing Militia System was competent to enforce obedience to the laws.

And 5th. As eventually creating a necessity for the personal exertions of the Executive Magistrate lest the Commonwealth should suffer an irreparable injury.

I. That, accordingly, to stimulate the public officers to an exemplary discharge of their duty, the Governor directed a cir-

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

cular letter dated the twenty-fifth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, (the day succeeding the receipt of the intelligence of the Riots,) to be addressed to the President and Judges of the Courts of Common Pleas, to every Justice of the Peace, to all the Sheriffs and to each Brigade Inspector of the four Western Counties. This letter (A, 1) having stated the daring and cruel outrage that had been committed in the County of Allegheny by a lawless body of armed men, "requests in the most earnest manner, that those to whom it was addressed, would exert all their influence and authority to suppress within their jurisdiction so pernicious and unwarrantable a spirit; that they would ascertain, with all possible dispatch, the circumstances of the offence, and that they would pursue with the utmost vigilance, the lawful steps for bringing the offenders to Justice." It declared that "every honest Citizen must feel himself personally mortified at the conduct of the Rioters, which, particularly, if it passed with impunity, was calculated to fix an indelible stigma on the honor and reputation of the State," and it assured all the public officers of the Governor's warmest support and approbation, in the prosecution of every lawful measure, which their better knowledge of the facts and other local circumstances might suggest on the occasion.

Presuming, from the state of intelligence at that time, that a draft from the Militia might readily be made, and would be sufficient to overawe the riotous disposition of the Malcontents in pursuance of the Governor's instructions, a letter of the same date was also written to Major General Gibson (A, 2) declaring a disposition "to employ all the energy of the Government, to bring the offenders to an early exemplary justice," and intimating that "if the civil authority can be supported by the assistance of the Militia, the exercise of General Gibson's discretion for that purpose, upon the request of the Magistrates, must be highly agreeable to the Governor." The Attorney General was likewise desired "to ascertain with legal formality, the circumstances of the offence and the names of the offenders, as the Governor would be anxious to enforce every instrument that could be employed effectually, to subdue the lawless spirit of the rioters, and to bring them to punishment," (A, 3.)

II. That the riots committed in the course of a lawless opposition to execution of certain acts of Congress, were not only deemed offences against the State, but also against the Union. Hence, a conference between the President and the Governor was thought advisable, in order to avoid a collision of jurisdiction, and to settle the general principles and form of proceeding, as far as the State was concerned.

That conference gave rise to the correspondence, which was laid before the Legislature at the opening of the last session, (B, 1, 2, 3, 4,) and from which it appears, that the Governor's conduct was influenced by the following considerations:

1st. In regard to his character as an Executive Magistrate, no positive law existed under the authority of the State defining the exigency, that would justify an appeal from the judicial to the military power, or regulating and prescribing the evidence that should prove the occurrence of that exigency. Whatever, therefore, might eventually be the obligation resulting from the Constitutional injunction, to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed," it was thought that not only the non-execution of the laws and the incompetency of the courts of justice to punish offenders, should first be authoritatively declared by the judicial magistrates, but that the act of interposing the aid of military power, should likewise be founded upon their requisition. At the time of the conference alluded to the judicial magistrates of Pennsylvania, had not made any such authoritative declaration and requisition. The Governor, therefore, did not then think it justifiable, upon principle, to sanction the interposition of the Militia in any other manner than that suggested in the above mentioned letter to General Gibson; and a variety of arguments in point of policy and convenience occurred to fortify his opinion.

But the determination of the General Government to pursue the most vigorous measures for suppressing the insurrection and punishing the insurgents, seemed to preclude the State Government from any choice upon the subject. The Constitution of the United States imposes upon the President (as the Constitution of the State imposes on the Governor) the same general trust, to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and an act of Congress had defined the exigency, that would justify an appeal from the judicial to the Military power of the Union, as well as the evidence to prove the occurrence of that exigency. When, therefore, a judicial magistrate of the General Government had declared the incompetency of the officers of Justice, to execute the laws, and the President had declared his determination to enforce obedience by the aid of the Military power, it was thought that the Governor, paying a reasonable attention to a systematic and an efficient course of proceeding, ought to forbear issuing any order for an immediate, a separate, and an unconnected call of the Militia. But, 2nd. In regard to his character as an officer, responsible in certain cases to the Federal Government, it was observed, that all the purposes of dispatch and energy would as readily be attained by obeying the call of the President, as by acting upon the

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

Governor's original authority. Hence, a full and unequivocal assurance was given, that whatever requisition the President might make, whatever duty he might impose, in pursuance of his constitutional and legal powers, would, on the part of the Governor, be promptly undertaken and faithfully discharged.

III. That, with view to the reputation and stability of the Republican System, as well as from the actual state of our foreign and domestic affairs, it was thought expedient, not only to try the full effect of Judicial animadversion, but, likewise, to make a solemn and liberal appeal to the good sense and virtue of the people before the hazard of a civil war should be encountered on the part of the State, therefore, (And a similar measure was adopted on the part of the General Government) Commissioners were appointed for the purpose of addressing the inhabitants in General of the Western Counties, and especially those who had been engaged in the Riots, upon the lawless nature and dangerous tendency of such proceedings. (C, 1) The Commissioners were instructed particularly, "to exert themselves in developing the folly of a riotous opposition to those Governments and laws, which were made by the spontaneous authority of the people and which by the same legitimate authority may, in a peaceable and orderly course be amended or repealed; in explaining how incompatible it is with the principles of a Republican Government, how dangerous it is of point of precedent that a minority should attempt to control the majority, or a part undertake to prescribe to the whole in demonstrating the painful but indispensable obligation imposed upon the officers of Government, to employ the public force for the purpose of subduing and punishing the offenders; and in exhorting the deluded rioters to return to that duty, a longer deviation from which must be destructive of their happiness as well as injurious to the reputation and prosperity of their Country." The Commissioners were earnestly requested to promote the views of the general government on the same occasion; and, should their exertions produce a satisfactory assurance of future submission to the laws, they were authorized, as far as the State of Pennsylvania was concerned, to promise An Act of Pardon and oblivion for the past. To obtain, likewise the aid of Legislative wisdom and authority on this emergency, as well for devising the means of conciliation as for strengthening the last resort, the instruments of coercion, the Governor summoned an extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly.

IV. That as the accounts from the scene of Insurrection soon evinced the incompetency of the judicial power to execute its functions, and it was necessary to prepare, at all events, to maintain the authority of Government, the President, while the

Commissioners were employed in their pacific mission, issued his requisition, dated the seventh, but received on the eighth of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four (D, 1) "for organizing and holding in readiness to march at a moment's warning, a corps of the Militia of Pennsylvania, amounting to Five thousand two hundred commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers and privates. Accordingly, on the eighth of August, as soon as the plan for organizing the corps could be formed the Governor in conformity to the mode prescribed by law, transmitted his general order to the Adjutant General (D, 2) for calling into actual service, and holding in readiness to march at a moment's warning, the part of the Militia specified in the Roll which designated the quota of the several counties, by the classes most convenient to the Citizens and best adapted to a prompt compliance with the President's requisition; the part so called "not exceeding four classes of the respective Brigades," agreeably to the restrictions contained in the seventeenth section of the Militia act. These General Orders were immediately transmitted by express to the respective Brigade Inspectors, (D, 3.) The period limited by the President's proclamation for the dispersion of the Insurgents, expired on the first of September. The Governor repeatedly expressed the greatest solicitude, that the corps thus directed and organized, should be in readiness to march on that day; and in pursuance of his instructions, the Adjutant General addressed another circular letter to the Brigade Inspectors, dated the twenty-seventh day of August (D, 4), in which they were intreated to make an immediate report of the progress that had been in executing the preceding General Orders. This opportunity was likewise taken to convey the Governor's Ideas of the importance of the service to the Brigade Inspectors and the Militia in General; for it was represented to them that the eyes of their fellow Citizens throughout the Union as well as in Pennsylvania were fixed upon their conduct, that they must be sensible therefore, that the slightest appearance of a want of zeal or energy to embark in the support of the violated authority of the laws, would produce that reproach and disgrace, which it was the duty of the public officers if possible to prevent, and which it would be their misfortune more than any other part of the Community to encounter; and that the occasion was interesting to every man, who felt his obligations to society and was desirous to preserve from the fury of anarchy as well as from the encroachments of despotism the independence of a Freeman.

The first of September having arrived, the recent intelligence from the Commissioners placed the success of conciliatory measures in a very doubtful point of view. The want of information respecting the progress which had been made in pre-

paring the Militia to march, became, therefore, more and more painful; and the receipts of the following returns seemed to extinguish every hope of seasonably complying with the President's Requisition by means of the ordinary process of law. (D, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.)

1st. The Inspector of the City of Philadelphia Brigade, almost daily called at the Secretary's Office with representations of the embarrassment which he experienced in complying with the Requisition; and repeatedly expressed his doubt of success, in consequence of the defects in the existing Militia law.

2nd. A return was received from the County of Philadelphia, dated the twenty-ninth day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, stating inconveniences in complying with the Requisition on account of the effects of the exoneration laws formerly past, and a general disapprobation of the Militia law, and concluding with a declaration that there is "very little prospect of commanding the quota of the County."

3rd. A return was received from the County of Bucks, dated the fifth of September, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, Stating that the pay of the Militia is so universally objected to, that there is no hope of completing the quota of the County upon the present terms of service. This County did not send its quota into the field.

4th. A return was received from the County of Montgomery, dated the Third of September, one thousand seven hundred and of ninety-four, stating that agreeably to the orders of the eighth August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, for drafting three hundred and thirty-two Militia, Officers included, the said corps is held in readiness to march at a moment's warning. The first part of this return, however, states such difficulties as greatly diminish the probability of success of obtaining an actual organization of the Corps, nor did this county send its quota into the field.

5th. A return was received from the County of Chester, dated the twenty-eighth of August, 1794, stating that some officers had actually resigned and others wish to resign, and concluding with this remark. "The west and north-west parts of this County seem to dislike the service they are now ordered upon; and a great number in the other quarters are people who, as they say, are principled against taking up arms on any occasion, so that I believe unless the laws are rigorously executed it will be with great difficulty I shall make up our quota; but be assured no exertions shall be wanting, &c.

6th. A return was received from the County of Delaware, dated the sixth day of September, one thousand seven hundred

and ninety-four, stating a variety of difficulties that left little hope of procuring by regular drafts, the quota of this County.

7th. A return was received from the County of Dauphin, dated the twenty-ninth of August, 1794, stating that drafts had been made and orders given to hold the quota of this County in readiness to march; but concluding with this remark, "according to the information I have received from the several parts of the County, it appears that the Militia are not willing to march to quell the insurrection in the Western parts of Pennsylvania. They say that they are ready to march according to the former orders against a foreign enemy, but not against the Citizens of their own State; so that from circumstances, I have great reason to believe they will not turn out on the last call."

8th. A return was received from York County, dated the sixth of September, 1794, stating that "too great a delay has taken place in drafting the quota of Militia required by the orders of the eighth of August last, not so much from backwardness in the Militia of this County to step forward on the present important occasion, as from the unprepared state of the Brigade Inspector to make a draft, through the former negligence, or non-compliance of some Regiments with the Militia Law, particularly with respect to classing the men." The Brigade Inspector adds, that he expects the required quota to be in readiness in the course of the ensuing week; but concludes his report with a declaration, that the law as it stands, he is sorry to say holds forth no encouragement, but rather appears calculated to have a contrary tendency.

9th. A return received from Franklin county, dated the fourth of September, 1794, stating that notwithstanding the urgent measures taken to draft and organize the quota of this County, "Seven Captains have made no returns and the number returned who are willing to hold themselves in readiness to march, does not amount to more than twenty-nine Privates, and they without arms and equipments, &c." The Brigade Inspector concludes his report with a declaration, that he has reason to believe that few of those who are returned as holding themselves in readiness to march, will march when the orders are given.

10th. A return was received from Northampton County, dated the fourteenth of September, 1794, stating that all the attempts to have the quota of this County completed, had proved unsuccessful. The Brigade Inspector observes "that until now he has not been able to procure particular returns, of which the enclosed general return, though a incomplete one is composed, and he is apprehensive, that even those men in the same, except the volunteers (of which denomination the men in the fifth Regiment chiefly consist) will not march, with a view to shew the dispo-

sition of the people of Northampton County generally. The Brigade Inspector annexed to his report the copy of a letter from the Lieutenant Colonel of the first Regiment, and asserts "that the same spirit prevails in almost every Regiment," consequently under the present Militia system, he fears, the quota of his Brigade will not be compleated.

The letter referred to contains the following language, "I have received in writing of some of the Captains and others by word, on the fifth of September, 1794, who inform me that the first class of all and every company were met on purpose to turn out and to do militia duty, but as the matter is they are called to fight against their own fellow subjects and brethren at Fort Pitt, on account of the excise law, which people in that part are very much against, and will not submit to be under the same, which makes much disturbance and disunion in our United States, they are not willing to turn out, But whenever called upon to fight against the enemy or others, whatever, they are willing to do duty as then the matter may require." This County did not send its quota into the field.

V. That the intelligence which was received from the Commissioners, continuing to render the success of Government without the use of coercive measures more and more doubtful, the season for military operations passing rapidly away, and an ultimate requisition for the march of the militia being hourly expected, the Governor did not hesitate to conclude, from the documents above stated, as well as from other general sources of information, that a strict adherence to the forms of the existing militia system, would not enable him to furnish that prompt and efficient aid to enforce obedience to the laws which he conceived all the principles of duty, policy, and honor claimed from the Government of Pennsylvania. It would not, indeed, have been consistent with his ideas of his Executive authority, with his official character or perhaps with his personal security, to deviate from those forms, until their inefficacy was fairly ascertained; but after the experiment was made he thought himself justifiable in resorting to any means within the spirit of the law least the Commonwealth should suffer an irreparable injury. Considering, therefore, that the nineteenth section of the militia act declares that "it shall be lawful for any person called to do a tour to find a sufficient substitute," the Governor determined on the spirit of that provision, to invite the Citizens to supply that deficiency in the regular drafts, by a voluntary enrollment as substitutes. Accordingly he successively convened the officers of the militia of the City of Philadelphia and the several counties, and publicly addressed them on the state of the insurrection and the necessity of an immediate patriotic exertion.

(E, 1.) The determination to pursue this measure was communicated to the General Assembly, in the Governor's message of the second of September. (F, 1.) And it received a legislative sanction by the act that was passed on the nineteenth of the same month. (G, 1.) The necessity of undertaking it, appeared, not only from the general state of the militia under the Requisition to prepare for marching, but from the urgent terms of the call for the immediate march of the Troops. On the ninth of September, that call was communicated to the Governor.

(H, 1.) It stated "that the last intelligence from the Western Counties leaves the issue of measures for an amicable accommodation so very doubtful, and the season for military operation is wearing away so fast, that the President with great reluctance finds himself under the necessity of putting in motion without further delay all the Militia which had been called for. It requested that the Governor would immediatly cause the quota of this State to assemble, and it concluded with declaring that the President in making this final call entertains a full confidence that Pennsylvania will, upon an occasion which so immediately affects herself as well as the general interests, display such zeal and energy, that shall maintain unsullied her character for discernment, love of order, and true patriotism; and that the part she shall act is of peculiar consequence to the welfare and reputation of the whole Union." On the sixteenth day of September another letter was transmitted from the War department, representing that "every moment brings fresh proofs of a spirit extensively disseminated fatal to the principles of good order; that disagreeable symptoms had appeared in the two most Western Counties of Maryland, &c., that every thing was done to push forward the Jersey Militia, &c. That it is of the highest moment that the spreadings of so mischievous a spirit should be checked by every practicable effort; and that the President is convinced, that the Governor will omit nothing that can contribute to this desirable end." The next day brought a repetition of the solicitude of the General Government for the march of the Troops. The letter states that it becomes every moment more and more urgent, that the junction between the Pennsylvania and Maryland Militia at Carlisle, should be accelerated, and to this end that the Corps should march successively as fast as they can be made ready; that Governor Howell, of New Jersey was in motion with the van of the militia of that State; that if the Cavalry and Infantry of Philadelphia could be hastened onward, it would be particularly desirable; and that the Artillery Corps should be taken under their care,—all the pieces of Artillery were ready.

On the twentieth of September, the result of the meetings of the People in the Western Counties, as far as the thirteenth, to give the stipulated test of their submission to the Government, was announced to the Governor in a letter from the War Department, according to which it was become the more indispensable and urgent, to press forward the forces destined against the Insurgents, with all possible activity and energy, for the advanced season left no time to spare; it was extremely important to afford speedy protection to the well disposed, and to prevent the preparation and accumulation of greater means of resistance, and the extension of combinations to aid the Insurrection.

It is proper here to recollect, that while these interesting and urgent communications were received from the General Government, the reports of the Brigade Inspectors (dated nearly at the same period) were calculated to excite the most painful apprehensions of disappointment and defeat, in every attempt to embody our quota of the Militia. Under such inauspicious circumstances, therefore, the Governor commenced his tour through the Counties, but the scene quickly changed. For according to the representation contained in the last address to the Legislature, as soon as the situation of our Country was truly described and understood, the daring and cruel career of the malcontents, the subversion of the judicial authority, the failure of every conciliatory effort, and the resulting necessity of an appeal to arms, produced, in perfect unison with the Governor's anticipations, one common sentiment of resentment, one common determination to defend the peace and order of society against the machinations of licentiousness and anarchy. Still, however, the critical season of the year with respect to commercial and agricultural pursuits, and the limited period for assembling the Troops, made it impracticable to complete the quota of the State, a circumstance which adds to the proofs that demonstrate the necessity of the Governor's personal exertions. The number of Pennsylvania Militia that served during the Campaign, will appear from the following table taken from the pay-rolls of their respective Corps; which however, can be only regarded as giving a general Idea of the subject and not a strictly accurate, either in respect of the number of officers and Privates.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

435

INFANTRY CORPS.		
Privates, . . .		285
Fife Majors, . . .		294
Drum Majors, . . .		157
Serg't Major, . . .		1
Q. M. Sergeant, . . .		159
Surgeon Mate, . . .		116
Surgeon, . . .		267
Qr. Masters, . . .		223
Pay Masters, . . .		252
Adjutants, . . .		281
Corporals, . . .		117
Sergeants, . . .		116
Cornets, . . .		116
Ensigns, . . .		116
Lieutenants, . . .		116
Captains, . . .		116
Majors, . . .		116
Colonels, . . .		116
I. Colonel Gurney's Regiment, Cowperthwait's Regiment, . . .	1	1
II. Do. Hanna's do., . . .	1	1
III. Do. Wentz's do., . . .	1	1
IV. Do. Foster's do., . . .	1	1
V. Do. Stephenson's do., . . .	1	1
VI. Do. Harris's do., . . .	1	1
VII. Do. Mosher's do., . . .	1	1
VIII. Do. May's do., . . .	1	1
IX. Do. McFarland's do., . . .	1	1
X. m.c. 1	1	1
XI. Major Fisher's Battalion, . . .	1	1
XII. Colonel Forrest's detachment, including Cary's & Ahi's Companies, 1st Lt. Col. com., . . .	1	1
XIII. Colonel McPherson's Reg't, including Taylor's and Graham's Co., . . .	1	1
XIV. Captain Cadwallader's Volunteers, . . .	1	1
XV. Northampton deranged officers . . .	1	1
ARTILLERY.		
I. Major Fisher's Artillery, . . .	1	1
II. Captain Clunn's Artillery, . . .	1	1
III. Captain Musgrove's Artillery, . . .	1	1
		98
		28
		31

Privates, . . .	20 35 25 25 24 34 8 16
Fife Major,
Drum Major,
Serg't Major,
Q. M. Sergeant, . . .	1
Surgeon Mate, . . .	1
Surgeon, . . .	1
Qr. Masters, . . .	1
Pay Masters,
Adjutants, . . .	1
Corporals, . . .	2 3 4 4 4 5 4 4
Sergeants, . . .	2 4 4 4 5 4 5 2
Cornets, . . .	1 1 1 1 1 2 1 1
Ensigns,
Lieutenants, . . .	2 2 2 1 2 1 2 3 2 2
Captains, . . .	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
Majors,
Colonels,
CAVALRY CORPS.	
1. Gibb's Bucks Troops.	.
2. Coleman's, Lancaster	.
3. Russel's, York	.
4. Moore's, Berks	.
5. Irvine's, Dauphin	.
6. McCroskey's, Cumberland	.
7. McClellan's, Chester	.
8. Henderson's, Mont'g'y,	.
9. Forrest's, Philad'a County,	.
10. Dunlap's, Philad'a City,	.
11. McConnell's, do.	.
12. Singer's, do.	.

GENERAL STAFF.

1. Major General Mifflin and Family.
2. Major General Irvine and family.
3. Brigadier General Proctor and family.
4. Brigadier General Chambers and family.
5. Brigadier General Murray and family.
6. Adjutant General and family.
7. Quarter Master General Biddle and Assistant Evans.
8. Brigade Majors.
9. Hospital Department.

The Secretary having thus elucidated the documents relating to the conduct of the Executive, in order to satisfy as far as that conduct is concerned, an enquiry into the causes of the Militia not turning out promptly on the requisition of the President of the United States, begs leave to subjoin a short digest of those causes, which according to the official reports and other sources of information, appear to have operated in producing delay and difficulty upon the late occasion.

1st. The nature of the service was at first represented by some of the Brigade Inspectors as a ground of objection, but this, if it ever existed in fact, was soon removed by the good sense and patriotism of the Citizens.

2nd. The nature of the General Orders for calling the Militia into actual service, and for holding them in readiness to march at a moment's warning, seems in some instances to have been misunderstood by the Brigade Inspectors, for it appears, by several of the returns, that the requisition was barely repeated, without taking any active measures to class the Corps and draft the respective quotas.

3rd. The disorganized state of the militia must have produced considerable embarrassment. The Militia Act has not been long in existence, and the system which it introduced was not only difficult to be executed on account of its novelty, but likewise on account of the indisposition to Militia duties which the old system had created and encouraged. Hence it appears that at the time of the requisition some corps had not elected their officers, others had not made the returns of their elections, and many had never been formed into classes.

4th. The imperfections of the Militia law appear to have been the principal causes of delay and difficulty in executing the President's requisition, and indeed, they had excited discontent and complaints almost as soon as the law passed. Of these imperfections, the following have been considered as particularly detrimental:

(a.) The want of an efficient rule for enrolling the Militia, for making the official returns of such enrollments, and for obtaining an accurate list of delinquents.

(b.) The want of an adequate fine to compel the militia to arm and equip themselves, and of some regulation to circumscribe the discretion of the officers in exonerating paupers from that duty.

(c.) The want of a sufficient number of training days; the present number being too few either to produce a habit of attending to Militia duties or a knowledge of field discipline.

(d.) The want of energy by fines or other adequate means to enforce the duties imposed on particular officers, to induce officers elected to serve, and to secure the collection of fines incurred by delinquents.

(e.) The want of an adequate compensation to the Brigade Inspectors and other officers actively employed in executing the Militia law, and the want of a proper distribution of duties among those officers so that they shall not be required (as in the case of a Brigade Inspector who is also Brigade Major,) to perform distinct service possibly at the same time and at distant places.

(f.) The want of productive fund, independent of the Militia fines, to pay the salaries and compensations of Militia officers and the contingent expenses, which are unavoidably incurred in executing the various provisions of the law.

(g.) The want of a public magazine of arms and Military stores, to supply on emergencies, the neglect or incapacity of individuals to arm and equip themselves.

(h.) The want of a Legislative provision to describe the emergency, and the evidence by which the emergency may be proved, that shall justify the executive in embodying the Militia for the support of the civil authority.

All of which the secretary respectfully submits.

A. J. DALLAS,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

JUDGE ADDISON TO MR. H. H. BRACKENRIDGE ON
THE SUBJECT OF ROBBING THE MAIL.

January 18, 1795.

SIR:—I have been pursuing the plan for robbing the mail, and can trace it no higher than Bradford. It was proposed by him to Marshall on their way to Mingo meeting-house. Baldwin and David Hamilton were in company, and it was put on them

to execute it. The object to be obtained, was to know the opinions of the people on the business carried on. The post to be robbed was the post from Washington to Pittsburgh, and it was only when Baldwin and Hamilton sent word that they could not perform their part, and when it was then too late to intercept the mail to Pittsburgh, that the plan was changed to what was really executed. Bradford sent his cousin William, and David Hamilton, I believe, sent John Mitchell, who executed the buiness. My information is from a good source, and may be depended on. The matter, I believe, was not talked of at the Mingo Creek meeting-house, nor did Edward Cook know anything of it.

ALEXANDER ADDISON.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. HARMAR.

PHILADELPHIA, 27th January, 1795.

SIR:—The Attorney General having given his opinion on several questions proposed to him, in relation to the Militia law, I have thought proper that it should be communicated to the several Brigade Inspectors, and I enclose a copy of it to you that you may take the necessary steps upon the subject.

You will be pleased, likewise, to instruct the Brigade Inspectors to pursue, with the utmost dispatch, every lawful measure for collecting the fines due from the delinquents, under the requisition for suppressing the late Insurrection; a measure that appears to be particularly enforced by the regard due to the patriotic citizens who marched on that important occasion.

I am, Sir,

Your Most Obed't H'ble Servant,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To JOSIAH HARMAR, Esq., Adjutant General of the Militia of Penns'a.

OPINION OF ATTORNEY GENERAL INGERSOLL ON
THE MILITIA.

N. B.—The opinion of the attorney General upon some doubtful points in the Militia Law, and the several letters connected with the subject, are as follow:

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

"Sir:—The enclosed queries &c. having appeared essential,
are respectfully submitted for your answer thereto.

I remain your very Hble Serv..

JOSEPH KER,

Brigade Inspector, Phila's County.

"ALEXANDER JAMES DALLAS, Esquire, Secretary of the Commonwealth.

November 17. 1794.

"Section 1: Requires that each and every free able-bodied white male citizen of this or any other of the United States, residing in this Commonwealth, who is or shall be of the age of eighteen years, and under the age of forty-five years, except as is herein-after excepted, shall be enrolled &c.

"Quere. What constitutes a citizen under the Militia Law? and whether all residents, who are not citizens, are exempt? Section 2 of Act of Congress of 4th May, 1792, exempts all Custom House officers with their Clerks.

"Quere. Are the characters of Inspectors of the Customs included in said exemption?

"Section 2 of State Law exempts all young men under the age of twenty-one years, and servants purchased bona fide and for a valuable consideration, except in cases of rebellion or actual or threatened invasion, &c.

"Quere. Does the last call embrace either of those terms?

"Section 10 says, that every person refusing or neglecting to perform his tour of duty, in person or by substitute, shall pay Twelve dollars for every such neglect or refusal: If the tour was to be for a term not exceeding one month, and in proportion if the tour was to be for any longer term.

"Quere. As the last call was for a tour of duty, but no time specified, but generally understood for three months, can the fine be now ascertained? and if so, what is the amount?

"Addition to Quere on Section 10.

"Section 20 lays a fine of twelve dollars for non-attendance.

"The Attorney General has given his opinion that tho' the duty is but for one day, the fine of Twelve dollars is incurred, the law is, and in proportion if the tour was to be for any longer term.

"Quere 1. If the tour be for some days in the second month is the fine to be a part of the Twelve dollars proportioned to the number of days.

"Quere 2. The law of the United States as I am informed, specifies, that Militia called on by the United States, are to serve three months. Are the citizens of this State to be fined for more than two months on the present occasion?

"Section 22 Seems to give a general power to courts of Appeal; and afterwards rather confines to two reasons only.

"*Quere.* Does this section give to Courts of Appeal power to afford relief to those who appeal on any other terms than Inability of body and unavoidable absence?

"*Quere.* If Minors and servants were liable to last call, and delinquency took place, from whom are the fines to be recovered?"

Endorsement by Mr. Dallas.

The Governor requests the Attorney General's assistance in answering the within queries.

A. J. D. Sec'y.

"DEAR SIR:—In answer to the questions proposed by Major Kerr, I beg leave to make the following observations:

"1. I do not consider the word "Citizen," in the first section of the Militia Law, as used by the Legislature in its legal and constitutional sense, but every person who has a *permanent residence here* (Ambassadors, Members and Officers of Congress and those expressly exempted by law, only excepted) are liable to be called upon to perform Militia duty.

"2. Inspectors of the Customs, are undoubtedly comprehended in the second section of the Act of Congress, 8th May, 1792, which exempts Custom House Officers from Militia duty.

"3. The last call does embrace Minors and servants purchased *bona fide*.

"4. As the last call was for a tour of duty, but no time specified the law ascertains it to have been for two months.

"5. The Courts of Appeal are to hear and redress any grievances, without being restricted to the instances of 'inability of body and unavoidable absence,' otherwise one part of the 22nd section would be inconsistent with the other.

"The proceedings must be the same against Minors and servants who are fined, as against others,

"When the Militia are called to perform a tour of duty, and notified by the inspector in the usual way, the fine for not performing a tour of duty is at the rate of Twelve dollars per month; but if the Governor, in case of rebellion or invasion, calls the Militia into immediate and actual service, the fine is sixteen dollars per month.

"How the fact was, in this particular, at the last call, the Secretary of the Commonwealth can best inform.

"I do not recollect that I have given any opinion, what fine is to be imposed, where the duty called for it is but for one day. It is not the time the Militia served, but the time for which they were called out, that regulates the fine."

"I know nothing of the law of the United States, which is said to specify, that when the militia are called on service by the United States, they are to serve four months; but, in the present instance, I am clearly of opinion, they can be fined for a neglect of performing a tour of duty of two months only.

"By permanent residence, in my answer to the first question. I mean the residence of persons who are settled here, in exclusion of those who merely sojourn with an intention to depart.

"I am, D'r Sir, Y'rs,
"JARED INGERSOLL.

"ALEXANDER J. DALLAS, Esq'r,

"Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania."

The call for suppressing the late Insurrection was made under the seventeenth section of the Militia Act; and, therefore, in conformity to the Attorney General's Opinion, the fine on Delinquents is sixteen dollars.

The Insurrection Act does not alter the General Militia Law relative to the period for which the *drafted* Militia should serve, and, of course, it is only for two months.

A . J. DALLAS.

January 10th, 1795.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO MAJOR RALSTON.

PHILADA., 7th April, 1795.

SIR:—Gen. Chambers has communicated to me your letter of the 10th of March. in answer to which I have made the following remarks:

1. It is not in my power to grant any relief in the case of Mr. Paul Morrow or Dr. Sam'l Kerr. The pay-rolls have been stated and settled; and those gentlemen are allowed the pay of their respective appointments, from the time of their actually entering upon duty as Regimental Quarter Master and Surgeon's mate.

2. The pay of the deranged officers of Franklin quota will be allowed; but Pay-Roll must be made out and regularly certified, according to the form established in other cases. The sooner this is done the more satisfactory it will be, as I am about to close my accounts with the United States.

3. It seems reasonable that the officers, who were employed in calling out the militia should be allowed a compensation for their services; and I am persuaded the Brigade Inspector would

be permitted to make it a charge in his accounts; The Governor, however, cannot issue an order upon this subject, as it depends entirely upon the department of accounts.

I am, with great regard, Sir,

Your most obed. Serv.,

A. J. DALLAS.

Major AND'W RALSTON, of Franklin county.

GENERAL WILKINS TO HENRY PURVIANCE.*

PITTSBURGH, 7th April, 1795.

SIR:—You desire me to detail the circumstances which led to the expulsion of the citizens of Pittsburgh by the committee of battalions on Braddock's Field. As far as it came within my knowledge, I shall do it with pleasure. David Bradford who seemed to have all the power and to exercise it in a very tyrannical manner, opened the business by relating the preceding conduct of the people, the robbing the mail and read and commented on the more obnoxious letters. He charged the writers with having misstated the facts and to have misrepresented his conduct, and the conduct of the people to government. He was warmly supported by many present, who were calling out for liberty, whilst they were violently disposed to exercise great tyranny against those who thought different from themselves.

The writers of the letters had, most of them, mentioned Mr. Bradford's name in an unfavorable manner which was the cause of his immediate resentment, and their banishment was the consequence. The popular fury was sure to be directed against any man who offended him during his reign. A motion was made to expel Colonel Neville and General Gibson, whose letters had been interrupted in the mail, against whom Bradford had previously declaimed with great vehemence. It was thought by many people present, friendly to those two gentlemen, that they might be saved by the question of their banishment being postponed until the meeting which was to be soon after at Parkinson's Ferry.

To accomplish this object, a motion was made to refer the case of General Gibson to that place. The motion was supported

*HENRY PURVIANCE was a native of Pennsylvania, born about 1769. He was a lawyer by profession and resided at Washington during the Insurrection. He was a Federalist and a friend of government, exerting himself on all occasions, says Brackenridge, to prevent thecontents of the people from breaking out into open violence; when it did, he was one of the most active in restoring order and submission. In Addison's reports, he is alluded to in several cases of prominence. He subsequently removed to Butler, where he died.

by you, but opposed and overruled by Bradford and others. David Bradford moved in addition to these two that Major Craig should be expelled, saying it was reported that he had offered his house for an office of inspection should another not be found. Bradford called on the Pittsburgh members to know if this was true. You answered it was not true; and stated some circumstances tending to show the falsehood of the report. But notwithstanding, Bradford and others pressed for his banishment which in order to obviate, you mentioned that it would be an injury to the expedition then carrying on against the Indians as he had charge of the stores for the use of the troops, and proposed that the committee should address the Secretary at War to remove him which I considered as management on your part to save Major Craig.

It was determined that the people should march to Pittsburgh. Every person belonging to the town was under great anxiety for their families and property. The town had every thing to fear from a violent mob of armed men led by a few inconsiderate fools. Previous to the rising of the committee, some of the most violent exclaimed that Major Kirkpatrick, and Mr. Brison, and Mr. Day, had not gone away; or if they had, it was only for a day or two, and that they would return. The Pittsburgh members alarmed lest the suspicions might induce the mob when they came to town to search for these gentlemen not knowing what the consequence of such a search might be, pledged themselves that they were gone and would not return. I never heard you express a wish for the banishment of any individual. I have often heard you say that the people had essentially served those that had been banished; that government would consider them as martyrs and reward them.

I remember it was arranged previous to the election of delegates for the meeting at Parkinson's Ferry to choose those that were most friendly to government. You mentioned to me that you meant to propose at the meeting, the sending commissioners to the Executive to consult means to compose the disturbances. You expressed a wish of being one of the commissioners yourself. You showed me an address you had drawn up, to be proposed to the meeting, to be sent to the President of the United States. You often declared to me that if the violence continued you were determined to leave the country and go to Philadelphia. I had daily opportunities of observing your conduct, and conversing with you, and never had a doubt, but that you were influenced by the purest motives and was anxious for the restoration of order and the laws.

I am, Sir, &c.,

JOHN WILKINS.

DISTRICT ATTORNEY RAWLE TO JUDGE ADDISON.

PHILAD'A, April 10, 1795.

SIR:—In respect to the recognizances, I apprehend that pursuant to the 33d section of the judiciary bill, the recognizances themselves, and not copies, should be produced, but although Judge Peters preferred the mode you state, during the Western expedition for several motives, and I believe has continued the practice, (whether he did so before, I cannot tell), yet as the signature of the party is not essential to the effect of the recognition and is not generally practiced by the State magistrates, I cannot suppose it would be deemed necessary in the courts of the United States. While the law stands as it is, my duty (whatever may be my opinion) is to conform to it, and that duty being to prosecute every legal step conducive to a proper termination of such prosecution is to be pursued by me.

Yours,
W. RAWLE.

To Judge ADDISON.

JUDGE ADDISON TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

WASHINGTON, 22d April, 1795.

DEAR SIR:—I was favoured with yours inclosing a copy of the paper which I wanted. I had no design to take any notice of it, but I could not understand the grounds of the suspicion and ill opinion of me, and conceived I should find the whole there. The words "constitutional resistance" in my letter to the Governor were certainly very ill chosen, and have been very ingeniously twisted. The fact is, that I meant that I had done what he recommended in the circular letter, inculcated obedience and remonstrance. If I had done any such thing as the statement exhibits, I surely should not have published it in a letter to the Governor. I shall keep the paper in strict confidence, but I entirely agree with you that any answer to it would be improper, and I shall be content if I can pass through life with nothing worse to be said of me than is said there.

You will much oblige me if you take some pains to procure my certificate for my Bank share and send it by Mr. Hoge. I do not think I shall be down in July, as last year there was no sort of business, and it looks foolish to go more than three hundred miles for nothing.

I had like to lose my wife lately of the child bed fever. She is however perfectly recovered, and joins with me in sincere good wishes to you, Mrs. Dallas, &c.

Truly yours,

ALEX. ADDISON.

P. S.—I find I have mislaid my notes on the trial of Bell for murder in Washington county. If you could send me a copy of my statement of the evidence and charge to the jury in that case, which I transmitted to the Governor, you will oblige me. I do not mean to include the opinion of the court on the motion in arrest of judgement. I have that. Don't forget this.

JUDGE TURNER * TO JUDGE ADDISON.

CINCINNATI, May 17, 1795.

SIR:—After an absence of fifty-three weeks on the Western circuit, I landed yesterday at this place, and found here your two letters of the 3d of Jan. and 22d of April. This must be my apology for not having answered the former at least before this time.

I have made some inquiries into the case of Cunningham, who is recognized, it seems, to appear before our general court, on the charge you last mentioned. The offence being committed against the United States alone, (of which the territory is no part but only a dependency,) our inferior court was wrong in binding Cunningham's appearance to the general court where the offence is not triable. It was imposing upon the accused a hardship not admissible in law, since his appearance could answer no other end than to extend his recognizance to the proper court within the United States, and to which the inferior court was competent in the first instance.

If, therefore, you will forward hither a certificate that Cunningham has entered into a fresh recognizance for that purpose, I shall take care to lay it before the general court whenever his

*GEORGE TURNER was born in England, about 1750, coming to America early in life. At the breaking out of the Revolution he entered the service as Captain in the southern department. He distinguished himself in several severe engagements especially in the affair of the "Slaughter Pens." He was the personal friend of President Washington, who appointed him judge of the North-Western Territory September 12, 1789. In 1833 he returned to Philadelphia, where he died, March 16, 1848.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

447

case shall come up officially before it, so that he may be discharged from his present recognizance.

I am with respect, yours,

Indorsed.

G. TURNER.

Took recognizance, June 19, 1795, and transmitted to Judge Turner.

ATTORNEY GENERAL INGERSOLL TO GOV. MIFFLIN.

PHILADELPHIA, May 26, 1795.

DEAR SIR:—Sept. 19, 1794, the Act passed for raising Volunteers.

Mr. Dallas not having then received a farthing of the public money, pledges his own personal credit to Mr. Downing or such advances as he should make to the troops; this is done the day but one after the Act passed, the intervening day being Sunday.

Mr. Downing writes on the 26 of Sept. that he could not advance any more money, but did not draw on Mr. Dallas, in consequence of which omission, it being the Mode in which Mr. Dallas had directed the business should be conducted, Mr. Mifflin, his Agent, he being then absent with the Governor, would not furnish money, but security being given; the next day, however, the 27 Sept., Mr. Brown, the Deputy of Mr. Dallas, replaces the money to wit:

2,484 D.

Mr. Dallas had no connection with Mr. Downing but to supply *Bounty* money.

I find that on or before the 27 Sept. Mr. Dallas had paid for the bounty of the Delaware and Chester county Militia, as follows:

By Mr. Downing	912 D
To Gen'l Hampton	2,484
	3,396

The amount of the bounty money exclusive of Capt. Graham's Company was but 3,048 D, remains in the hands of Gen'l Hampton, 248 D. which he paid for wagon hire, &c., not provided for by the Law of the State.

I cannot see any foundation of complaint in this business against Mr. Dallas.

I am, respectfully yours,

JARED INGERSOLL.

Gov. MIFFLIN.

WILLIAM RAWLE TO ALEXANDER ADDISON,

PHILADRLPHIA, July 17, 1795.

DEAR SIR :—In the expectation of seeing you at the court of errors and appeal this week, I postponed answering your letter longer than I should otherwise have done.

Gen. Morgan was not very correct in the names he furnished; only the three last in the list came within the request, viz: Ewing, Paton and M'Call.

Arthur Gardner, George Parker, John Holcroft, having proved their signatures to submission and accounted for their absence, are bound over as witnesses.

John Mitchell is under sentence; Patrick Jack appeared upon inquiry not a fit object of prosecution, and no bill has been sent against him. Ebenezer Gallagher and Daniel Hamilton are indicted.

Benjamin Parkinson surrendered himself; he continued however to avoid confinement, and the marshal has not yet been able to apprehend him—he is also indicted.

The marshal's officer who is the bearer of this, has instructions to apply to you and to the magistrates where recourse cannot be had to you for advice if necessary, in the execution of the duties he is going to perform.

Your active and able exertions in support of the laws (which have received so much public approbation,) give me reason to hope you will not think this trouble too much. The event of Cunningham's case is, I flatter myself, conformable to your wishes,

I am with great respect and esteem,

Your most obedient humble servant,

W. RAWLE.

[See letter of December 24, 1794, on the same subject.]

ATTORNEY GENERAL INGERSOLL TO SECRETARY
DALLAS.

PHILADRLPHIA, July 18, 1795.

DEAR SIR :—A Letter from the Comptroller General to the Governor, of the 16 of April, has been transmitted to me for my opinion.

The difficulties stated by the Comptroller General in carrying into effect the Act of 11 April, 1793, for regulating the Militia of this State, are very obvious.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

449

It does not appear to me, that the 29th Section appropriating the Fines as a Fund for the carrying the Law into effect, can authorise an allowance to the officers of Regiments & Companies for enrolling the Citizens.

Nor can I see that the same discretionary powers that were exercised by former Lieutenants of Counties, are invested in the Brigade Inspectors to determine the Quantum of Pay.

The Evil, I conceive, can be redressed only by the Legislature; these services ought to be compensated, but it requires a legislative provision.

I am, D'r S'r, Y'rs,
JARED INGERSOLL.

Mr. DALLAS.

JUDGE TURNER TO JUDGE ADDISON.

CINCINNATI, *July 24 1795.*

SIR:—I was honored a few days ago with your letter, inclosing proper certificate concerning Cunningham's recognizance, and shall in consequence take care by placing it on the files of the general court that no inconvenience shall arise to him in this quarter.

Either you have mistaken my meaning, or, what is more probable, I have not expressed myself clearly in my answer to your former communications. My letter-files are not this moment at hand. It was certainly not my intention to leave the matter open to the general court, because it was and yet is my decided opinion, that the offence is not properly triable here.

We have lately had some expressen from head-quarters. It appears that a treaty of some sort will at length be the result; but how long this will last may easily be conjectured. It assuredly cannot be founded upon any decisive battle; for notwithstanding accounts respecting the last action wore a very florid complexion, that doubtless was little if any more than a skirmish in which the enemy lost seven and twenty men.

I beg you to believe me to be,
With perfect and respectful esteem,
Your very, very obedient servant,
G. TURNER.

DISTRICT ATTORNEY RAWLE TO JUDGE ADDISON.

PHILADELPHIA, *August 15, 1795.*

DEAR SIR:—I must take the liberty of intruding once more upon a portion of your time on account of the trials yet to take

29—VOL. IV.

place, of persons charged with treasonable practices from your part of the State.

At the last sitting of the circuit court, it was discovered that a great unwillingness to say too much against their fellow citizens, a reluctance in the jury to convict the smaller engine on the testimony of their ringleaders, and a natural repugnance to capital convictions, occasioned some unexpected acquittals; and in some instances, bills were returned ignoramus, equally contrary to what appeared a grounded expectation. Something particularly on the latter score must, I think, be attributed to the difficult distinction necessary to be made between the different jurisdictions. There now remain to be tried upon bills found, Edward Wright, James Stuart and Daniel Bolton, whose presence is not doubtful; and bills are found against David Bradford, Daniel Hamilton, William Miller, Benjamin Parkinson, Ebenezer Gallagher, William Hanna, Richard Holcroft, David Lock, Alexander Fulton, Peter Lisle, Thomas Spiers and Samuel Hanna, some of whom may perhaps surrender themselves.

After the pains already taken to discover and produce testimony establishing the offence charged, I do not know that it would be reasonable to expect greater success from further inquiry.

But if, in the course of your judicial proceedings, any matters relative to and explanatory of the conduct of the persons before mentioned should occur, you will oblige me much by forwarding such information thereon as may appear to you likely to be useful. A circumstance not very pleasing occurred during the trial of Robert Porter. James Parker, when before you at Washington, stating in his affidavit the persons who had been at the destruction of Gen. Neville's house, included the name of Robert Porter, yet on the trial he denied that he saw him elsewhere than at Couch's, before, and at Col. D. Phillip's after the attack. It appeared improper to avoid taking notice of this variance, as in one or the other case he must be foresworn. I was under the necessity of having him bound over to be prosecuted for perjury, to wit: on the false oath taken before you, and this, I fear, will render your attendance at Yorktown necessary, unless you can point out any means to do the business otherwise; I earnestly wish to terminate the whole of this business before next October, that the inhabitants of so remote a place may not again suffer the inconvenience of attending the federal court.

I am, with great respect and esteem,
Your obedient humble servant,
W. RAWLE.

To Hon. ALEXANDER ADDISON.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN'S PROCLAMATION OF PARDON.

WEDNESDAY, August 26th, 1795.

The President of the United States having by his Proclamation, dated the day of August, instant, thought proper to extend the Pardon of the Government of the United States to all persons who have been guilty of the Treasons or Misprisons of Treason in his said Proclamation Mentioned, or who have been otherwise concerned in the late Insurrection within the four Western Counties of this State, who have not since been indicted or convicted thereof: The Governor this day, took the same into consideration, and being desirous of his part to pursue a like policy, as well on account of its humanity as for the sake of preserving uniformity in the proceedings of the General and State Governments in relation to the same important object, accordingly issued his Proclamation in the words following, to wit:

Pennsylvania, ss:

In the Name and by the authority of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, By THOMAS MIFFLIN, Governor of the said Commonwealth.

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, At the commencement of the late insurrection in the Western part of this State, constituting the fourth survey thereof, I deemed it expedient to attempt a vindication of the violated authority of the laws and a restoration of peace, harmony and order by the influence of reason and lenity upon the minds of the deluded and refractory Insurgents:

And whereas, The better to promote so desirable an object, I appointed, authorized and employed the Honorable Thomas McKean, Chief Justice of this Commonwealth, and Major General William Irvine, (with full confidence in their wisdom, prudence and patriotism,) as Commissioners, to confer with the said insurgents, and on behalf of the Government of Pennsylvania, to promise to them and every of them, an act of Pardon and oblivion for all past transgressions upon receiving a satisfactory assurance of a future submission to the laws:

And Whereas, The said Commissioners in pursuance of the trust thus reposed in them, did by an Instrument under their hands bearing date the twenty-fourth day of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, promise upon certain terms and conditions of submission to the law of this State and of the United States, to be made in the manner and within the time in the said Instrument specified, that if

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

the people of the said Western Counties should keep Peace and be of good behaviour until the first day of June, now last past, an act of free and General Pardon and oblivion of all treasons, insurrections, arson, riots, and other offences inferior to riots, committed, perpetrated, counselled or suffered by any person or persons complying with the terms and conditions aforesaid, within the Counties by the said Commissioners specified, since the fourteenth day of July, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, should be granted, so far as the said offences concerned the State of Pennsylvania or the Government thereof:

And whereas, It appears by a Proclamation heretofore issued by the President of the United States, that he has thought proper to extend the pardon of the Government of the United States to all Persons who have been guilty of the Treason in his said Proclamation specified, or who have been otherwise concerned in the said insurrection within the said Survey, but who have not since been indicted or convicted thereof. And I am desirous, on my part, to pursue a like policy, as well on account of its humanity as for the sake of preserving uniformity in the proceedings of the General and State Governments, in relation to the same important object. Therefore, I, Thomas Mifflin, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, have granted and by these Presents do grant a full, free and entire Pardon to all persons (not included in the exception hereinafter declared,) of all treasons, insurrections, arsons, riots and other offences inferior to riots, committed within the said fourth Survey, between the said fourteenth day of July and the twenty-second day of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four and which may have been and are indictable offences against the said State of Pennsylvania, together with a free and entire remission and release of all fines, forfeitures and penalties consequent thereon; excepting and excluding always, nevertheless, from all the benefit and advantage or any claim to the benefit and advantage of the pardon hereby granted, every person who has either refused to give the assurance of submission stipulated and required as aforesaid, or who having given the same, shall afterwards have deviated therefrom, and now actually stands indicted or convicted of any offence against the State of Pennsylvania.

Given under my Hand and the Great Seal of the State, at Philadelphia, the twenty-sixth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, and of the Commonwealth the Twentieth..

THOMAS MIFFLIN

By the Governor.

A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary of the Commonwealth.*

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

453

DISTRICT ATTORNEY RAWLE TO JUDGE ADDISON.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct, 29, 1795.

DEAR SIR:—Joseph Dorsey may rest easy as to his recognizance. The event of the trials at York fully verified your observation as to the impediments to conviction created by distance.

You have doubtless by this time been informed of the material circumstances, which I, therefore, will not encroach upon your time by repeating.

I consider the business as now nearly ended. It is not probable that many, if any of those who have fled will return. My information in respect to Bradford was, I find, erroneous. The witnesses are, however, generally held under recognizance and to be ready in any case of surrender.

I am, with respect and esteem,
W. RAWLE.

To Judge ADDISON.

MR. SIMMONS TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR,
ACCOUNTANT'S OFFICE

December 11th, 1795.

Sir:—I understand that Mr. Hagner, one of the Clerks in this office, has been furnished with a notice to pay a fine as a delinquent for not turning out in the Militia employed against the Insurgents in the late Insurrection in the State of Pennsylvania.

It was understood at the time the militia were called upon, that all Clerks in the War Department) of which Mr. H. was one, and whose duty it must be considered was greatly increased by that event (were exempt from Military Duty, and even those who applied to my Predecessor for permission to go out with the Troops were actually refused in consequence of the increasing business from that source. As I know of no appeal those gentlemen have, I have to request, Sir, that you will be pleased to give me your opinion whether the Clerks in the War Department will have to pay the fine; if not how they are to proceed to be exonerated therefrom?

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your Mo. Obd. Serv't,
WM. SIMMONS,
Accountant for the Department of War.

ALEXANDER J. DALLAS, Esquire.

Mr. Simmons presents his compliments to Mr Dallas, and will thank him for his opinion to the questions asked by his letter of 11th Inst. If it is improper for Mr. D. to answer them in his Official capacity, Mr. S. will thank him to inform him who the proper person is to be applied to.

Thursday Morning, December 17th, 1795.

SAMUEL HODGDON TO THE GOVERNOR.

PHILAD'A 29 Aug. 1796

SIR:—The Bearer informs me he is called on to pay a fine for non-attendance with the late Militia army. The following facts will enable your Excellency to judge whether he is a subject of Militia Law. In May, 1794, I engaged him on a low salary to make such laboratory preparations as the United States magazine might from time to time require. On the first intimation of the necessity of collecting an Army, he was fully employed with more than Twenty People in preparing the ordnance & ammunition ordered to be got in readiness, & continued to be thus employed day & night until the close of the year. He is yet a salary Officer of the United States for the same purpose.

With respect & esteem,

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

SAMUEL HODGDON.

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, ESQ.

Indorsed:

If the Bearer, Jacob Sober, had not any notice that he was called out to serve in the Militia, it seems reasonable that he should be excused paying his Fine.

J. INGERSOLL.

1796, Sept. 2d.

JUDGE ADDISON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WASHINGTON. 23d Febr'y, 1797.

SIR:—I understand the sheriff of this county has received your pardon to James Chambers and others, who were indicted, fined and imprisoned, at a Court of Quarter Sessions here, for outrages during the insurrection.

I trust, Sir, that what I am about to state will not appear to you as impertinent interference beyond my personal or official concerns, and will be candidly viewed as coupled with a just respect to your person and your station.

It is not to inform you, but to explain myself, that I beg leave to express my opinion, that the discretion vested in the executive of pardoning delinquents, is of a judicial nature, not to be swayed by importunity, but exercised on full and certain information of the nature of the case drawn from an official and responsible source, and that it does not appear to me, that this evidence can otherwise be obtained, than by a certificate from the Clerk of the Court, of the nature of the indictment, and from the Court or some of the Judges, of the nature of the evidence or the circumstances attending the trial.

Members of assembly have no official responsibility to restrain them in their recommendations, from misleading the executive, and are under temptations to recommend, not what is right, but what may be popular in their particular neighbourhood, and promote their next election. In all things touching the insurrection, this is more particularly the case, while to have countenanced the actors in it is a sure claim to popular favour, and to have shown any desire so to correct them by law, as to bring them to a sense of duty, remains a settled ground of resentment.

Peculiarly in this case, therefore, and generally in all cases, the administration of criminal justice is a cause of odium to those intrusted with it, and the power of pardoning is a source of favour. Viewing them as an improper interference and bias on the Executive, I have never practised nor approved judicial recommendations for pardon; but I consider judicial information of the case as a necessary ground for the decision of the Executive. And if the Executive so consider and require it, this degree of co-operation in mercy may somewhat counteract the odium of their co-operation in justice, and the energy and respect of each branch may be promoted.

It may be, Sir, that after you have heard all I shall say, you will still approve of the pardon you have granted to those men. If the information before you had been perfect, and with the precedents before you, were it my part to judge, I know not that I could censure what you have done. But, because I feel myself somewhat interested in it, I hope you will excuse me if I trouble you with stating something respecting James Chambers which I dare say, your informers did not state.

As he was one of the most outrageous during the insurrection, so he is neither softened nor reformed. Ignorant, savage and malignant, if he can confound pardon with general impunity, and believe himself free from punishment, the life of no man whom he hates is safe. A leader in raising the liberty pole here; he insulted me in the most indecent and threatened me in the most violent manner, for refusing him whiskey to drink at it. After sentence was passed, and while in jail, he was ex-

tremely contumelious to the court in general and especially to me, and threatened revenge. Very soon after he was out of jail, the posts of an old gallows were raised in the night time and laid against my door, with "Addison's gallows" written with chalk on them. Soon after that, fire was set to cord-wood I had in an out-lot. The suspicion of every one fell on him, but I had no proof. He continued to abuse me wherever he went, and at last, insulted me to my face in the open street. Finding no time nor patience would correct him, a regard to my station, and even to my safety, compelled me to proceed to punishment. I applied to a magistrate, had him bound over and indicted, and removed the indictment into the Supreme Court, where it now depends. He has been told, I believe, that it is not likely that I want any revenge, but only such concessions and declarations as may satisfy me, that I shall be free from any further injury or insult from him. But these he has never deigned to make. In this situation he has received your pardon of the remainder of a punishment, the whole he attributes not to the law, but to me.

On these facts and opinions, with your candid construction, I must rely for an apology of the statement, with which I have now troubled you, and I am, with much respect,

Your most obed't Serv't,

ALEX. ADDISON.

The Governor of Pennsylvania.

JUDGE ADDISON TO MR. JOHN HALL.

PHILADELPHIA, 6th July, 1798.

SIR:—In the present state of the Governor's health, it is not likely that I shall have so convenient an opportunity of seeing the Governor as you will have; I therefore, beg leave to trouble you with some information of which I request you to make the proper use.

I have understood that the Governor intends to give a commission of the Peace to Absalom Baird, of the town of Washington, and William Irwin, of Williamsport. In the present alarming state of our country, too much care cannot be taken in selecting for public approbation, those characters who are to be honored with commissions. Dr. Baird has been uniformly among the strenuous opponents and censurers of our government, and has been and yet is of what is called the French party. He was of a party who at midnight and for some hours after in a noisy manner raised a May pole in the town of Washington,

and to the American colours annexed red, blue and white-ribbons. At such a time to give a commission to a man of his sentiments, would indeed be giving a sanction to the opinion of the Directory, that they have a party even among more than the people here. I consider this appointment as altogether improper and I know it to be useless. In our little town we have already two attentive and active justices of the Peace fully adequate to far more business than is to be done, and there is besides another commission to a third justice in the same town who hitherto has thought it so unnecessary that he has not taken the oath of office. If Dr. Baird is commissioned, the third gentleman will certainly swear in, and we shall have four where one only would be sufficient. Our town of Washington is small, of about an hundred houses, and is a township of itself without any of the adjoining country. The neighbouring townships are well supplied with justices.

William Irwin, I believe, is not a citizen. He is an obstinate adherent to the same party of opposition to our government and favour to France. He lives on the extremity of the township and the county. There is one justice within a quarter of a mile from him, another within four miles from him in one direction and a third within four miles of him in another direction, so that his appointment would be altogether superfluous. What is called the town of Williamsport, does not contain more than six houses if so many.

If the Governor would bestow a commission on a man of worth, understanding, integrity and genius, sincerely attached to principles and administration of our government, I will name one deserving this character and a commission or any other mark of public favour. I mean David Bruce, of the town of West Boston, in Smith's township, in Washington county. If you can persuade the governor to give him a commission of the Peace, you will do honour to a worthy man and will show the worthless and all others that the only way to obtain the countenance of public authority is to promote the peace and happiness of the country, and, not to foment dissatisfaction and sedition.

I am, Sir, respectfully yours,

ALEX. ADDISON.

I have a desire that Commissions of the Peace should be granted to, I think, John Scott, of Allegheny county, and James Wilson, of Greene County. There are Petitions for both.

APPENDIX.

[The following papers appearing at the beginning of the Insurrection in the newspapers of the day, having been filed away by the authorities, it has been decided to reprint them. They give the humorous side of the transaction.]

AN INDIAN TREATY.

Speeches intended to be spoken at a Treaty now holding with the Six United Nations of White Indians settled on the heads of the Ohio, at the town of Pittsburg, the 20th of August, 1794 by the Commissioners sent from Philadelphia for the purpose.

Captain BLANKET, an Indian Chief, spoke as follows:

BROTHERS:—We welcome you to the old Council Fire at this place. It is a lucky spot of ground for holding Indian treaties. No good attended your treaties at Beaver creek, Muskingum, &c. As the proffer of this treaty has originated with your great council at Philadelphia, we therefore expect you have good terms to offer. But you know, Brothers, that it ever has been a custom to pay Indians well for coming to treaties, and you may be assured that unless we are well paid, or *fully satisfied*, your *attempts of any kind*, will not have the least effect. However, we doubt not but the pay is provided, and that you have a sufficiency of blankets and breech cloths, powder and lead and that the waggons are close at hand. You know, brothers, that our neighbours, the British, over the lakes, pay their Indians well, that they have inexhaustible stores of blankets and ammunition, and that if they were offering us a treaty, they would not hesitate a moment to satisfy all our demands.

Captain WHISKEY spoke next:

BROTHERS:—My friend Capt. Blanket has indulged himself in a little drollery about blankets, &c., but I must speak to the point. I am told that the people of your great council call us a parcel of drunken raggamuffins, because we indulge ourselves with a little of our homespun whiskey, and that we ought to pay well for this extraordinary luxury. What would they think if the same was said of them for drinking beer and cyder? Surely the saying will apply with equal force in both cases. We say that our whiskey shall not be saddled with an unequal tax. You say it shall; and to enforce the collection of three or four thousand dollars per ann. of nett proceeds, you will send an army of 12,950 men or double that number if necessary. This is a new fashioned kind of economy indeed. It is

a pity this army had not been employed long ago in assisting your old warrior, Gen Wayne; or chastising the British about the lakes. However, I presume it is the present policy to guard against offending a nation with a king at their head. But remember, brothers, if we have not a king at our head, we have that powerfnl monarch, Capt. Whiskey to command us. By the power of his influence, and a love to *his person* we are compelled to every great and heroic act.

You know, brothers, that Capt. Whiskey has been a great warrior in all nations and in all armies. He is a descendant of that nation called Ireland; and to use his own phrase, he has peopled three-fourths of this western world with his own hand. We, the Six United Nations of White Indians, are principally his legitimate offspring, and those who are not, have all imbibed his principles and passions—that is a love of whiskey; and will, therefore, fight for our bottle till the last gasp. Brothers, you must not think to frighten us with fine arranged lists of infantry, cavalry and artillery, composed of your water-mellon armies from the Jersey shores; they would cut a much better figure in warring with the crabs and oysters about the Capes of Delaware. It is a common thing for Indians to fight your best armies at the proportion of one to five; therefore, we would not hesitate a moment to attack this army at the rate of one to ten. Our nations can, upon an emergency, produce twenty thousand warriors; you may then calculate what your army ought to be. But I must not forget that I am making an Indian speech; I must, therefore, give you a smack of national tongue—Tongash Getchie—Tongash Getchie—very strong man, me Captain Whiskey.

Capt. ALLIANCE next took the floor:

BROTHERS:—My friend, Captain Whiskey, has made some fine flourishes about the power of his all conquering monarch, Whiskey, and of the intrepidity of the sons of St. Patrick in defence of their beloved bottle. But we will suppose when matters are brought to the test, that we should find ourselves unequal to the task of repelling this tremendous army, or that the great council should still persevere in their determination of imposing unequal and oppressive duties upon our whiskey; who knows but some *evil spirit* might prompt us to a separation from the union, and call for the alliance of some more friendly nation. You know that the great nation of Kentucky have already suggested this idea to us. They are at present Mississippi mad, and we are whiskey mad; it is therefore hard to tell what may be the issue of such united madness. It appears as if the Kentuckians were disposed to bow knee to the Spanish monarch or to kiss the Pope's . . . and wear a cruci-

fix, rather than be longer deprived of their Mississippi; and we might be desperate enough, rather than submit to an odious excise or unequal taxes, to invite Prince William Henry or some other royal pup, to take us by the hand, provided he would guarantee equal taxation and exempt our whiskey.

This would be a pleasing overture to the royal family of England—they would eagerly embrace the favorable moment to add again to their curtailed dominion in America, to accommodate some of their numerous brood with kingdoms and principalities. We would soon find that great warrior of the lakes, Simcoe, flying to our relief, and employing his numerous legions of white and yellow savages, for a very different purpose to what they have now in view. If the Kentuckians should also take it into their head to withhold supplies from your good old warrior Wayne, who is very often near starving in the wilderness, his army must be immediately annihilated, and your great council might forever bid adieu to their territory west of the mountains. This may seem very improbable indeed; but as great wonders have happened within Europe in the course of three years past.

CAPTAIN PACIFCUS then arose and concluded the business of the day:

BROTHERS:—My friend Alliance has made some very alarming observations, and I confess they have considerable weight with me. A desperate people may be drove to desperate resources, but as I am of a peaceable disposition I shall readily concur in every reasonable proposition which may have a tendency to restore tranquility, and secure our union upon the true principles of equality and justice. It is now time to know the true object of your mission; if you are the messengers of peace and come to offer us a treaty, why attempt to deliver it at the point of the bayonet? If you are only come to grant pardons for past offences, you need not have fatigued yourselves with such extraordinary dispatch on the journey: we have not yet begged your pardon; we are not yet at the gallows or the guillotine, for you will have to catch us first before you bring us there. But as I am rather more of a counsellor than a warrior, I am more disposed to lay hold of the chain than the tomahawk; I shall therefore propose that a total suspension of all hostilities and the *cause* thereof, shall immediately take place on both sides, until the next meeting of our great national council. If your powers are not competent to this agreement, we expect, as your old counsellors and peaceable men, that you will at least report and recommend it to our GOOD OLD FATHER who sits at the helm.

We know it was his duty to make proclamation, &c., &c., but we expect everything that can result from his prudence, humanity and benevolence towards his fellow creatures.

A BELT, on which is inscribed,
plenty of Whiskey without Excise.

[* A fashionable phrase lately adopted by certain gentlemen in the service of Government.]

Jersey Blue's intended answer to Capt. Whiskey's intended speech to the Commissioners at Pittsburg, if their Session continues till Sept, 1st, 1794.

BROTHER:—I apprehend that your Six Nations have not even the excuse of *drunkeness* so usual with other Savages, to palliate their *frothy* pretensions: Our *good Father* will find no difficulty to brush off your cob-web argument about cider and beer; and if the *Grand Council* had laid an excise on those articles, it would not *here* have been opposed with empty bravado, and made an excuse to cover premature ambition and past disappointments; but an amendment, if necessary, would have been procured by constitutional remonstrants and a change of representation. However, Capt. Whiskey, be advised for once to use your sober senses if you have any, and, no longer intoxicated with a hope of power which you are much too feeble to sustain, send your swiftest runners to our common Father and acknowledge your weakness and your errors. If yet you know not how to estimate yourselves, remember that the watermellon army of Jersey are at hand with 500 long swords, who understand breathing a vein, 1,500 shivering irons, and quantum sufficit of ten inch howitzers for throwing a species of mellon very useful for curing a *gravel occasioned* by whiskey! If you should so envy our crabs and oysters as to take shelter with the fresh water lobsters of the Lakes, don't tell them the Jerseymen are coming, or, by mere dint of memory, they'll leave you to experience a *reverse of calculation*; and as you say, you shall not hesitate, one to ten, to attack—neither will you hesitate, ten to one, to run away.

A JERSEY BLUE.

New Jersey, 1794.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE**JERSEY BLUES.**

[Written by Gov. Howell of New Jersey, on the President's call for troops to march to Western Pennsylvania.]

To arms once more, our hero cries,
Seditious trees and cedar dies;
To peace and ease then bid adieu
And dash to the mountains, Jersey Blue.

Dash to the mountains, Jersey Blue,
Jersey Blue, Jersey Blue.
And dash to the mountains, Jersey Blue.

Spite peev'd ambition rear'd its head,
And murkiness and discord spread,
To save from spell the virtuous few,
Dash over the mountains, Jersey Blue.

Roused at the call with magic sound,
The drums and trumpets circle round,
As soon the corps their route pursue—
So dash to the mountains, Jersey Blue.

Unstain'd with crimes, unus'd to fear,
In deep array our youths appear,
And fly to crush the rebel crew,
Or die in the mountains, Jersey Blue.

Thro' tears bedew the maidens' cheeks,
And storms hang round the mountains bleak,
'Tis glory calls, to love adieu.
Then dash to the mountains, Jersey Blue.

Should foul misrule and party rage
With law and liberty engage,
Push home your steel, you'll soon re-view
Your native plains, brave Jersey Blue.

Dash to the mountains, Jersey Blue,
Jersey Blue, Jersey Blue.
And dash to the mountains, Jersey Blue.

NARRATIVE OF THE JOURNEY

OF

COL. THOMAS PROCTOR,

TO THE

INDIANS OF THE NORTH-WEST.

I 79 I.



COL. PROCTOR'S JOURNAL.

GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR
MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,

June 25, 1791.

SIR:—I have the pleasure herewith to forward you a copy of the narrative of Col. Proctor, in his journey to the Indians of the North-west, for your Information.

I have the honor to be,

With great respect,

Your Excellency's Obed't Serv't,

H. KNOX,

Secretary of War.

His Excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania.

NARRATIVE OF COLONEL THOMAS PROCTOR.

To the Hon. Major General H. Knox, Secretary of War:

SIR:—The following Diary is respectfully submitted for his inspection, being transacted under his commission, granted to THOMAS PROCTOR, Esq., of the city of Philadelphia, bearing date March 10th, 1791, accompanied with messages from him to the several Indian nations inhabiting the waters near Lake Erie, the Miamies and the Wabash, the same being intended to the establishment of peace and friendly intercourse between the said nations and the United States of America.

March 11th

Received a draft from the Secretary of War, on Joseph Howell, Esq., paymaster, for the sum of 600 dollars. Purchased a horse from Richard Hunt, for the use of Captain Houdin, sent as my companion into that country—price £25. 4s. Purchased saddlery from I. Polk, the equipment of two horses as per bill rendered—£16. 11s. Money advanced Captain Houdin, to be accounted for by him, £16. 17s. 6d. M'Faddens' draught of North America, &c., 12s. 6d.; pocket compass, best kind, 16s. 8d.; tin box and oil case, 11s. 3d.; as also two small books and one quire of paper, 9s. 4½d.

80—VOL IV.

March 12th.

Left the city of Philadelphia accompanied by Captain M. G. Houdin under a heavy rain, fully evidencing our intention to stop at no difficulties until we should gain the settlement of Cornplanter, alias Capt. O'Beel, one of the chiefs of the Seneca nation residing on the head waters of the Allegheny river. Our first setting out was big with difficulties, and foreboded some extraordinary events; for on crossing the Perkiomen, Captain Houdin's horse, after tasting of the water, (which is customary with him,) laid down in the same, and were both nearly covered. On the horse's rising immediately afterwards, the Captain's foot being fast in the stirrup, the horse made several lashes at him with his hind feet before he could disengage himself, but happily received no other injury. Dined this day at Norrington, paid 9s. 9d.; other contingent expenses, 12s. Staid this night with Major Swaine.

March 13th.

Laying on double soles on a pair of boots, 4s. 9d.; shoeing a horse, 4s.; horse feed, wine and bitters, 4s. 6d.; dinners, &c. at Pottsgrove, 9s. 4*d*. Halted for the night at Cimilese's tavern 13s. 10d.

March 14th.

Breakfasts, &c., at Reading, 9s. 4d.; purchase of a tomahawk, 3s. 9d.; straps of a saddle. Proceeded from thence to Caraher's town, in company with Mr. Potts and Mr. Baird, the latter of which gentlemen informed me, that he was engaged to attend General St. Clair to Fort Washington, whither the General was immediately to proceed, in order to prepare for a campaign against the Miami and other Indians, who are daily committing of murders on the defenceless inhabitants on the frontier settlements. Expenses this night, 15s. 10d.

March 15th.

Set forward this morning on our journey by daylight; breakfasted at Orwick's tavern, 6s. 9d.; Haller's, do; refreshments, 5s. 7*d*. Halted for the night at Tresher's tavern, expenses, 13s. 6d. The roads from Philadelphia hither, nearly impassable, occasioned by the heavy rains that had fallen for several days past, and with some danger we forded the little Schuylkill; and, on this day's journey, we crossed the Blue mountain.

March 16th.

Dined at Leidenburgh's tavern, and was informed that 1,200 acre tract of land that I had purchased of Daniel Rees in Northumberland, was situated three miles from his house, watered by the Cattawissey, and joining lands of Captain Mason, of Philadelphia. Dinners, and for horses, 11s. 3d. Lay this night at

Hughsburgh, at the house of George Knefferbergher. By him, I was informed of twenty-five tracts of land I have on Big fishing creek, which empties into the east branch of the Susquehannah, about two miles above Hughburgh. Expenses this night, 18s. 10*½*d.

March 17th.

Crossed the east branch of the Susquehannah; fed our horses, &c. at Miller's tavern, and paid including ferrages over Fishing creek and shoeing a horse, 17s. 3d. Lay this night at Berwick, a small town, situated on the west side of the Susquehannah. Expenses of the night, 17s. 10d.

March 18th.

Proceeded on our journey up the west side of the Susquehannah, above twelve miles; and in endeavoring to go through the narrows, the river being exceeding high and rapid, had a narrow escape of drowning myself and horse, as was the case with Captain Houdin. With great difficulty we mounted the summit of a steep precipice, being unable to return by the same defile we had attempted to pass through. From this I endeavored to go around the mountain, which lay along the river; and, after having travelled one hour and a half, over the most rugged ground and seeing no end to the ridge of mountains, we shaped our course through the woods, to the place from whence we departed in the morning; and, by the entreaty of our host, the ferryman on the opposite shore of the Susquehannah was prevailed upon to venture over the river with his flat, which he did, with the assistance of four other men, and conducted us across, for which I paid him 15s. Dinners and putting one new shoe on a horse, with other repairs, 13s. 1d. From thence we proceeded on the road for Wilksburg by the way of the mountain path, as dangerous for man and horse as was possible to encounter with and at 9 o'clock in the night we reached the first house in the settlement of Wyoming; but, there being no feed for our horses, I hired a guide to conduct us to a place to lodge in. Paid for a night's fare, 18s. 6d.

March 19th.

Arrived at Wilksburg about eleven o'clock; halted here for the night, in order to rest our horses, which were much fatigued and jaded. I should have mentioned in its place, that I did not open the instructions I had received from the Secretary of War, before my arrival at Reading, owing to an intention with me, that no person, not even any of my family, should know what errand I was sent upon. This threw me exceedingly out of my road and by the worst way; for, had I known that Wilksburg was my route to Cornplanter's I should have went through

Bethlehem, which would have been fifty miles nearer than the way I went; spent the afternoon at our lodgings with Colonel Butler and Captain Grubb. The former was an officer in the Connecticut line and stationed here during the late war, for the protection of the frontier inhabitants against the British and Indians, in which station he proved to be a vigilant and brave officer. The latter part of the evening I accompanied Colored Pickering, prothonotary of the county and late adjutant general of the armies of the United States. Here we equipped ourselves with a tinderbox, flints, steel, &c., paid 4s. 6d.; and for helving a tomahawk and leather sling for same, 4s. 9d. Expenses at Mr. Fell's, part of two days, 41s. 8d. and for powder and horn 5s. 7½d. Much snow fell while we remained at this place. Weather extremely cold.

March 20th.

This day we set forward for Captain Waterman Baldwin's; arrived there in the evening; halted for him part of two days as I had orders to take him with me to the residence of the Cornplanter, at which place he was intended to act as instructor of the Indian youth, as also a director in the mode and management of agriculture for the use and benefit of the Indians. This gentleman was made prisoner by Cornplanter during the late war, and was treated by him with remarkable tenderness until legally exchanged. Paid for two bushels of oats and two bags, 13s. 1½d.; washing, 2s. 6d.; expense at Baldwin's, 30s.

March 22d.

Ferriage to Captain Jenkins passing the first narrows of Susquehannah, 7s. 6d. Paid for gammon, bread and Spirits, 32s. 6d. to John Davis. Encamped this evening in the woods thirteen miles from Lahawanock, on the water of Buttermilk falls. This cataract has a beautiful appearance from the river. It falls upward of eighty feet; and the place it issues through on the top of the mountain is about six in width, and its torrent is so strong that it is sufficient to serve many mills at one time.

This place I had the opportunity of examining minutely when going on the expedition with General Sullivan against the savages in the year 1779, at which time I had the command of 214 vessels on the Susquehanna, taking with me the provisions and stores of 6,000 men. We anchored off this cataract in the afternoon of the 1st August, and I landed and passed to the top of the mountain to review so great a curiosity.

March 23d.

The Susquehannah being so extremely high and all the waters leading thereto, compelled us to quit the river road and go by that lately cut (though not cleared) by John Nicholson, Esq.

comptroller general of the State of Pennsylvania. We reached the settlement called the Hawbottom, which consisted of about fourteen families, the land exceeding rich, inferior to none about the city of Philadelphia; but the lands between this place and our last encampment were chiefly covered with hemlock timber, cold soil and unfit for culture, and one continued rise for nearly thirteen miles with little intermission. Took dinner at the house of Ebenezer Stephens, and purchased from him two bushels of oats which he had for seed; and having brought it afar off, charged for the same 8s. 9d. per bushel. Paid for three persons eating and feed for the horses, 12s. 6d.; one horse bells, 4s. 6.; three cakes sugar, 4s. 6d. Encamped this evening with some sugar boilers in a hut not finished. The promoter of this manufactory, which appeared to be very extensive from the number of kettles and apparatus belonging thereto, is the comptroller of the State of Pennsylvania; and the conductor of the works, Mr. John Jones, of Northumberland county. They were unfortunate enough two days before to lose most of their provision by the oversetting of a canoe in the main branch of the Lahawanock; but, of the provisions we had, gave to them what we could spare, preserving what we thought would take us to Tioga Point, supposed 86 miles. The taking of this road which is cut about 20 feet in width, the trees lying across the same and in every direction, was not a matter of choice but necessity; for the river road was impassable. By the taking of this we escaped some deep waters.

March 24th.

We arrived at the cabin of Richard McNemara, fed our horses with the corn that we brought with us, for he had none but about two quarts for his own use; they, however, provided us w^th a dish of rye coffee, made fine with the pole of an axe on a smooth stone, and maple sugar as bright and as well tasted as the best 8d sugar in Philadelphia; and, as they deemed it would be charity to us, they gave of the juice of the maple, which appeared as clear as the limpid stream and pleasant to the taste and deemed very wholesome; paid for eating, 3s. 9d. We were obliged to encamp early this afternoon under a very heavy storm of rain, thunder and lightning, and what is very remarkable, the snow was in general fifteen inches deep on the ground.

March 25th.

We still traveled by the way of Nicholson's road till we reached the one cut by Mr. Ellicott, geographer to the United States, which leads to the great bend on the east branch of the Susquehannah, and to describe the same it is hardly possible, but to say the least of them, there is none can equal them for height

of mountains, and swampy valleys. Encamped this night ten miles from Tioga Point; heavy rain as usual, our horses worn down and ourselves more than commonly fatigued; had naught to eat ourselves or for our horses; and I may say with propriety, that until we arrived at Tioga, to save our horses, we travelled on foot more than half of the way from the town of Reading.

March 26th.

We arrived at the Ferry at Tioga Point, crossed to the flats, paid ferrage, 3s. 9d.; repair of horse shoes, 5s. From thence we proceeded on our way to Newtown Point, and lodged at the house of Mr. William Wynkoop. At Tioga Point, I was compelled to purchase a pack horse, as the route we had to take from the Painted Post to the Genesee, was not inhabited, which, by computation, was 99 miles. Captain Baldwin also purchased another horse, the better to enable him to carry on the farming business for the Cornplanter, and for which I advanced him 75s., to be accounted for by him in his settlement with the Secretary of War. From hence, I also took a guide named Peter, in his own language Cayautha, there being nothing but a blind path to the Genesee river; so that my retinue, at this time, amounted to three white men, one Indian and five horses. The horse designed as a pack horse, I received on the order of Colonel Hollinback, on Mr. Guy Maxwell, his partner in trade at Tioga, for which I drew in favor of them, on my daughter in Philadelphia, £15, for the horse, and for a saddle and bridle, value £3; took up our quarters this night in company with Mr. Jabez Colloor, a dissenting minister, at the aforesaid Wynkoop's, with whom we spent a most agreeable evening, and, during our conversation together, he enjoined me, in a very becoming manner, should I at my time see the honorable Major General Sullivan, late the commander-in-chief against the Indians, in the year 1779, to tender to him the grateful thanks of himself and his parishioners, inhabitants of the district of Tioga, for opening a way into the wilderness, under the guidance of Providence, to the well doing of hundreds of poor families for life.

SUNDAY, March 27th.

Dined at Mr. Isaac Baldwin's, and halted for the night, and reviewed the ground on which the British and Indians were entrenched for better than a mile, against the forces under the command of Major General Sullivan. I also saw many traces made by our round and grape shot against them, and a large collection of pieces of 5½ Inch shells, which I had the pleasure of formerly causing to be exploded, amongst them. Expenses at Mr. Baldwin's for present diet, provisions and forage, 53s. 10d.

March 28th.

Took breakfast at William Dunn's; for four persons, 6s.; oats and spirits, 4s $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; also one chain halter for a horse, 20s. From thence we proceeded to the Painted Post, or Cohocton, in the Indian language: dined and refreshed our horses, it being the last house we should meet with ere we should reach the Genesee river. Addition of stores for ourselves and horses, 36s. 11d.; present dining, 14s. 8d.: four new horse shoes, &c., 6s. 9d.; spirits, 1s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Here I was joined company by a Mr. George Slocum, who followed us from Wyoming, to place himself under our protection and assistance, until we should reach the Cornplanter's settlement, on the head waters of the Allegheny, to the redeeming of his sister from an unpleasing captivity of twelve years, to which end he begged our immediate interposition. On the leaving the Painted Post, we entered the Warrior's path, lying on the north-east side of the Tioga river. We had not gone above five miles up the same before we fixed our encampment, having completed thirty-five miles this day, which was more than we had done any one day, within seventeen days, since we left the city, it having rained or snowed every day since, and the worst of roads to encounter with, for, as we passed over mountains, and valleys, the frosts were just mellowed enough to admit our falling through in some places, knee depth to the horses; rained this night as usual.

March 29th.

Continued our route by the aforesaid path this day through level land, covered chiefly with hemlock timber, and interspersed with sugar tree bottoms and through which we frequently encountered, with deep sloughs and morasses. In one of them which had the appearance of a long pond, variegated with shrubberry, Captain Baldwin, while leading our forage horse, was by a sudden check, brought backwards from the horse he was riding and immersed in the water, so as to be entirely covered. The same fate had nearly happened to myself, my war horse's feet fastening between two trees which lay on the bottom, of which he fell. All this night we had rain, and with much difficulty could light a fire, at the same time piercing cold.

March 30th.

We began our journey before sunrise, the usual time of our moving, and on the way we discovered in many places fine land; the timber chiefly sugar tree maple and beech, and on this day we passed three principal mountains, the last which, the Allegheny, that divides the Tioga river from the Coshequa. The latter river runs through a fine flat, resembling much the flats below Tioga; here Captain John resides, and one white family

only. I did not see the chief, he being, from home a hunting; I should have premised that the course of the Warrior's path gives a traveller a sight of the river Tioga, upwards of sixty miles, and by such a way I would never desire to travel again. The next principal water we crossed, is called in the Indian language, Connesserago, from whence it is called twelve miles to the Genesee river, where we were conducted by our Indian guide to the house of Captain Ebenezer Allen, about ten o'clock at night, having rode hard and constant to reach it, both our horses and ourselves much fatigued. I purchased from an Indian squaw one and a half bushels corn, at the rate of one dollar and a half per bushel and refused to let me have any more at a less price; adding that the white people had made them pay more last year, when a scarcity of corn was among them; and that at this place there was neither hay nor grass for our horses to exist upon.

March 31st.

This morning I found myself in a settlement of Indians, called the Squawkey tribe, but a branch of the Seneca nation; having no interpreter with me, I wrote a letter directed to Captain Allen, or Horatio Jones, and sent it by a runner by the way of Connewago, or at such a place where he could meet with either of them, requesting that whosoever received it should repair to Squawkey Hill to meet me; and should they meet any Indian chiefs or warriors, to invite them to meet me also, having business of Importance from General Washington, the President of the United States, to lay before their nation. I at the same time despatched two other runners, one to go to the several sugar camps adjacent to give them the like information, and the other to repair to the habitations of Captain Big Tree and Little Beard, who resided about seven miles from hence and deemed to be principal chiefs. To each I paid one dollar for their services. By the middle of the afternoon and in the evening, several Indian warriors and chiefs arrived at Mr. Allen's habitation; amongst the latter, Captain Little Beard, Stump Foot, and the Black Chief; said Stump Foot being the leader of the Squawkey settlement, residing on the high lands above the Genesee river, and from which bluff commands a beautiful landscape of the great flats on the Genesee, being in width about four miles, and the length from Carahaderra about forty-seven miles towards lake Ontario, where the said river empties into it, the soil exceedingly rich, the land as level as a bowling green, beautifully interspersed with groves of trees, some of three acres and not more than five.

April 1st.

Mr. Horatio Jones, Indian interpreter, arrived this morning, and about eleven o'clock there were thirty odd Indians collected agreeable to my invitation. And shortly afterwards, I convened them into council, and introduced my message by some prefatory sentiments, touching on the candor and justice of the United States and of the unexampled conduct of his Excellency the President, in the late interview he had with the Cornplanter and others, who appeared as representatives in behalf of the Six Nations, by restoring unto them all their lands, which they feared were held from them by the power of the United States, by which act of his goodness, their situations in life were made comfortable, and as lasting as they should demean themselves as faithful friends to the United States, and by such a becoming deportment, it would entail lasting happiness to their children's children. This simple introduction being ended, I read the message to them from the honorable Secretary of War; having ended the same, they signified their full approbation, in their accustomed manner. For the particulars of their answer, which was delivered by Captain Little Beard, their principle speaker, see a subsequent page.

Captain Little Beard in the close of his speech, acquainted me that their great warrior, Captain O'Beel, or Gyantawanka in the Indian language, had arrived at Pittsburgh from Philadelphia, and sent out runners from thence to summon the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations at Buffalo, where he desired that the great council fire might be kindled, and where he should lay before them all the business that had been done by him at Philadelphia, and the public papers and documents which he had received for the Six Nations from the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, and from the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania. This information induced me to prepare myself for going to Buffalo in the morning instead of continuing my route to O'Beel's town, and urged it upon them in a very pressing manner that they would accompany me on this deserving errand to Buffalo, as its design was big with advantages to every Indian on the continent. Five of them immediately offered to attend Captain Houdin and myself and chiefs of the first notoriety in this settlement, and accordingly appointed a sugar camp eight miles distant the place of meeting in the morning, where they must go and acquaint their people of this hasty departure.

I now made the necessary inquiry whether it was easy to obtain a good interpreter at Buffalo or otherwise; and being informed that there were no interpreter there but those under British pay and establishment, I conceived it a duty incumbent

on me to engage Mr. Jones as being a proper person for my business from the reputation he bore from inquiries I had made and I accordingly agreed with him in the b half of the United States, to pay him the customary wages so long as I should find occasion for his services.

Having for the best part of two days caused provisions to be provided for myself and people and for several Indians who lived at a considerable distance from here, and at a considerable expense to Mr. Allen and much trouble to his family, I proposed to make him restitution by payment which he modestly refused, adding, that I was going into a country where I would have occasion for my money; I therefore treated his politeness in that manner which I thought would least offend him, by saying he must receive at my hand in Philadelphia a best beaver hat and four dollars' worth in anything Mrs. Allen should chuse to send for, estimating the whole at eleven dollars, for which I hold myself in honor bound to perform. Paid for $2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels corn to Mr. Forrest, 12s. 1d.; amount of Jno. Jones' bill, flour, spirits and stores laid in for O'Beel's town., 35s. 7d.

April 2d.

Departed from the council fire at Squawkey Hill to proceed by the way of Tanawandy, to Buffalo, presumed distance between 90 and 100 miles; but, agreeable to my promise, to the chiefs yesterday, I had to call for them at their sugar encampment. On my way thither, I stopped at the hut of Stump Foot, with the Black Chief, who accompanied me, just at the instant that a runner had arrived there from Buffalo creek, who brought the information that the council fire at that place had been quenched by direction of the chiefs who had lighted the same, at the instance of O'Beel's message to them, and the same fire was to be covered for one moon, in the words following which he received from the great council, directed to the chiefs and warriors in this settlement, viz:

"BROTHERS: We know from our former intimation to you to meet us here, that you are just now rising from your seats, with your backs bent bearing your loaded hoppas; but on hearing us speak, you must sit down again on your seats and remain there for one moon, until you shall hear that our great warrior, O'Beel, (alias Gyantawanka in the Indian,) shall arrive at Buffalo and light it again."

Upon this sudden information to me, and their determination to continue as above directed, I concluded to change my route from this place, and go for the Oil Springs near which the Cornplanter has his residence, and of which intention of mine, I immediately informed them and added, that should I be so

happy as to meet him at home, I would use every possible endeavor to bring forward to Buffalo, Captain O'Beel and his chiefs in order to rekindle the council fire, as my intended interview with the chiefs of the Six Nations would have the most happy effect by being instrumental in preserving the lives of many hundreds of our fellow men, when staying one moon longer might prove forever too late. On these remarks we parted, and I proceeded with my people to a village eight miles distant, called Nondas, and halted for the night at the hut of a white woman who had been with the savages from her infancy and had borne to one of them nine children, all of whom were living. Two of her daughters I have seen, possessing fair features, bearing the bloom upon their cheeks and inclining to the side of beauty; and her second son had lately been adopted a sachem and styled the promoter of peace. Paid for two cakes sugar, and Indian bread, 7s. 6d. Snow this day and excessive cold.

SUNDAY, *April 3d.*

Arrived this day at an Indian village called Canaseder, situated on a high bluff of land, overlooking the Genesee river. It consisted of about 30 houses, and some of them done in a way that showed some taste in the workmen. The town was vacated by its inhabitants principally, save only one squaw and a young girl, who were left as guards to the interests of others, who were out providing sugar for their general stock. In this place was erected a wooden statue, (or deity,) fashioned like a fierce looking sage. This form they worship by dancing before it on certain festive occasions or new moons, looking on it as through a veil or assistant, whereby they pay adoration to the Supreme Spirit, as knowing it hath a form, but not a substance. This day we were compelled to swim our horses three times over the Genesee river, and at one of the crossings, Captain Houdin's horse took down the current with him and could not steer him to the intended shore, having crossed the reins of his bridle at mounting, and were it not that he had left the horse to his own management, (by our entreaties,) and our Indian guide rushing into the water to his assistance, and the horse turning for him, the Captain must have certainly drowned in the current, which was excessively rapid a little lower down.

April 4th.

This morning we again swam our horses over the same river, and had the assistance of a canoe, for which I paid 3s. 9d. and crossed it again 10 miles higher up, near the emptying of a small lake. Here, likewise, we had the assistance of a canoe to carry over our saddles, &c. Paid for the same, 3s 9d. At this

village resides a Mr. James Latta, a trader, from whom I purchased bread and sugar, the latter to answer the end of meat, as likewise some spirits, for which I paid him 16s. 11d. From this place we had scarcely the trace of a path, and took up our encampment for the night at an old Indian encampment, where the covering of their wigwams served to shelter us from the inclemency of the weather.

April 5th.

We gained an Indian settlement called Obhisew situate on the waters of Oil creek, the emptying of which into the Allegheny about two hundred yards below the hut; in crossing the Oil creek at a very steep shelving place, my horse fell backward into the water; I happily disengaged myself from falling under him, but got wet through all my clothes. We then entered the cabin of an old Seneca chief who called himself Captain Joseph Hays; I knew him well thirty-two years before at Fort Pitt, and he professed having some small recollection of me, spoke English well, and finding him conversant I gave him to understand the business I was on to the Six Nations, and of the assistance I expected to receive from them as friends to the Thirteen Fires. He seemed very cheerful upon the occasion, and assured me that I should see him at Buffalo as soon as the council fire should be lighted by O'Beel. From him I bought two hams of fresh venison and Indian bread without any salt, for we had none in our possession, not dreaming of it being so scarce and precious an article in this country. We encamped this night at the great bend of the Allegheny, (so called,) on a tract of fine level land covered with plum trees in abundance. At this place we discovered the ruins of a number of Indian huts forming regularly with each other like a street way. This place was formerly called by the Indians Dunewangua.

April 6th.

This morning having advanced about 4 miles, we met two Indian runners going with belts and speeches from the Corn-planter, alias O'Beel, to the Indians resident in the upper towns, at the head water of the Allegheny, to inform them that several of the Delaware Indians were killed by the white people, said to be a recruiting party of Virginians, near Fort Pitt. The said Indians informed us, That the Indians who had escaped the catastrophe that their brothers had fallen into, turned their resentment for the injury their nation had received, on the white inhabitants who resided on the Allegheny, some miles above Pittsburgh, and killed and scalped 17 in number; that several of the bodies were partly destroyed by fire; that at the same time this mischief happened, Captain O'Beel, the New Arrow

chief, and several other chiefs of the Senecas, as also the commanding officer of Venango coming up in the garrison boat and in canoes from Pittsburgh, were overtaken by a party of militia who threatened them with instant death, which was happily prevented, but forcibly carried back the garrison boat and canoes, with all the property purchased by Cornplanter for his nation. Having at this time no path to go by, and having to keep by the meanders of the Allegheny, made the way lengthy and disagreeable. I therefore desired my interpreter to request that one of them would return with me to O'Beel's town, and as they would by that means be separated, I would give to each, one dollar as a consideration for their trouble. They having acceded to my desires, I paid them 15s., and our guide conducted us in safety, at about 10 o'clock at night, to O'Beel's town, called, in the Indian language, Tenachshegouchtongee, or the burnt house. This town is pleasantly situated on the north side of the river, and contains about 28 tolerable well built houses; and the one which they had selected for me and my followers to reside in, was commodiously fitted up, with births to sleep in, and uncommonly clean; and provided us for the night with plenty of provisions, such as boiled vension and dumplings.

Matters were no sooner arranged than I desired my interpreter to have the chiefs collected where I could speak to them; upon which we found that all the chiefs and warriors of the town had gone on to Venango, hearing that their head warrior O'Beel, and their sachem, the New Arrow, were forced to take sanctuary in Fort Franklin, (one of our garrisons,) for the protection of their lives; that none remained in the town on this account, but three very old men, the women and children. That such was their fears as we were approaching this town, of which they had information, that they all assembled at their place of worship, believing it was near the hour of their dissolution, and they had called on their God to help them; but being happily informed by our guide of the good intentions we were come upon, they came to make us welcome. I then desired that they would furnish me with a canoe and a guide, to conduct me to the place where I could meet with O'Beel and his people, being desirous of going forward immediately, and that I should, without doubt, be the instrument of bringing their chiefs and warriors to them in a few days. Upon which, they sent five miles to procure me a canoe, and by day light, two young Indians attended me, with whom my interpreter and Captain Baldwin went for French creek, distant about one hundred and thirty miles, and arrived on the 8th day of April, about four in the afternoon, as we worked our canoe by turns

all night. Cash paid at New Arrow town, corn for horses, fifteen shillings; hire of a canoe and Indians to carry me to French creek, thirty-seven shillings and six pence; provisions, &c., thirteen shillings and one penny.

I no sooner arrived at the garrison on French creek, than I received a visit from Cornplanter, and those Indians who accompanied him at Philadelphia, who professed the greatest happiness to see me, being under the greatest anxiety of mind for the safety of the New Arrow, who was carried in the garrison boat to Pittsburgh, in the forcible manner before related, saying at the same time, that the whole of their goods were taken from them, which they never expected to recover; that in this distressed situation, they had not a second shirt to put on. I hereupon used every argument I was master of, to appease the fears they entertained on account of the absence of the New Arrow, as I could not believe that the inhabitants of Pittsburgh would offend, or suffer him to be ill treated; and should any, or the whole of their goods be squandered, by unwarranted conduct of the militia, that I should make it my duty to present the same to the Secretary of War, who would cause most ample justice to be done them; that on the morrow, I would write to the commanding officer at Pittsburgh to have their sachem, The Arrow, conducted in safety to this place as also, their goods, as I could not possess a belief that any waste would be committed upon them. I therefore desired him, without loss of time, to bring with him into the garrison all the head-men of the nations then present, so that I might inform them of the message I was charged with, from his Excellency, the Secretary of War to the Six Nations, by which means they would be the better able to understand what I had to say to them, before my meeting them in general council to-morrow. Upon this Captain O'Beel left me, and soon after summoned the chiefs presents, eleven in number, who met me in the garrison, by permission of Lieutenant Jeffers, and in the fullest manner, I gave them the necessary information. After some time spent on this business, I adjourned and proposed meeting them again in their encampment over French creek, early in the forenoon, and of which I desired that they might inform their people, so that none might be absent.

April 9th.

I Crossed French creek to their encampment about eleven o'clock, where I found them prepared to receive me, about seventy-five in number, exclusive of women, children and youth; in the whole one hundred and eighty. I read first the message to the Seneca nation, from the Secretary of War; and after ex-

plaining the principles upon which it was founded, I read to them the message from Governor St. Clair to the Wyandot and Delaware tribes, who were deemed and observed to be friends to the United States. Here I thought it my duty to explain to them the force of my message to the Indians, who were carrying on their wanton depredations and cruelties on the defenceless inhabitants resident near the Ohio: assuring them that it was the last solemn warning, should they refuse to accept the terms of peace now proffered to them that they could lay hold of, until done by a decisive stroke of a superior army just ready to go forward to conquest and be routed out of a country which they might otherwise possess and enjoy in undisturbed tranquillity.

That, with this present council it rests to save those misguided people on the Miamies and Wabash from the destruction that is just ready to fall upon and crush them; and the better to effect so laudable an undertaking, let there be selected from amongst you any number of your chiefs and warriors, not more than fifteen, nor less than five, to guide and accompany me to the Miamies; as by our going from hence, we shall save the distance of four hundred miles, if not compelled to go to Buffalo creek, and, by this fact, you will fully complete the end of my message to the Seneca nations, and for your services you shall receive ample rewards from the United States and do honor to your nation.

Hereupon they requested of me to retire from them, and those white persons who attended me, so that what I had said might be the more fully digested by them. We left them for about one hour and a-half, when a chief came to inform me that they were desirous of seeing me again at their fire. I accordingly attended, and Captain O'Beel was appointed to acquaint me with the determination of their council, which briefly was, that they could not agree to my request of going directly to the Miamies, as they must determine on that business in full council of the Six Nations at Buffalo creek. Seeing, therefore, that I had no other alternative but by going to Buffalo, I requested, then, that they would prepare themselves to leave this place and proceed to Buffalo on to-morrow, which they readily complied with; and for the Cornplanter's address to me, upon this occasion see subsequent pages.

I immediately from hence retired to the garrison to prepare a letter for his Excellency, Governor St. Clair, through which I gave, in detail, a circumspect account of every material transaction since my arrival in the Indian country; enclosed to him the speeches of little Beard and Cornplanter, thereby to enable him to judge of the obstructions that had fallen in my way,

which, with others that I might probably have to encounter, would be a means of exceeding the time limited by the Secretary of War for my meeting him at Fort Washington, on the Ohio, after passing through the country of the Miamies and Wabash Indians, to which nations my mission was principally intended to the restoration of peace between them and the United States.

During the time I remained at Fort Franklin, I received every mark of attention and respect from the Commandant, Lieutenant John Jeffers of the Connecticut line; and I think it but proper to name it in this place. A few days previous to my arrival at this Fort, the inhabitants resident at Conneyat and on French creek, were driven into the garrison, as also those at Cassawaga and obliged to leave behind them their habitations and effects possessed of every requisite for the comforts of life. David Mead, Esq. formerly of Wyoming settlement, with three of his brothers and their families, were of the number of these unfortunate people. At Venango, I was called upon by a white prisoner, named Nicholas Deanhoat, to give him a blanket, as he wanted one much; I did so, and paid for the same, 18s. 9d. He was dressed in the Indian garb, and what I was grieved to see, his ears were cut around and each hung with a considerable weight of lead, designed to stretch them to a proper length. He acquainted me that his friends lived in Schenectady; his father lately dying, left him a considerable sum of money, I urged him to go around with me on my tour, and on our arrival at Philadelphia, I would give him decent apparel, and subsistance while going to his relatives, but he declined it, saying that he could not live so agreeable with the white people as with the Indians. Contingent expenses, mending my sword, two pair moccasons, washing bill, &c., 34s. 4d.; hire of two Indians, from hence to O'Beel's Town, 45s.

April 10th.

Agreeably to the arrangement made by me at the general council yesterday, we set out from French creek, to go up the Allegheny river with thirty canoes, leaving at the same time, with Lieutenant Jeffers, for the defence of the garrison, fifteen Indians, to act as scouts for the garrison, as occasion should require—the garrison being very weakly manned at this time, only for the addition made to it by the inhabitants; neither had they any flour, on account of the detention of the garrison boat before spoken of, but what was supplied by David Mead, Esq. who had brought from his mills at Conneyat, a sufficient quanity, as, likewise, some hundred gallons of whiskey, which he dealt out to the garrison and inhabitants as they required it.

Halted this night at Oil creek, about eight miles from the

garrison. Lieutenant Jeffers came to us at this place, about twelve o'clock at night, and brought with him, certain letters that he had received from Pittsburgh that evening, with verbal messages he had received through the express, by which means the Indians were informed, that some of their canoes were plundered of what they contained, but that the garrison boat was returning with their chief, the New Arrow, &c., under the escort of Major Hart, with a proper guard. The news of the canoes being plundered gave rise to apparent disgust in most of the countenances of the Indians, saving that of Cornplanter's, who received it with that composure that he was usually wont to do. Upon the whole it gave me to fear, that this rude piece of conduct of our militia had damped the zeal of those whom I yesterday conceived were engaged to serve agreeable to my desires. I, however, undertook to give them assurances, that even should their goods have been plundered, as verbal report gave it, I would use every possible means to have every article replaced; and that, therefore, I earnestly entreated them to dispel those fears for a few days, having in their presence, enjoined Lieutenant Jeffers to forward an express to me, at the castle of O'Beel, and to write me fully, every matter that took place; and to obtain another letter from Major Hart, with whom they were well acquainted, to authenticate the same; and that whatsoever the result should prove. I would faithfully communicate the contents to them. Upon this promise, about ten o'clock in the forenoon of Monday, the 11th of April, we silently began to load our canoes, and shortly after, took up the line of march, O'Beel taking the lead. I held it proper to take my place next to his canoe, to stimulate him to press forward on his journey, ere we could reach Buffalo creek. We arrived this evening at an old Indian settlement called Hog's town; we had much rain this night, and very cold.

April 12th.

I was invited this morning to breakfast with Captain O'Beel, his squaw, &c. Our repast, boiled chestnuts, parched meal sweetened; his daughter made us some tea also, which she put into an open kettle when the water was cold and being boiled in that manner without any cover to the kettle it became very dirty and disagreeable to the taste; but, of the chestnuts, I partook sufficiently. Finding this morning by an Indian who had lately left the garrison, that several canoes loaded had deserted our little fleet, the Indians, being under much intoxication, had returned there again; in consequence thereof I wrote the commanding officer by an express, requesting him to cause the

Indians, who were designed to go forward with O'Beel, to quit the garrison and proceed. To express, 11s. 3d.

This day, about one o'clock, we arrived at the Munsee settlement where all the canoes came to at, in order to rest and prepare our dinners. Immediately after we had landed, and what appeared very strange to me, several Indian women came forward with kettles full of boiled corn and bear's meat, and placed it before Captain O'Beel, whom they had heard was approaching with his people. This being done, each family of a canoe, (as in each women and children,) approached with their kettles without any signal being made to receive their stipend: and, to do which, an old squaw was appointed to act as an issuing commissary, who dealt it out in proportions so justly, that each went away fully satisfied. Captain O'Beel requested of my interpreter to inform me, it was expected that I would partake of what was prepared; I did so accordingly to prevent displeasure, but with the weakest appetite. Expenses at this place for eatables, 22s. 6d; one gallon of whiskey for O'Beel and his people who accompanied me, 15s. After the whole had refreshed themselves, O'Beel informing the Delawares the business I was on, I was invited to their council fire, of which council Captain Snake was the principal; about thirty of the Delawares were present. I spoke a few words to them introductory to my reading Governor St. Clair's message to their nations residing on the waters near Lake Erie; the same message being directed to Captain Pipe as the principle chief of that tribe. Shortly after this discourse was ended, Captain Snake spoke through his interpreter to mine, as the person I had could not speak the Delaware tongue, and its contents are as follows:

"BROTHER:—We are thankful to God for the safe arrival of our brother amongst us, and we are glad to see him with such good intentions, and of the good news he brings. It makes us feel warm in our hearts and easy in our minds, that such confidence is placed in our nation. But the request he makes of us, to go with him to Buffalo, we cannot give an immediate answer to, as all our head men are not present; moreover, we want to talk with him and them together, and now we give him the kind invitation of your staying with us all night, and it is likely we shall then help him to the council fire, where he now asks us to go to, and our chiefs shall be sent for."

Here O'Beel spoke, and aided my proposition; and, as I was fully sensible of his friendship, I took his counsel, before I should determine on staying in this town. And, finally, judging of it to be a sure means of securing them to go to Buffalo with us, I consented; and of which they being informed, they sent off

runners for their chiefs and warriors, while we still remained in the council-house.

April 12th.

At 9 o'clock at night, Capt. O'Beel, the Delaware chiefs, and Senecas, called me into council, when Captain Snake's interpreter gave his speech as follows: "Uncle, (for that is the term given by the Delawares to the Senecas,) God has been good to us this day, for we have each heard the good talk sent from the great Chief of the Thirteen fires; and we have ever said, that we would advise each of every thing that we heard that was bad or that was like to befall either of our nations. Now, uncle, we have determined to go with you and your brother, who brings to us these tidings, to Buffalo, and there meet our nations at the great council fire. Blood may fall upon us while we are going, but now we give you our hands as we promised, and we will lie down and will rise together." [Here a belt of wampum was given, consisting of five strings, which Capt. O'Beel viewed in his hand a short time, and then presented it to me.] Captain Snake again repeated: "Uncle, in three days we move our women and children, and all that we have, to your towns; they are to remain with your women until our return." In the course of his speech, he also mentioned that their people expected to receive a stroke from the Messasagoes, a part of that nation who were led to war by their brothers.

April 13th.

Our fleet set out from Hickory town and reached Log-trap creek 10 miles distant, and encamped. Rained the whole night, and not a dry thread of cloths on myself or companions.

14th April.

Proceeded up the river this day, took up our encampment near the mouth of Casyonding creek, it being the place where Colonel Broadhead, in the year 1779, had fought against the savages; and in which action, Joseph Nicholson, his interpreter, was wounded.

April 15th.

Being very unwell this morning and overtaken with rheumatism pains, and to such a degree that I was obliged to have assistance to convey me from my canoe to the fire, same time being cold and rainy, I informed Cornplanter that I should leave his fleet and proceed to his lower town to procure some assistance, and I arrived there some time in the night, after a very laborious day's work to the Indians; the current of the river being so very much against us at this place. I applied to an Indian doctor, who prepared poultices of roots and herbage, and applied it to my foot, the power of which over the parts affected, threw it

into my knee, which produced the most exquisite pain; and I perceptibly felt that it shortened the sinews under my ham, upon which I applied it no more; fearing the consequences might be fatal to me for life. About eight miles about the encampment, where I left O'Beel, I came to a large river called the Conawango; and, at its emptying into the Allegheny, is said to contain as much water as flows in the other river, above it. At the confluence of these two rivers, the Government of Pennsylvania have laid out a manor of 3,000 acres, and up the said river (Conawango) to an Indian town called Cayantha, or the corn fields, are extraordinary rich lands, of which survey was made by David Rittenhouse, Esq. of the city of Philadelphia, some time since. The Indians whom I hired at Venango, to bring me to O'Beel's town, (there being two called by his name,) drew so nice a distinction, that they chose the first or lower town, and insisted that this was the town they intended to come to, and not the other, and should I require their assistance to go to the upper town, I must pay to each one dollar, (fifteen shillings.) The terms being agreed upon, we proceed to the upper town aforesaid, by some called the New Arrow's town, being the name of the head sachem of that place. At this town I left Captain Houdin, Indian Peter, the guide which I brought from near Tioga Point, also our horses, when I departed thence to Venango, on the 7th of April, and found the Captain in an enfeebled state of health, owing entirely to the hardships he underwent before his arrival at this place.

April 16th.

At this town I met in company with Captain Houdin, a French gentleman from Montreal, by the name of Dominick de Barge, who had followed the Indian trade in this country for six years past, and who lost by the same a considerable fortune by the credits he had given to some of the Indians, &c.; with them I found also a Mr. Culbertson, a trader from Genesee; and it gave me pleasure to find that the Captain was not altogether alone, he seeming to have an aversion in general, to the company of Indians.

April 17th.

This day the canoes, which I left on the 15th, arrived here, and brought news which they had received from an Indian runner, that, on Wednesday last, the 13th, the New Arrow and his associates, with the garrison boat, arrived at Fort Franklin, having suffered no damage in their persons, nor loss of their merchandise, as was reported, which belonged to Cornplanter and other Indians, but two or more cases of gin, taken by the militia, for which Squire Wilkins, of Pittsburgh, caused restitu-

tion to be made them. Settled with Mr. James Culbertson for supplies for my people and horses, during my absence, 44 shillings York, Pennsylvania, 41 $\frac{1}{2}$.

April 18th.

An express arrived here from the New Arrow, advising that they must send down to him, at Fort Franklin, a certain number of canoes, sufficient to carry the goods brought forward by Corn-planter, from Philadelphia. Finding, from experience, that the Indians were exceeding slow in putting matters in motion, which I held to be important, and slothful to the last degree, I wrote immediately by the return of the canoes to Franklin, to request that the commanding officer would lend them every assistance necessary to their being forwarded to this place, as I was well informed by a person that I employed upon the occasion, to know the general intention of the chiefs, that not one of them would go for Buffalo, with me, until they should see his return. This afternoon the canoes, which had loitered on the way, arrived, and by which I was informed that the Delaware and Munsee Indians, at Hickory town, were moving with their stock, &c. to Catteraugus.

April 19th.

O'Beel and chiefs arrived here from the lower town, and ordered their conch shell to be sounded through the village, to summon their head-men into council. After some time spent therein, the whole of them adjourned to my hut, being confined, to pay me and my friend Capt. Houdin, their compliments, as having come to visit them in their settlements under such friendly intentions. Nothing more material this day. But dancing was carried on the major part of the night, assisted by drumming, songs, &c.

April 20th.

An express arrived from Buffalo creek, informing that the fire of the Six Nations had been lighted by a number of chiefs and warriors, and that they had been stirring it long, to keep it alive waiting for the sachems of the Senecas, and their brothers who were sent by the Great Chief of the Thirteen Fires, whom we want to hear speak with us. It is likewise our desire, that all writings received at Philadelphia, from the great chief, Honondaganus, (General Washington,) may be brought forward with them so that the great council may hear the contents. On receiving this public message, I was requested by O'Beel and the other chiefs to write an answer to this message, on their behalf, as hearing that Colonels Butler and Brandt were at Buffalo, waiting our coming. I complied, agreeable to their request, and

directed the same to the Farmers Brother, Kuyasutta and Red Jacket, chiefs of the Six Nations, at Buffalo creek.

April 21st.

This morning the whole of the town were preparing to have a grand feast, to return thanks to the Great Keeper of all men, for their being spared to meet once more together; several of the chiefs called upon us to give us the invitation to be present, while they should perform divine worship in their way, adding, that Indians worshipped one Supreme head, the Preserver of all, both white and red men. Their speaker advised us, also, to be prudent while they worshipped, and not to be guilty of laughing or gestures, though the manner of it might differ widely from our own mode of worship; he likewise told us, that we must bring with us our ear, (the interpreter) to testify that they taught the true principles, by moral precept, and that their teachers both men and women, admonished their hearers against thieving, lying and speaking lightly of one another.

The manner of their preparing for worship is, that, in every house, they provide large quantities of such provisions as they think proper to bring with them, and the more varied the better, so that they may have a little of every sort, and none of the same returns to that house again; their method being to exchange their victuals on the ground, eating that which was brought by their neighbor; thus prepared, they proceed to the statue, which was erected in the center of the village, bearing some proportion to a man, and justly painted as the Indians are in common, but having no weapon of war about him, intimating that he was the maintainer of peace. This figure is about nine feet in height, and stood on a pedestal of about twelve feet, having on breech clout leggings and a sash over its shoulders, and a very terrible appearance. Under this statue were placed two chiefs termed the women's speakers, each of these held in their hands the shell of a large tortoise, the belly part covered with a thin skin stretched very tight, having, in the inside, several small stones, which shells being struck upon a deer skin which is stretched between them, beating time together, accompanying the same with their voices, they made such melody that the whole of the assembly were delighted. The old and the young women dance round in a circle, the image in the centre, the men following them, using gestures that would have made a saint laugh had he forgotten that he was in a place of worship; but the women looked meek and humble while they moved in concert in the dance, sliding their feet sideways, and folding their hands before them in a half circle, looking, at the same time steadfastly on the ground inclining their heads to the left. The last of wor-

ship was performed to what they call a brag dance; the young warriors retire to a house adjacent where are paints, feathers and red clay; with the two former they ornament their heads with feathers and their faces with paint, and their bodies with reddish clay that give their skins all the same cast; some with one-half their faces black and the other red, in order to look the more terrible; for in this manner they go to war. When all matters are thus adjusted and ready to sally from their show-box, their leader gives a long yell such as when a scalp is taken; and on the third being given, it is re-echoed by the whole rushing forward at the same time to the place of worship, while they dance round the statue, throwing their bodies and heads in every curious attitude, and brag, alternately, of all the cruelties they had exercised in war, of prisoners taken and of thefts committed on their enemies, and of many other exploits never performed. In the evening of the day, Captain O'Beel and other chiefs told me that they would be ready to go with me to Buffalo Creek in the morning if I thought proper; the information gave me the most heartfelt satisfaction, and I acquainted him that I was ready to depart at any hour they should agree to go, as much precious time had been wasted since my arrival at this place from the Gennessee country.

April 22d.

I closed my letters this day for his Excellency the Secretary of War, and a second letter for Governor St. Clair, (having wrote him the first from Venango,) and forwarded the same by a white prisoner, named Nicholas Deamhout, and for which I drew on the commandant at Fort Franklin to pay him to the value of 37s. 6d. in such articles as could be spared from the garrison; paid Indian Peter for services from Newtown Point to O'Beel's town, 22s. 6d.; to mess expense from the 16th to the 23d, including horse feed, £6 18s. 3d.; to cash paid Frances Slocum, a white prisoner, 7s. 6.; do. a white prisoner at Cattaragus, 11s. 3d.; she informs me that she is a sister to Henry Kepple, in Market street, born in Germany; her husband, a Lieutenant Groves of the Royal Americans, was killed at Venango in the year 1761; had been prisoner ever since, but too old and enfeebled to leave them; she informed me that she was truly poor; which I had apparent reason to believe, and I mean to inform her friends of the same, which in the cause of my making this minute, as knowing her brother was under wealthy circumstances. Hire of a horse for my servant to Buffalo, and loss of a bell, 15s.; to house and fire wood expense, at New Arrow's town, 15s.; Indian doctor's bill, 11s. 3d.; one pair of old shoes and buckles, 11s.

3d.; cash for an Indian kettle taken away by some of the Indians, 7a. 6d.

April 23d.

We left O'Beel's town about 12 o'clock and proceeded with a few chiefs and warriors, (the whole not being ready to depart with us,) taking the route for Buffalo, through a village called Cattaragus, which we did not reach before the 25th, in the evening; and on our way thither, passed through a settlement of the Delaware or Munsee Indians, in which was about twenty hours. In this place I saw a number of active young men: they being playing the game of bandy wicket, gave me the fairer opportunity of judging; the town of Cattaragus, contains in or near about fifty tolerable houses, bordering on a beautiful river and about two and a half miles from Lake Erie, surrounded by a most beautiful country and excellent land; but the water they have to drink, taken from a pond, is very indifferent. We had arrived but a short time when I caused the chiefs to be summoned into council, and, as thereto, a sentimental speech was delivered by Thyogachee. (See subsequent page.) While we remained in this town, they were preparing to bury the daughter of a great chief, and in the house that I was placed, there was a number of the mourners, who appeared under the greatest distress by their cries; during which time, all their heads were covered with their shrouds, but when they had uncovered themselves I did not discover that they had shed one tear. This brought to my recollection the manner of attending wakes in the old country, with the native Irish, where the rich hire old women to lament the loss of the deceased, and to recount all the valuable actions of their past life.

April 26th.

We took up our journey towards Buffalo, and in about five miles going from thence, we came in upon the verge of Lake Erie, which had a beautiful appearance, it being a pleasant morning, and the waters were very serene; and looking over the lake we could just perceive the land at the other side. We traveled along the sandy beach for some miles, but were obliged, at three or four different places, to leave the shore and take to the woods, the rocks having come bluff up to the deep water; from small springs that appeared upon the face of the rocks, it showed that it passed over bodies of mineral, from the hue that it gave: but the greatest curiosity that I had seen, was alum lying on the surface of the rocks, of which we might have gathered a pound in a quarter of an hour.

April 27th.

We arrived at Buffalo creek, having traveled through a country of exceeding rich land, from our last encampment, the extent

of which I had not been able to ascertain. The pre-emptive right to this valuable country was vested in the State of Massachusetts, but at present, the property of the Hon. Robert Morris, of the city of Philadelphia, by a late purchase. The principal village of Buffalo belongs to the Seneca nation, and in it the young King, the Farmer's Brother, resides, as also Red Jacket, the great speaker, and prince of the Turtle tribe. On my entering the town, there were numbers of Indians collected at the hut where we alighted from our horses, and on taking a general view of them. I found that they were far better clothed than those Indians were in the towns at a greater distance, owing entirely to the immediate intercourse they have with the British, being but about thirty-five miles distance from Niagara, and but six miles from Fort Erie, situate on the north side of the lake, from which places they are supplied yearly with almost every necessary they require, so much so, as to make them indifferent in their huntings. And the chiefs, who are poor in general, have to look up to them for almost their daily subsistence, not only of provisions, but for apparel; for the Farmer's Brother, the Young King, was fully regimented as a colonel, red faced with blue, as belonging to some royal regiment, and equipped with a pair of the best epaulets. So that, from his after conduct, it may not appear extraordinary, where the King has thrown in his opposition to my errand, he being paid so well for his influence over the Indian nations, as to carry his favorite point in question. I had not been long in the village before I was invited to the great council house, with my companion, attended by Red Jacket, O'Beel, and other chiefs. Just as we approached the porch of the council house, they had a two pounder swivel gun, which they had loaded very high, having put into her an uncommon charge, which the acting gunner being sensible of, stood within the door, and fired it from the end of a long stick, which he passed between the logs, which being done, the explosion upset the gun and its fixture. This, they said, was done as a treat for our safe arrival through the dangers that we had encountered, and for which they were thankful to the Great Keeper.

The speech, as an introduction, given by Red Jacket being ended, he came forward to me to the seat I had been ushered to in the centre of the council, and presented me with four strings of wampum which he had held in his hands while speaking (for the particulars of which see another page.) Capt. O'Beel having been particularly named by Red Jacket, he rose and returned the compliment in behalf of us that were strangers. Being at this time just sun setting, I apprised the council through my interpreter that I had messages from General Washington, the

great chief of the Thirteen Fires, which were particularly addressed to the notice of the Six Nations, the representatives of which nation I presumed were principally present: but, as it was drawing late, I requested leave to postpone the introduction till the morning, which was consented to. Upon this, Red Jacket rose to remark, that many persons had occasionally come into their country, who said that they had also come in by the authority of the Thirteen Fires, but of the truth of which they were not always convinced. This information opened the door that I expected, being informed by a French gentleman, a trader amongst them, that these sentiments had fallen from Colonels Brandt and Butler about seven days previous to our arrival at this place, who desired of the chiefs in private council to pay no attention to what should be said to them by me; and, as they knew the purport of my mission from the chiefs whom I had held council with at the Genesee river, the Colonels advised them not to assist me in going to the Miamies, as the consequence would be fatal to those that should attend me, and consequent death to me and my companion. From these suggestions which had fallen from Red Jacket, I mentioned in open council, that I was desirous that they might call forward any gentlemen of veracity whom they had confidence in, to be present while I should deliver myself to them, and overlook any writings that I was directed to lay before the Six Nations, as by that means proof would be made that my commission was founded on the authority of the United States of America. They then agreed upon sending for the commanding officer of Fort Erie, and despatched a runner for the purpose. Soon after the council broke up, Captain John, of the Onandagoes, came to my hut and informed me in private conversation, that no scruple was made of the authority I came under to them, being well informed by the chiefs of the Genesee who had given that information some considerable time before my reaching Buffalo. Captain John, from his manners appeared to be a man of veracity, and had received a Mohawk education and understood himself very well, and during my stay at Buffalo attached himself to me in person, and promoted all that lay in his power the business I had before the council; but the reasons, he said, they were so particular with me, was on account of a certain William Ewing, a resident from the Connedesago lake, who had come in behalf of the Hon. Robert Morris, whom he called the second greatest man in the Union; that he had convened a council the day previous to my arrival, informing those of the Six Nations present that the pre-emptive right to the lands in this country as belonging to the State of Massachusetts, were now the property of the said Robert Morris, whensoever the Six Nations of Indians

were disposed to sell any part of the same; that, the better to authenticate this business that he had to perform, he produced his instructions under the hands and seals of the Hon. Robert Morris and the Hon. —— Ogden, both of the State of Pennsylvania, adding, that the chain of friendship now stretched between the said gentlemen and the Six Nations, the centre of which was to be supported by him; that in consequence thereof, he desired their permission to traverse the several courses of the lands granted by their agents, —— Livingston, of New York, to the said State of Massachusetts.

April 28th.

The council being convened within the house, there appeared to be about one hundred and fifty in number. Mr. Ewing began to open and continue his business, which he had introduced the day before, upon which I rose to inform him that he must desist from going on any farther, as it was an interference with my mission, that was of the utmost consequence to the United States, and to the Indian nations in general, and that as soon as the same was completed, agreeable to the purport of my coming here, that then I would lend him such assistance as was in my power, and through which I would evidence my respect for the gentleman who sent him.

The commanding officer of fort Erie sent word to the council this morning that he could not leave his garrison without the express permission of the commandant of Niagara, (Col. Gordon,) but that he had sent Captain Powell, of the Indian Department, as a suitable person to superintend their business.

As a proper introduction to my mission, and by the consent and desire of O'Beel, I began by reading his address to the Governor and Council of the State of Pennsylvania, as also his several letters to the President of the United States, and his Excellency's answer to them in order, and a third letter to the same from the Secretary of War. The reading of these several papers, and the deed from his Excellency the President, for the restoration of their lands in the Six Nations, and the interpreting the same, took up the whole of the day, upon which I concluded to adjourn till to-morrow, leaving them to digest what had been said, and to judge of the great attention that had been paid to them by the Great Chief of the Thirteen Fires, I thought it proper to give the invitation to Captain Powell, to take up his abode at my hut for the night, which he very willingly accepted of. After we had taken a little refreshment we entered into a general conversation, and spoke on many matters, the consequences of the late war. The Captain being free in conversation gave me to understand that Colonels Butler

and Brandt, himself and several other officers from Niagara and Fort Erie, had been in Buffalo some time, waiting my coming, as they had advices that I was on the way hither; that while there Brandt received private instructions from head quarters, to set out for the Grand river, and from thence to Detroit. This business, Captain Powell judged, was to carry instructions of some kind to the Indians at war with the United States. It had the appearance of truth, from what had fallen from the Lips of Butler and Brandt, some day since with the chiefs of the Onandago, and Senecas, as it had the tendency of their joint advice when they spoke in the great council, viz: that they should not determine on any matter of consequence with me without their concurrence. These injunctions being laid upon them, (as I received it from my informant,) the British officers retired to their different posts.

FRIDAY, April 29th.

The business which I postponed yesterday, I opened in a much larger council than had appeared before; and, after I had read the Secretary of War's message by me to the Six Nations, I continued to read those also directed to the Delawares, Wyandots, the Miamies and to the Indians inhabiting the Wabash, and closed the whole with an address to them, clearly explaining the greatness and power of the United States, and of their trade and commerce; as also of their being at peace and amity with many of the powerful nations of Europe; and though we were once angry with Great Britain, with whom we had fought for eight returning seasons, and having compelled them by force and arms to quit our country, the red hatchet between them and the United States was buried deep under the earth.

I also went into and explained the treaty, held at New York, between his Excellency the President and Colonel McGillivray, the political chief of the Creek nations, and the most numerous body of Indians on the continent, and at this interview there were thirty-two of the most principal chiefs. Everything being most amicably adjusted at this treaty, they are now become the established friends of the United States, and have firmly engaged themselves to act as our allies in offensive wars, as the nature of the case will require. Moreover, as they had journeyed far from their own country, not less than sixteen hundred miles, that, to save them the trouble of returning the same way, an American vessel was properly equipped for their accommodation, and conducted them, fully satisfied, to their own country.

And here I was happy to have it in my power to give a more recent proof to the Six Nations, of the great justice done them

by the President of the United States, in the late negotiation had with him by Cornplanter and others, at Philadelphia, to evidence which, no greater testimony can be given than what I have produced this day, in the hearing of this larger assembly. And that nothing more remained, at this time, to be done, but for the chiefs of the Six Nations to evidence their attachment to the United States, by their speedily proceeding forward with me to the unfriendly Indians, and assisting me by the same to inform their minds, to reclaim them from the murders and thefts which they were daily committing upon the defenceless inhabitants near the Ohio, &c., &c. By this, they might have an early caution what must be the consequence, should they refuse to accept the terms of peace and the proffered mercy of the United States, before that a decisive blow be leveled at those misguided people, and which cannot be far off, if they persist in their cruelties. Moreover, that it is a business worthy the attention of the Six Nations, nay, of all good men, both of the Indians and of the whites; and the speedier their determination might be made known to me, the better, so that we might go on to the accomplishment of this good work, thereby to preserve hundreds of our fellow men on both sides. The reply of Red Jacket to the foregoing, as it will come more proper in this place, I here insert it at its full length:

"BROTHER FROM PENNSYLVANIA :

"We have heard all that you have said to us, and by which you have informed that you are going to the bad Indians to make peace with them, and that you are sent to us to receive our assistance. Now we must consider the matter thoroughly, and to choose which way we must go, whether by land or by water. You likewise tell us, that you have messages to the Wyandots and to Captain Snake of the Delawares, and that they are to take hold of you and us by the hands, and go to the bad Indian nation with us; and this, also, we must consider of thoroughly: for we find that all our Six Nations are not present; and, as our brother, Captain Powell, of the British, is here and true to us, for he is with us at every treaty, we must let you know that we shall move our council fire to Niagara with him, and that you must go with us to-morrow, as far as Captain Powell's house, and as soon as we can know what time we can reach Niagara, we will send runners off to the Fort, to acquaint the commanding officer of the garrison. And now the council want to have your answer."

I did not long hesitate to make answer, in what I deemed a very unwarrantable request; and particularly so from a people that have received so many marks of gratitude and attention from the

Government of the United States I therefore, addressed myself to the council and acquainted them that I had the honor of receiving my instructions and messages for the Six Nations of Indians from the honorable the Secretary of War of the United States of America, by the advice of his Excellency the President, thereof; that by those instructions, I was ordered to proceed to the council fire of the Six Nations, where it should be deemed proper and advisable to light the same. This is, therefore the place I have been led to by some of your principal chiefs; and upon my account, and the messages I have for your nations, this councilfire has been lighted; this being truly the case: and that my errand herewas to invite you to send with me some of your head men and warriors into the nation of the unfriendly Indians, as proposed at Philadelphia to the Secretary of War, by your chiefs who are present. That on my coming thus far, I am certain to be in the line of my duty: but to move from hence with this council fire to Niagara, a British garrison, there to transact important business, in which the United States were concerned, is of such a nature that neither my principles nor commission would warrant me in such a transaction, therefore I should decline to accompany them; adding that if the Six Nations were so far obligated that they must have the particular counsel and advice of any person or persons at Niagara, let them be sent for to this council, so that the result of such deliberations might be done openly at this place and that my desires were, that this fire should be quenched until the intentions of the Six Nations were fully made known to me, so that I might lay the same in form before the Secretary of War, by him to be laid before General Washington, the Chief of the Thirteen Fires.

A silence for some time pervaded the whole of the council, after which, Red Jacket and the Farmer's Brother spoke to the council by turns; the result of it being, that a runner must be immediately sent to Niagara, to request the attendance of Colonel Butler, &c., to meet them in their council as soon as he could make it convenient.

The foregoing speech of Red Jacket, as done by the advice of the Young King and Fish Carrier, for they sat on either side of him and prompted, plainly demonstrates, that the most of the chiefs of the Six Nations are under the influence of the British; as no business of consequence will be undertaken, to the advantage of the United States, but what must first be sifted by British counsel. These suggestions which were pressed on my mind at this time, gave me to fear that I should not meet the wished for assistance that I had a right to expect from the Six Nations, but fully determined to persevere in my endeavors till I should gain the success of difficulty which was arrayed before me.

April 30th.

No business this day; but private counselling among themselves. In the evening, Captain Powell invited me to go with him to a store about four miles distant, in which he was interested, and his partner who kept it, a Mr. Cornelius Winney, of Fish Kills. With the last named gentleman, I staid till the Monday following, through a very pressing and polite invitation, which at length I accepted of, being lame, and much indisposed, through fatigue and change of diet, such as from poor, to exceeding poor indeed; but with him there was plenty of every necessary and given with so good a grace, that I shall seek occasion to return the compliment.

May 2d.

No further business with me, but the Indians still continue their councils keeping their fire burning waiting the arrival of Colonel Butler, and by information which I received that leaked out of the cabinet of the Sachems, the council were much divided upon my account. About two in the afternoon, a messenger from Niagara arrived informing them, that Colonel Butler, &c., had set out from Niagara for this place. Among other circumstances in their private council by the friends to the British interest, that the place where I was desirous they should accompany me was on the verge of the ocean; that it would take them twelve months to reach the place of treaty; but those falsities were explained soon to my friends and through which I plainly shewed them, by my draughts, that the distance from hence to Fort Washington, did not amount to six hundred miles, and that half that distance we should go by the waters of lake Erie, and that when I was satisfied of their going with me, I would charter one of the trading vessels on the lake for that purpose.

May 3d.

Finding upon inquiry that there was no general council to be held this day, waiting the coming of Colonel Butler, I sent the interpreter to invite the chiefs to my cabin, as I had some matters to communicate to them, previous to their going to general council, they soon attended me, and I took the opportunity to open my map before them, and showed from our situation at Buffalo, the trace we should make into the Miami nation; from thence to Fort Washington, on the Ohio; the first by a transport on Lake Erie, to the mouth of the Miami, which, with anything of a fair wind, could be completed in less than two days and two nights. From the mouth of the Miami to the Messasagoe nation, situate on the same, and from thence to the Miami and Wabash tribes, at such place where they might gen-

erally be assembled; plainly demonstrating to their satisfaction, that the whole tour could be performed in a short time, and, therefore, enjoined them under the friendship which they professed to bear to the Thirteen Fires, that they would in their next council, promote and further my business, that I came to receive their assistance to perform; so that I might go on my journey without further hesitation, as my orders were not to remain at any council longer than two or three days, if I could possibly do otherwise; so that it might be reasonably expected, that my stay here could not be much longer, this being the seventh day since my arrival, I hoped, therefore, that they would not be silent with me longer, as I plainly saw that they were not to exercise their own opinions but on the opinion of the British Agent. These remarks I made with intention that they should feel the force of my observations; upon which Red Jacket desired that I should hear him speak; as I had been speaking a long time. "Tell him, said he (speaking to the interpreter,) that some of his language is soft, but that other parts of it are too strong; for the danger that is before us is great, and our enemies are drunk; and they will not hear what we say, like a man that is sober, and we consider that, whatever number of the Six Nations accompany him, will be in the same danger with himself, and it is likely that we shall not live long, when the bad Indians shall see us, therefore as it is a business of such great weight to us, we must take council in order to save ourselves and him from falling by their hands. moreover, the Indians are not like white men; for they must think a great while. He must therefore attend our councils, and look and hear till we shall speak on this business, and to-morrow our head men will meet together and try what can be done." While we were in conversation together, a runner came to the Young King, acquainting him that Colonel Butler with several officers, from Niagara, had arrived at the store house, on Lake Erie, where Colonel Butler desired, that the sachems and head men of the nations should meet him in the morning; but did not advise that I should attend with them. This the Young King desired might be told to me, that I might know that Colonel Butler had called them together. The circumstance of their moving the council fire from hence to Lake Erie, had never been attempted before, and may with propriety be said, that their being called together without my being to be present, was intended to answer some private purpose; perhaps to damp the ardor of such friends as I might have gained amog then Indians, through the fair and honorable statements which I had laid before them in their councils. Since the dusk of the night Captain O'Beel has called a meeting of the chiefs, at the cabin of Kuyasutta, as

I understood it, to advise them not to do any thing to injure me in the business I had to do with them. In the course of this day, Captains Half Town and Big Tree, and several of the head men and warriors from O'Beel's town and Cattaragus, about sixty in number, and Captain Snake, with about forty of the Delawares arrived, attended by many of their women, youth, &c. By invitation I dined this day (in company with Captain Houdin,) with the principal chief of the Onandago nation, named Big Sky. His castle lay about three miles east of Buffalo, near which were about twenty-eight good cabins, and the inhabitants appeared in general to be decent and well clothed, particularly their women, some of which were dressed so richly, with silken stroud, &c., and ornamented with so many silver trappings, that one suit must be of the value of at least thirty pounds; some of the latter attended the feast, which principally consisted of young pigeons, some boiled, some stewed, and the mode of dishing them up was, that a hank of six were tied with a deer's sinew around their necks, their bills pointing outwards; they were plucked but of pen feathers there plenty remained; the inside was taken out, but it appeared from the soup made of them, that water had not touched them before. The repast being the best I had seen for a long time, I ate of it very heartily, and the entertainment was given with the appearance of much hospitality. Returned about sunset at Buffalo.

May 4th.

The whole of the headmen and warriors repaired to the place yesterday appointed by Colonel Butler, to open that council they intended holding at the British garrison of Niagara. I pressed my friend O'Beel to go forward with them by all means, lest the United States should not be represented. About eleven o'clock an Indian runner delivered me a letter from Colonel Butler, through which Captain Houdin and myself received a polite invitation to dine with him and his officers, viz: Captain Burrows, commandant of Fort Erie, Colonel Street, Captain Johnson, Captain Powell and Captain Butler Shane; most of which gentlemen appeared to speak the Indian language fluently, and all appeared to be busily engaged with the parties, holding converse with them. The tenor of which was as I since understood it, that they must be cautious what they should undertake to do in such matters as I had laid before them; and before they might determine they must repair to Niagara and receive the instructions of Colonel Gordon. Colonel Butler speaking to them in my hearing to the same effect, also mentioning, that, as Colonel Brandt, of Grand river

and Mr. M'Gee, agent for the Indian affairs for Detroit, were now preparing to go among the Indians at war with the Americans, to know what their intentions were, whether for war or for peace; advising them by all means to wait the information that would be received from them, and, should it not come as early as might be expected, they should not go without it, as thereby they would draw war upon their own nations, for they were very angry with them already, and would be more so in finding an American among them; and that, notwithstanding his going among them was to establish peace, they would kill them all without waiting to hear what errand he had come upon. This, and the like conversation from Colonel Butler beside what were doing by his officers of the Indian department then present, lasted till late dinner time, and previous to their going away to their castle at Buffalo. The Young King and Red Jacket remarked to Colonel Butler, that the speech intended for the Miami and Wabash Indians contained threatening sentences which would be more likely to irritate them than soften them into a compliance. Upon this information being given, I undertook to show them to Colonel Butler and others that were present, that, on the same being read publicly, they acknowledged that they had not understood it so well before, and appeared satisfied that a mistake rested with them. A considerable conversation took place with Colonel Butler and myself in presence of the Young King and other chiefs entirely on the subject of a peace, and of my intended progress through the Miami country which severally interpreted to them, the tenor of the Colonel's advice being, to leave the whole of the treaty, and adjustment of the same to the chiefs of Buffalo, Colonel Brandt and M'Gee, whom he should engage for to accommodate the disputes between the Indians at war and the United States, and on no account to attempt the undertaking myself, as he was well aware what must be the consequence.

Colonel Butler having given his opinion so fully, gave me the opportunity to explain myself, by saying that, if I possessed weakness enough to submit to a negotiation on the terms he had introduced, that a peace could not be confirmed with the thirteen States, but with his Britannic Majesty's subjects, in their behalf; that, on the completion of this business, due honor would rest with the negotiators, and, by such a passive procedure in me, I should justly entail on myself lasting disrepute. That, for those reasons, the chiefs of the Six Nations must be decisive in their answer to me, within a few days, being compelled by my duty to seek assistance by other expedients, which are in my power—perceiving in some of their chiefs, an indifference of conduct in matters which I held to be of the utmost

importance. These expressions having been interpreted to them, they severally retired to their villages, and I received the invitation of continuing the night with those gentlemen, and complying with the same, I received the utmost civility and agreeable conversation till one o'clock in the morning.

May 5th.

This morning Col. Butler and his suite took boat from hence, which was rowed by six British soldiers across the lake, for Fort Erie; and previous to their departure, as before mentioned, I saw that each and every public paper received by Cornplanter, at Philadelphia, together with the message that I brought to the Six Nations, were safely put under the care of Col. Butler, and by him to be presented to the commanding officer of Niagara, as concluded upon by the council of the Six Nations, so that the counsel of Col. Gordon might be obtained by them. In the afternoon of this day, I wrote a letter to obtain permission from the commanding officer of the Niagara, to freight one of the Schooners upon the lake, to conduct me, and such Indians as were willing to go with me to Sandusky, in order that no time might be lost when I should gain their concurrence, and forwarded the same by an Indian, being unwilling to trouble either of the officers with its carriage, to Col. Gordon; paid him 15s.

(See the letter to Col. Gordon.]

May 6.

Red Jacket and Captain O'Beel came to see me, when the former acquainted me with the reason why no council would be held this day, to wit: That it was their pigeon time, in which the Great Spirit had blessed them with an abundance; and that such was his goodness to the Indians that He never failed sending them season after season, and although it might seem a small matter to me, the Indians will never lose sight of those blessings. This is, therefore, the reason why our men, women and children, are gone from their towns, but on to-morrow our headmen will return and your business again shall be taken up. 'Tis a matter worthy of observation, that at some convenient distance from every one of the Indian settlements, the pigeons hatch their young in this season of the year, and the trees, which they commonly light on, are low and of the bushy kind, and they are found in such great abundance, that exceeding a hundred nests, a pair of pigeons in each are common to be found in a single tree, so that I have seen in one house, belonging to one family, several large baskets full of dead squabs; these they commonly take when they are just prepared to leave their nests, and as fat as is possible for them to be made; when after they are plucked and cleansed a little, they are preserved by smoke and laid by for use.

May 7th.

Captain O'Beel called the chiefs together on business concerning themselves; to take into consideration where land should be selected for the accommodation of certain tribes and families, who had put themselves under the protection of the Six Nations, being compelled to leave their former situations, dreading the rage of the Shawanese and Miami Indians.

To Captain Snake and the Delawares under his immediate care, the place appointed for them to plant in, was near the village of Cattaragus; to the families of Connondochta, a chief of the Messasagoes, and to the Bear's Oil Chief and his family, who fled from their settlement, Conyatt, all of the same nation, had their planting grounds assigned to them near the village of Buffalo. On the arrival of the Bear's Oil chief and Connondochta at this place, they acquainted me, that, from their friends, they had intelligence, that large bodies of Indians were assembled at the Miami, preparing for a descent on some part of our settlements or garrisons, on or near the Ohio, and that many white people had lately fallen by the hands of the Indians, in which attack, two warriors were lost; and by the same information, they received accounts that war traces were seen leading to Fort Pitt. They professed to be very happy in seeing of me, as they had heard it in their own country, the business I had come upon. At this meeting, advice was received that the Squawky Indians, those of Carrahadeer, and Hishhue, were in fear of our white people, and about to leave their settlements and repair to Buffalo. This account several of the chiefs came to make me acquainted with. Upon which, I told them such a report had not the least shadow of truth, for it was a well known subject to the inhabitants of the Genesee, that, by my mission, I was sent to the Six Nations as a pledge for the friendship of the Thirteen Fires, to them; that whosoever was the author of this bad report, was a great enemy to the Indians, as well as to the whites inhabiting the frontiers, and that, therefore, without loss of time, they should send messengers to advise the Indians of those settlements not to stir from their property, but to go on with their planting as usual, and that neither our army nor our militia, dare to disturb the quiet. This, my advice, was communicated to the council, and Corn-planter was active in forwarding the dispatches to them. During this day's business in their council, it was moved that some of their chiefs, attended by the Farmer's Brother, should go to Niagara to obtain the counsel and assistance of Colonel Gordon; but nothing was determined upon.

Mr. Joseph Smith arrived this day from the Genesee with a message from Col. Pickering, intimating to the Six Nations that he

had received presents for them from the United States, desiring their attendance at the Painted Post on the Tioga river, on the 16th day of June next. The introductory part of his address pointed out to them the interview that he had with their chiefs at Tioga Point two years since; that there the mutual friendships between the United States and the Six Nations were entered into; that he was happy to inform them that the chain between them was held fast by the States, and kept free from rust. In his next position, he recommended to them to keep peaceable in their towns, and by no means to join the Indians who were carrying on a war against the United States. I seconded the purport of his speech to them and advised, in a particular manner, that the whole of their chiefs and warriors with their women, would present themselves at Cohockton on the day, or as near it as possible, and receive the benefits which would be bestowed upon them by the Thirteen Fires; and this the chiefs promised should be attended to.

Council this day as usual, without my meeting amongst them. Nothing more material.

May 8th.

A great dance was performed here this day, and worship by the Six Nations present; but in the fore part of the day held council, and I was present. For the particulars, see the speech of Fish Carrier, a chief of the Cayugas, and the right hand man of Brandt and Butler.

May 9th.

The council being convened, I replied to the speech of Fish Carrier delivered yesterday, in which I gave them to understand that I thought it useless for me to stay any longer with them at Buffalo, seeing that those who were in the interest of the British had deterred others of them from serving in the cause of the United States; and that, whatsoever they might have conceived of their conduct throughout this business, that I would lay it in its true colors before General Washington, the President of the United States, that he might be the judge how far the Six Nations deserved his future attention and care. And here I must inform the chief and head men of the Six Nations, that I have, by your desire from time to time, overstaid the period limited me to be at Fort Washington, being the thirteenth day since my arrival. I therefore call upon you for your final answer to my message, and I cannot doubt but it will be such that will remove all those troubles from my mind that it has labored under for many days past; and this you must receive as the last talk I have to make to you, unless that something worthy of my attention shall be publicly declared by your head men, that

can alter the opinion I now possess. And shall only add in this place, that it is my fervent desire that the Great Spirit may always preside over the councils of the Six Nations, and direct all their doings for their lasting happiness. Previous to my leaving the council, Red Jacket and the Young King desired that I would wait their future deliberations, and from a few words which were afterwards spoken to me by Red Jacket in council, gave me the first reasons to expect their assistance.

May 10.

Worship was performed this day as usual.

May 11.

The great dance that succeeded was attended with a very drunken entertainment, from the Young King to the meanest subject, Cornplanter and some of the elders of the women excepted; but not the least insolence was offered to me, or any of my people.

May 12.

There was general alarm took place in all the villages near this quarter, the cause of it I had judged proceeded from the enemies of the United States; but report gave it that there was a large number of Indians approaching the castle of Buffalo, and that one of them had come to a woman the last evening, and showed her two fresh scalps, one of which was a white man's, and the other an Indian's; the last scalp so large, that the ears with its bobs remained to it, and that the main object was to make demand of the white persons among them, and of me in particular, to be surrendered; and should it be denied, they would commence an open war amongst them. Capt. O'Beel on this feigned alarm, sent out early in the morning of the 13th, a number of his Indians to discover if there was the appearance of an enemy's track; but returned in the afternoon and reported that there had been no Indians where it had been said there were seen in numbers. Some time in the day the Young King went to the encampment of the Bear's Oil chief, and in conversation with him, and many others of the Indians, told them to prepare for going to Niagara in the morning, with him and others, to consult with Col. Gordon what was necessary to be done, as I had required an immediate answer from the Six Nations, on my messages to them, and to determine whether they should take the advice of the United States, or the advice of the British. This information I received from Captain Print, an Indian Chief, and one of those who accompanied Gen. Sullivan, speaking the English Language sufficiently well to be understood. He told me further, that the British were the main instigation of my not succeeding hitherto. This led me

to call a meeting of the chiefs at my cabin this evening, and particularly the Young King to be of the number. Captain Print was present, as also O'Beel. Before them I recounted many principal objects, as the end of my mission to them; and in the clearest and most becoming manner, I showed them where they had failed to perform in many instances, all that I required at their hands; and if such had been attended to by them, the United States would be more liberal in their rewards, but the contrary having taken place, the more straitened their gifts would be in future; and that the reasons that they were now called to the Painted Post to receive clothing, &c., at the hands of Col. Pickering, were under the firmest belief of the President of the Thirteen Fires, that we are at this time far advanced in the country of the unfriendly Indians, proceeding on our way to the treaty at Fort Washington, which is to be held by Gen. St. Clair, Governor of the Western territories. What passed at this interview between me and them, was soon carried for the information of the elders of the women, and was the cause of the awakening the whole of them from their lethargy. Mess expenses for four persons, and feed for our horses, commencing 27th April, to 13th May, both days included, £12 16s. 7d.

Information received this day of Mr. Joseph Smith, interpreter, as he had the same from a Mr. John Knowles, of Detroit, and formerly of the city of Philadelphia, silversmith, viz: that after the battle which was fought last fall, between Colonel Harman and the Wabash Indians, &c., great quantities of provisions, ammunition and other necessaries, were sent to the seat of war to supply the Indians, and conducted by a Simon Gerty and some other persons from the garrison of Detroit, said to be of more notoriety than said Gerty, this being a fact founded on truth.

Quere. Is it not as likely that they are constantly supplied by the same process with every article they stand in need of to carry on war with the United States; and, can this be a principle comporting with the reputation of a *brave Briton*? I think not.

May 14th.

Private council this day with the Indians, as usual, in which they strongly debated on the principles under consideration between me and Colonel Butler, the particulars of which are more fully explained in the speech of the Young King, assisted by Fish Carrier, which he delivered in my hut after candle light. (See subsequent page.)

The afternoon of the 9th instant, about 5 o'clock, my interpreter came to inform me, that Mr. William Ewing had called

the chiefs to his hut, (as was his custom, unknown to me, almost every afternoon,) and that a council fire was lighted in the front of the same; that Fish Carrier, the Farmer's Brother and several other chiefs were present, consulting on the business I have before alluded to. It gave me some concern, that the imprudence of this young man had compelled me to come forward, to silence him, as I saw plainly, and received information also, that the Indians were not able to decide what purpose was intended, by sending two extraordinary messengers to them at one time; being led to believe, that the authority of each was nearly similar. I proceeded to the council fire, and in a short manner introduced my business to the chiefs, of what was the cause that brought me forward to interfere in the business of their council.

Upon this, I turned to Mr. Ewing, and charged him with having insidiously thrown obstructions in my way, and was one of the principal causes of my not having succeeded in the purpose of my message to the Six Nations. In consequence of which, I commanded him, in the presence of the chiefs, at his peril to proceed any farther, in either their public or their private councils, until my mission was fully decided upon by the chiefs of the Six Nations, and should he attempt it after this caution, that I should be unpleasingly compelled to commit him to the first prison that could be come at within the United States, and prosecute him, on the obvious reasons before recited. The purport of this conversation with Mr. Ewing, I desired my interpreter to communicate to the chiefs, and upon which I left them to regale themselves with liquor, placed before them for the occasion.

On the Young King's closing his conversation with me for the night, and roundly denying that they would accompany me in person to the Miamies, &c., I took this as the last occasion I should have to tell those who accompanied him the sentiments of my mind, and assuring them, at the same time, that whatever I should say to the Secretary of War on my return, should be identically to the same effect that I had upon all occasions accosted them; and that, as I scorned deception, I must generously tell them that I was displeased with their delays, and of the little respect they had paid to the message that I was charged with to their nations. That if the same was well received by the Secretary of War, it would tend to their future advantage; but that I could not persuade myself would be the case, and closed our conversation for the night.

May 15th.

Early this morning the elders of the Indian women resorted to my hut, (present a number of chiefs.) Having heard the

general conversation that took place between me and the Young King the evening before, addressed me in the following manner:

"BROTHER:—The Lord has spared us until a new day to talk together; for, since you came here from General Washington, you, and our uncles the sachems, have been counselling together. Moreover, your sisters, the women, have taken the same into great consideration, because that you and our sachems have said so much upon it. Now, that is the reason why we have come to say something to you, and to tell you that the Great Spirit hath preserved you, and you ought to hear and listen to what we women shall speak, as well as to the sachems; for we are the owners of this land and it is ours; for it is that we plant it for our and their use. Hear us, therefore, for we speak of things that concern us and our children, and you must not think hard of us while our men shall say more to you; for we have told them."

The above speech being ended, I acceded to a request they made that I would attend their sachems in council this day, and hear what should be said by the women's speaker, the young prince of the Turtle tribe, (Red Jacket.) Soon after their departure the alarm gun was fired, which was their signal to call their head men into council. They were soon assembled from their adjacent villages, and sent some of their sachems to usher me and my colleague into their assembly. Being arrived, the first matter unusual that presented itself, were the elders of the women seated near their chiefs. When, after a short silence, the speech of the women was continued by Red Jacket, agreeably to the terms entered into between them, and the whole of the leading sachems of the Six Nations, as follows:

"BROTHER FROM PENNSYLVANIA:

"You that are sent from General Washington, and by the Thirteen Fires; you have been sitting side by side with us every day, and the Lord has appointed us another pleasant day to meet again.

"Now, listen, Brother: You know what we have been doing so long, and what trouble we have been at; and you know that it has been the request of our head warrior (O'Beel,) that we are left to answer for our women, who are to conclude what ought to be done by both sachems and warriors. So hear what is their conclusion. Brother, the business you have come on is very troublesome, and we have been a long time considering on it, ever since you came here; and now the elders of our women, considering the greatness of your business, have said that our sachems and warriors must help you over your difficulties, for the good of them and their children. Moreover, you tell us since

the treaty of Tioga with us, the Americans are strong for peace.

"Now, all that has been done for you by our women, and the rest will be a hard task for us; for the people at the setting sun are bad people and you have come on us in too much haste for such great matters of importance. And now, brother, you must look when it is light in the morning until the setting sun. and you must reach your neck over the land, and take all the light you can, to show the danger. And this is the words of our women to you, and the sachems and warriors who shall go with you. And now we shall name them, as they have first presented themselves, in this full council, viz: Our first great sachem Kuyascetta, Red Jacket, the young prince of the Turtle tribe, Captain John of the Onandagoes, the Grand Carrier Awangogathe, [The foregoing are four chiefs of six who were appointed to conduct me into the country of the unfriendly Indians. The names of the other two grand chiefs were at the same time given, but, by some accident not inserted.] And now we will name our chief warriors, viz: Sawishue, Cuyanddoas, Unandasthenous, Thenachqua, Conneague, Tenanquachqua, Othanjohnngottang, Hottendeyouche and Attwaniken.

"Now, brother from Pennsylvania and from General Washington, I have told you what has been directed. Let us, therefore, throw all care on the mercy of our Great Keeper, in hopes that he will assist us. You now know that Col. Butler, of the British, told us that he must take our writings down to Col. Gordon, as he is a very wise man, and perhaps he may have some thing to say to us that is for our good. And we also want his assistance, as he is the man that keeps all the vessels that is on the lake. Therefore, my brother, make your mind easy, for your request is granted, and when we hear from our brothers, the British, then we shall know what time we can start. And you must not be uneasy that our brother, O'Beel, does not go with you, for he is very tired and he must rest awhile, and take charge of our young warriors while they are playing, (hunting,) to keep them in peace, for fear of danger. And now, while we are speaking, more of our young warriors have given their names to go with you."

Having received this welcome information, and so firmly authenticated by so complete a council, I undertook to write a second letter to Col. Gordon, commandant of Niagara, making request of him to grant me a passage in one of the merchant or other vessels on lake Erie, for a certain number of Indians, and others, intended to accompany me to the Miamies, and from thence to Fort Washington, on the Ohio, and, the better to prevent any miscarriage or delay I sent it by Mr. Horatio Jones, my interpreter on the morning of the 16th, enjoining him by all

means to present it to the Colonel himself, and to return with an answer to me as speedily as possible. [See the letter.]

Early on the morning of the 17th, he crossed the river St. Lawrence to Niagara, and being well acquainted there, he went through any part of the garrison he thought proper, until about ten o'clock, when he went to the commandant to present my letter. Mr. Jones informed me, that, as soon as it was known that he was charged with a public message from me, the town major had orders to put an orderly non-commissioned officer to attend him, and to prevent his going through the garrison or of holding any particular conversation with the inhabitants. And, as soon as Col. Gordon sent to him the answer of my letter, he was ordered to return to Buffalo by the same route he had came; and the orderly conducted him to the ferry where he had crossed in the morning, and returned on the 19th, to me at Buffalo.

The answer which Col. Gordon sent in his letter was, that, as he had not seen those public documents that I had wrote him of, therefore he could not enter into a discussion with me on matters of a public nature, viewing me only in the line of a private agent; nor was he authorized to permit me a passage for the Indians I proposed carrying to Sandusky, in any of the vessels on the lake, (See his letter.) This unfriendly denial puts a stop to the further attempting to go to the Miamies, as the Indian chiefs who proposed to accompany me were unable to walk the distance required, and it was held by them unsafe to go in a large Albany boat I had contracted for, fearing disappointments; as to gain a harbor for such a boat in case of rough water it could not be met with at times, under going the distance of twelve or fifteen miles, and all winds from the north-east and north-west and northerly, made the lake very turbulent, and the waters as rough as the ocean.

While Mr. Jones continued at Niagara, six engineers and twenty-five or more artificers arrived there from Quebec, being sent by Lord Dorchester for the purpose of carrying on some works of fortifications. He likewise saw that fresh work had been done to the face of the garrison, &c.

I have likewise been informed that the British have laid the foundation of a new fortress on the north side of Lake Erie, at some distance higher up the rapids, and I presume, (beyond the range of thirteen inch shells from the present garrison;) it being very evident they cannot, in justice maintain it much longer. The reason of their establishing of new garrisons on the lakes is very obvious, they being intended for the support of the fur trade, which produces abundance of wealth yearly to Great Britain. But this revenue will, I hope, very soon be decreased,

on the surrender of the Fort of Detroit, the key of the fur trade by the lakes and such posts as may be established by the United States in the Western territory, near the Mississippi, and also in the Wabash country, and by the Government of Pennsylvania, at the old French garrison of Presqu' Isle; which will invite most of the trade from the Grand river, that empties itself into Lake Erie, on the north side, and at a small distance from that beautiful station of as fertile lands as America produces, of a pure air and healthful climate.

During the absence of my interpreter, twelve of the chiefs, headed by the Young King, came to the Store-house on the lake, (at which place I was writing my dispatches for the Secretary of War,) and informed me that they understood that I had intentions of going away secretly from them in the night, and that I had proffered an extraordinary price for a horse for that purpose, and had likewise offered a large sum of money to an Indian to carry my letters to Pittsburgh. I then inquired who was their informant, that I had communicated these things to. They answered that John Berry, an Indian, who interpreted for Mr. Ewing, had told them so, and that they had come to know my reason for so doing. I replied, that such a thought had not passed my mind, and that, if I had had such intentions, why should I have sent my interpreter to Niagara, to obtain a vessel to conduct me and them to the place I so earnestly and so constantly had solicited them to accompany me? And that, were I disposed to leave them in that manner, I should not have sold my horse yesterday to their trader, Mr. Vinney; and the sole reason of my having sold him, was, that we could not take a horse by water to Sandusky; for, when there, we should have the utmost occasion for them, having to travel a long distance on foot. But the mistake or wrong interpretation rested on this point. My intentions of going by water, as above related, prompted me to engage one of O'Beel's Indians, whom I believed to be an honest man, to carry my letters to Fort Franklin; and, as well as having offered him certain payment for his service, I had proposed to him a horse to carry him to the New Arrow's town, where the horse belonged, and the rest of the way he might go by water, if he chose to do so. Moreover, to speak in their own language, I was more of a man than to leave my friends in that manner; and that whenever I was about to go from them, I should tell them so, and take my leave of the Six Nations. Having so said to them, I gave them a treat, and they returned to the towns fully pleased and satisfied.

May 17th.

Red Jacket and other of the chiefs informed me that my friends in the different towns expected that I would give them, some-

thing to drink, as they were going to have a great dance before they should leave their women. I readily accepted his propositions, and ordered eight gallons of the best spirits to be presented them for the entertainment; and I desired that the women should be attended to particularly, for their valuable conduct in the last great council.

May 18th and 19th.

I was engaged in preparing my despatches for the Secretary of War, and other letters of the same import for Governor St. Clair, and I proposed to forward them by the way of New Arrow's town, thence to Fort Franklin and Pittsburgh, and appointed Captain Stingfish, of New Arrow's town to be the bearer, whose wife was the principal governess and leader of the chiefs among the women, and the principal promoter in gaining the sachems over to my interest. It is well known to every person entrusted with a public commission among the Indians, that they are expected to possess a liberal hand. Red Jacket whom we have often spoken of, waited on me this morning to tell me that his house wanted a floor; that, as he was going with me and desirous to leave his family more comfortable in his absence, he expected that I would have it done for him. Moreover, he wanted some rum for his wife and his mother; and, that he might drink with them before he set out on his intended journey, he wanted a little for himself. The first request of laying his floor, I promised to have done immediately before our going on board the vessel; and to make him and his wife cheerful at parting, gave orders to present him with one gallon of rum. The Young King was not less pressing in his request for rum on various occasions; and although he did not behave so well in their council as I desired, I did not send him away empty handed, sound policy having dictated my motives. And, as I perceived that Captain O'Beel's modesty prevented his calling on me in that way, to him and Cuyaratta I was not less liberal. To a Shawnee Indian named Chafudet, (or Hot Sun,) one of the chiefs appointed to conduct me into the Shawnee country, I gave a blanket, being entreated by him in a particular manner to furnish him, for which I gave 18s. 9d. This afternoon and immediately after Mr. Jones' arrival from Niagara, the Young King and the major part of the chiefs came to be acquainted what was the result of Colonel Gordon's answer to me, upon which I informed them, to meet me in general council in the morning being desirous of communicating some matters of consequence to them, and then they should be informed of the contents of his letter. About this time I received information, that, about eight days since, Colonel Brandt had set out from the Grand

river with about forty warriors, to touch at Detroit, to take with him Mr. M'Gee, agent for Indian affairs in that district, from thence, to proceed to the great encampment of those Indians at war with the United States; and by those who are professed friends of the British family, believed that his motives were not to pacify them, but to inflame their minds to a more vigorous opposition.

May 20th.

According to my proposals of yesterday, I met them in general council; introduced and explained the substance of Colonel Gordon's letter to me, apprising them that I was sensible of the cause that led him to give me such a denial, that it was replete with envy in him towards the United States. And it spoke no great affection in him towards the Indians, and that, ultimately, it must reflect on his name and station, the unfavorable epithet of a discernible public, as preferring to cherish the rage of the desolating sword of war, to the happiness which flows in such abundance through the channels of peace.

And perceiving from those causes, that nothing further can be done by us at this time, I must take my leave of the Six Nations, and return with my informations to the chiefs that sent me, to whose attention I will recommend them, seeing that no fault this time lays at their door. Having placed the whole of our disappointment to the fount from whence it came, and to-morrow being the day I propose moving hence, I have now to desire that the chiefs will prepare to deliver me their farewell speech, which I will duly communicate to the Great Chief of the Thirteen Fires, and hope that it may be done soon to-morrow.

May 21st.

The whole of the chiefs resorted to my cabin, and the Young King, by appointment, gave their farewell speech, but not without the aid of Fish Carrier, whose physiognomy, when speaking, put me in remembrance of the old Roman senators, possessing so much keen gravity in his manner. [For the conclusive speech of the Farmer's Brother, see subsequent page.]

Settled with Mr. Cornelius Vinney, for liquors, &c., had for the Indians occasionally, £26 5s., deducting 32 dollars for a horse sold to him, bought of Mr. Maxwell, at Tioga. Also, gave a white prisoner that lived with said Vinney, 9s. 4*d*. Having now all matters arranged, I delivered to Captain Houdin all the public writings I had prepared for his Excellency the Secretary of War, and sent him by the Genesee, in company with Messrs. Smith and Ewing, residents of said place, (in the several villages adjacent to the castle of Buffalo, to wit: The Senecas,

the Cayugas, the Onandagos, &c., there are more than 170 tolerable well built huts, (and proceeded by the verge of the lake for Cattaraugus, with my interpreter and servant, where we arrived on the 22d. Paid for the hire of two horses hither, and time for returning, 45s. The reason of my taking the route for Pittsburgh was, that I was apprehensive that my letters might have been intercepted, had I put them into the hands of the Indian before named, and taken to a British garrison for inspection, and that my conducting them myself might give me the opportunity of meeting with General St. Clair or Colonel Butler, and giving them personal information of such matters as might not have been treated on in my letter.

Having found myself fully disposed to make a forced march to Pittsburgh, though late in the afternoon, I hired fresh horses and an Indian to go to New Arrow's Town and to return, for which I paid eight dollars; and for a supply of stores from a British trader 16s. 10*½*d. I arrived at the New Arrow's Town on the 24th in the evening, (distance 80 miles,) having encamped out in the woods the two preceding nights; I had no sooner arrived than the chiefs were summoned to council by the sound of a conch shell, which was intended for nothing more than to take their leave of me. Here I parted with my interpreter, for him to return to the Genesee country, the place of his residence, and accounted with sixty-one days' services, allowing him six days to return, at 10*½*s. per day, a balance appearing in his favor of £24 13s. 1*½*d. I gave him my obligations to pay the same at sight, in Philadelphia; and at a late settlement with the pay-master general of the United States, I left the same together with £18 payable to Messrs Hollinback & Maxwell, for a small horse received of them at Tioga Point, and £7 10s. to the payment of my draft on the Secretary of War, to Joseph Smith, Indian interpreter. Previous to my leaving this town, 23d of April last, I was obliged to send my own riding horse to the Genesee settlement, it being impossible to procure forage or corn for him, and at which place he has remained ever since at expenses. Not having it in my power of doing otherwise, and whether the same will be allowed for to me, I must submit to the judgment of the Secretary of War.

Being in private conversation this evening with Captain O'Beel, and setting between him and the New Arrow sachem, I hinted to Captain O'Beel, that if he would go and join General St. Clair with 35 or 40 of his warriors, as well equipped as he could make them, purely to counterbalance the force that Brandt had taken with him to the unfriendly Indians, I would use endeavors with the Secretary of War to procure him a commission that should yield to him and his people a handsome

stipend. He replied that the Senecas had received a stroke from the bad Indians by taking two prisoners, a woman and a boy from Conyatt; and that, should the hatchet be struck into the head of any of his people hereafter, he would then inform me what he would undertake to do. I hired a canoe and two Indians this evening, to carry me to fort Franklin, and should have set out immediately, but for a heavy rain that fell. I agreed to pay them \$430, and a proportion of whiskey when we should reach the garrison, and provisions to bring them back. I arrived the next morning by daylight at fort Franklin, took breakfast with Lieutenant Jeffers, had a canoe prepared with four fresh hands put into it, and after having adjusted my engagements with the Indians brought from New Arrow's town, pushed off as speedily as lay in our power for fort Pitt, (distance about 156 miles by water,) and gained the same in 25 hours, the men having worked hard all night to complete it, and assisted myself, for which I paid extra to each, one dollar, and one dollar for entertainment at Pittsburgh, having completed in five days and two night, going by land or water from Buffalo to this place, 411 miles. Expenses at Pittsburgh the 29th, 40s. 4d. To servant's wages, engaged at Venango, April 8th, 52 days at 3s. 9d. per day, as per receipt, is £9 15s. To Horatio Jones' expenses going to Niagara with my letter, and returning, 46s. 10½d. Set out from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia on the evening of the 29th of May, and arrived the 7th day of June. Expenses from Pittsburgh hither, £7 14s. 3d.; and for keeping of a horse employed in public service, and for stabling in Philadelphia, and returning the horse to James Smith, Esq., Cumberland county, 40s.

PHILADELPHIA, June 8, 1791.

SIR:—I left the castle of the Six Nations of Indians at Buffalo creek, the 21st of the last month, in the afternoon, the fore-part of the day being spent in the council with the chiefs of the above nations of which there were a full representation; and, by the following as delivered by the Young King and the Farmer's Brother, will evidence their friendly disposition towards the United States, in maintaining with them an inviolable peace; as, also, with the British, as, from the situation of their nations, they are centrally placed between them.

The same day I sent forward my despatches for your Excellency, under the care of Captain Houdin by the route of Wyoming, while I should proceed by the way of Forts Franklin and Pittsburgh, with the letters I had written for the information of General St. Clair, and arrived here yesterday afternoon. It is also with pleasure I inform you that as to the several

posts on the Alleghany river, &c., they were under no apprehensions of danger from the unfriendly Indians, and were in good health and high spirits.

I am your Excellency's,

Most obedient servant,

THOMAS PROCTOR.

The Honorable Secretary of War.

The Speech of Little Beard, April 1st, 1791.

BROTHER OF THE THIRTEEN FIRES:

Hear what we have to say to you. The Lord has spared us this day to meet together, and for you to let us know what has been done at Philadelphia a few days ago, for our nation.

You say our lands are secured for us, and that the grant given by the Great Chief General Washington, will last as long as the sun goes over us.

That is the reason why we give you great thanks, our lands being secured to our children's children. And great reason we have for doing so.

Every one of us will wish well to the great Chief, Honandaganus, (or General Washington,) and our women and our children will thank him, and will look up to him as a strong sun for protecting of the right of their lands to them forever. And you tell us that there is a great paper in the hands of O'Beel for us. Now we want you to shew with your finger how large the lands are given to us. [Here I named to them certain grants to land which they had made to the States of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, &c.]

Captain O'Beel's speech at Fort Franklin, April 9th, 1791.

We have met our brother here, and I believe he remembers what we said at Philadelphia; that we would try our friends once more, viz: the Wyandotts; as there were bad people among them, advising to use the hatchet.

There we said it would be well for one man to go with us from the United States, in order to hear what we should say to them.

Now the Lord has spared us to this day, to meet our brother that has been sent from the Thirteen Fires, and to join our hands with his to have justice done. And we should have been glad that he were with us on our way to Pittsburgh, for then our wagons would not have been stopped, our goods taken and our liquors drank, and that by people whom we thought

can alter the opinion I now possess. And shall only add in this place, that it is my fervent desire that the Great Spirit may always preside over the councils of the Six Nations, and direct all their doings for their lasting happiness. Previous to my leaving the council, Red Jacket and the Young King desired that I would wait their future deliberations, and from a few words which were afterwards spoken to me by Red Jacket in council, gave me the first reasons to expect their assistance.

May 10.

Worship was performed this day as usual.

May 11.

The great dance that succeeded was attended with a very drunken entertainment, from the Young King to the meanest subject, Cornplanter and some of the elders of the women excepted; but not the least insolence was offered to me, or any of my people.

May 12.

There was general alarm took place in all the villages near this quarter, the cause of it I had judged proceeded from the enemies of the United States; but report gave it that there was a large number of Indians approaching the castle of Buffalo, and that one of them had come to a woman the last evening, and showed her two fresh scalps, one of which was a white man's, and the other an Indian's; the last scalp so large, that the ears with its bobs remained to it, and that the main object was to make demand of the white persons among them, and of me in particular, to be surrendered; and should it be denied, they would commence an open war amongst them. Capt. O'Beel on this feigned alarm, sent out early in the morning of the 13th, a number of his Indians to discover if there was the appearance of an enemy's track; but returned in the afternoon and reported that there had been no Indians where it had been said there were seen in numbers. Some time in the day the Young King went to the encampment of the Bear's Oil chief, and in conversation with him, and many others of the Indians, told them to prepare for going to Niagara in the morning, with him and others, to consult with Col. Gordon what was necessary to be done, as I had required an immediate answer from the Six Nations, on my messages to them, and to determine whether they should take the advice of the United States, or the advice of the British. This information I received from Captain Print, an Indian Chief, and one of those who accompanied Gen. Sullivan, speaking the English Language sufficiently well to be understood. He told me further, that the British were the main instigation of my not succeeding hitherto. This led me

BUFFALC CREEK.

Speech of Thyogasa, Chief of the Senecas, at Cattaragus, near Lake Erie, as delivered 25th April.

BROTHER:

Some time ago there came messages into our country, that our people should meet at Buffalo creek, and then they should hear of our head men from Philadelphia, what they had from the council of the Thirteen Fires.

About this time they had got to Fort Pitt, and we heard there was a great man and a Frenchman coming, also from Philadelphia, in great fear, trying to make peace. Then we thanked God. The next express said that our head men and those from Philadelphia were coming on the waters together, to have the great council fire lighted at Buffalo, and we that live here sent on the express and gave great thanks to our Great Keeper.

Now that you and they have arrived here, and have showed your faces at our council fire in trouble and fear, we give great thanks again to the Great Spirit for keeping you and your chiefs from the trouble that befel others coming to this place. Now tell the man from Philadelphia to pity us children, for we are fearful; and we say to you, that will open your throats, that you may speak fair and clear to us without any hard thoughts, when you get to our great council fire of the full nations, that you may deliver any message you are sent upon from the great chiefs at Philadelphia. Besides, now we open your ears to hear anything which may be said by us, and hear the same in peace.

Brother: These are the few words we have to make known to you; and give thanks to God for our safe meeting this day together, our brothers and our chiefs.

[This speech being ended, Thyogasy handed to me a belt of wampum of three strings, and then continued his discourse as follows:]

Brother: This is our custom, to make a small speech on seeing our friends, but Buffalo is the place where you must speak, and at that place matters must be talked over in peace and quietness, and of which, tell all people to be careful. Now wipe the tears from your eyes, and make your throat clear so that you may be understood.

The speech of Red Jacket before the Great Council at Buffalo, April 27th, as an introduction in the business of the day addressing himself to me:

BROTHER :

Listen ! It is usual for us to speak ; and to you we do it as to a brother that has been absent a long time. Now, we all speak to you, and to our head warrior that left us last fall ; and we thank the Great Spirit for his and your safe arrival here, as you are together, hand in hand, from Honandaganius (General Washington), upon great business.

You have travelled long, with tears in your eyes, upon account of the bad roads and bad season of the year. Besides the disturbances between the bad Indians and our brothers, the white people, everything has been trying to prevent your coming, and to stop your business, and to lose the way.

Thus, the big waters might have stopped your coming, and the wars might have stopped you, and sickness might have stopped you ; for we cannot know what is to happen us until it comes upon us. So, therefore, we thank the Great Spirit who has perserved you from such dangers that might have hindered us from hearing of the good news which you and our head warrior have opened to us. But how could it be that anything bad could have happened to you, while you have such important business to transact, as we understand you have come on.

You must now wipe away those fears occasioned by all the great dangers you have come through. And now we set you upon a seat where you can sit up straight on a seat, where you are secure from the fears of your enemies ; where you can look around and see all your friends and brothers in peace. Besides, you have come along, with your heart and your throat stopped up, to secure all that you had to say in your body. But now we open your heart with your brother's hands, and we run our fingers through to open your mouth, to speak clear, and not to be molested. Your ears also have been stopped by Honandaganius until you should see your brothers at this place, being spared by the Great Spirit to arrive safe.

Now open your ears to hear what your brothers may say after you have made your speech. This is, therefore, the compliment of the chiefs and head men of Buffalo creek, to you and our great warrior (O'Beel) and you may, each of you, go on safely with your business.

MONDAY, May 8th.

In full council. The speech of Fish Carrier, a chief of the Cayugas, and the right hand of Butler and Brandt, as may appear from the following, addressed to me:

BROTHER:

This day you have met again with your brothers in peace; a day provided by the Great Spirit for you and them to sit together, and talk over the business you have been sent to perform by General Washington, the Thirteen Fires, and for which you are to come to our council; and likewise to hear us with regard to the people (the bad Indians) on the other side of your body, toward the setting sun.

Here you have made your business known, and to all the chiefs and warriors, who met every day; and now they understand the same, because they have taken due notice. Therefore, you shall hear what we have determined upon by all of us, for we all had a hand in it, or it would not be strong.

Now, Brother, We shall say more to what General Washington sent you for, and to tell you, that our head warrior, (O'Beel) our nephew, has done things which we know nothing of, and it seems to us, that he has requested that this business should go forward without our consent. Neither do we know you in this matter, and were we to undertake to help you, we do not know what might happen before we went far with you, as that might be the cause of our country being destroyed or broken up by the mad people.

Now we tell you, as we told you before, that we have met on your business, and that the one-half is not for peace. So we look at the man that has been sent to the Shawanese, (Brandt,) and we have sent to see how matters go at their council fire. We must, therefore, see his face, for we can't determine until we know what they are about.

So we beg of you to grant our request; to keep your mind easy; for we who do this business, look on you, and hold ourselves to be slaves in making of peace. Now we all say, you must look for Capt. Brandt's coming to hear the words that come from his mouth, for then we can say to you, what towns will be for peace; and this is all we have to say to you at this time.

Upon this I told the council, that in the morning I would give them my talk, in answer to what had been said this day, and immediately return, with what they had spoken in their council, to the Great Chief that had sent me. Captain O'Beel then told them in council, what would be the consequence to the Five Nations, and publicly declared to accompany me, if no other chiefs would attempt it. For further particulars, I

beg leave to refer to the continuation of my letter of the 4th of May.

The speech of Conyandocta, an Onandago Chief, addressed to the Council of the Six Nations, through which he explained the dangers which attended on him and his people, should they remain at Coneyat.

BROTHERS:

There is a great deal of danger at this place, for we are told by the enemy, the Messasagoes, that we must come to their side, or else we won't live long. But said I, we turned our face once, and you did not pay us the compliment to call us to council with you, or even to shake hands with us. Now we turn our face to this council, and you must prepare a place for us when we come; for we mean to be true to the promise we make to you.

(On the close of this speech, four strings of wampum were presented, a mixture of black and white.)

The speech of Bear's Oil, a Chief, to the same effect as the above, who, with his people are in danger of the Messasagoes.

BROTHERS:

Now hear me a little, I am a Messasago chief belonging to the Six Nations, I and my people are in great danger, because I have been the entire instigation of saving the white settlers at Coneyat and Cassawago; for I told them of the danger ger they were in, as I heard the Red Indians say they were bound for that place, and that they intended to murder them. Moreover, that if I did not come away to them, I should die, for that was the only way to save my life; and that should I attempt to go to the Six Nations, they would meet me on the way and kill me. For they say, if they meet with any of the Six Nations, they will strike them. But I have not listened to them; I have come to you, and you must have a place ready for me to sit down when I come with my people. These matters I take the liberty of communicating to your Excellency, in order to shew you the Six Nations themselves profess that they are not secure from the anger of the Indians who are unfriendly to the United States.

Col. Proctor to the British Commander.

BUFFALO CREEK, May 5, 1791,

SIR:—Although I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance, I am, notwithstanding, emboldened to address you by

etter, and through the same to inform you that I am the person charged with certain messages from his Excellency the Secretary of War, for the United States to the Six Nations, and the other tribes of Indians residing near Lake Erie, &c. One of those messages are particularly sent to the tribes now unhappily at war with the Americans, and with whom, it is the ardent desire of General Washington, the President, that peace should be established on the most lasting terms of equity, and justice to them. My mission is, therefore, to invite them to a treaty with Governor St. Clair, on the Ohio, not far from the country they inhabit.

The better to effect so desirable an object, proposals were made to the President in January last by certain chiefs, who came on business of the Six Nations to Philadelphia, viz: That they would appoint in their councils certain of their head men to accompany such gentlemen as might be sent into the country of those misguided people, to bring them to terms of amity with the thirteen States. This, sir, you will discover on reading the Secretary of War's letters to the Six Nations and committed to my care. It will be handed to you by the Young King with other public papers, which were delivered Captain O'Beel for the better information of the nations concerned. I have, therefore, to entreat you, to conceive the most favorable sentiments on the meaning and intent of those public instruments of writings as they are founded on the principles of humanity, and a regard for the well doing of our fellow men; and I cannot doubt but the same motives will invite you to assist in so laudable an undertaking; the effects of which will establish happiness to the British subjects of Canada, &c., as well as to the United States.

The favor that I here request at your hand, is to permit me to charter one of your vessels in the lake for such number of Indians, &c., who may accompany me to Sandusky, on Lake Erie. So far as my request meets your approbation, I shall receive much pleasure by your signifying the same by a few lines to,

Sir, your most humble servant,

THOMAS PROCTOR.

Col. A. GORDON, Commandant of Fort Niagara.

*May 14th, 1791.**The Speech of the Farmer Brother, or the King.***BROTHER :**

The last summer was the time we had our last talk with the Shawanese, and then we tried to make peace in their minds, but they would not listen to us. They named to us their great chief of the Shawanese, called the Little Hoope, who told them, that all the nations beyond them to the setting sun, being in number forty-eight large towns, were all under arms, and that Little Hoope said they would be at peace with the Long Knife. So that when peace was put in their heads, and that we had returned home, then the great fight was had between them and the Virginians, The Long Knife, and that made their determinations stronger for war than ever, because they had killed many of their people, and hurt their nations. And after this, we tried and told the Americans to be at peace and quietness. So we concluded to send some body again, to know what they were doing among the bad Indians, so that we might judge, and we consented to send a chief to them with whom they were acquainted. And upon that determination, as we told you before, we sent Capt. Brandt, so that he might know how many people were bent for war, or how many nations were not so hard for war, so that we might judge whether it was worth while to try again to make peace. That is the reason why we asked you the other day to attend our council fire, until you should see his mouth yourself, when he should tell us all that was doing in that country. And that is the reason why we are afraid of our brother for we know that they won't receive you in peace, for it is their determination as we hear. We tell you again, that one of the same mind with us is gone to speak to these people, and we want to hear him as much as General Washington does, and we pay all attention to what he has laid before us; and now our opinion is, we must go alone and try to make peace ourselves; and that is the reason we don't want you to go with us; for this is the outermost edge of the bad people's settlements; and were we to take you by the hand and go together, we must instantly meet with a great loss, which would make war on both sides, and we should be killed. Now we will tell you the reason why they refuse to make peace, is, that General St. Clair struck the bad Indians while they were thinking of making peace with the Americans, and this is the reason to try ourselves, to make them hear by our chief that is gone before us; and that will be the time for General Washington to light his fires, when he knows they are determined for peace, and we the Six Nations are strong for it; therefore, tell General Washington to hold back his war.

rs a little, and let his intention be strong for peace, and God will assist the Americans to make it up.

Now the Six Nations give great thanks to General Washington, as his mind is so strong for peace, and the Six Nations look him for peace. Therefore, the sachems and head men of our nations have come to you this evening, to tell you that you will not go with them into the towns of the enemy Indians.

Col. Proctor to Col. Gordon.

BUFFALO CREEK, May 15, 1791.

SIR:—The 5th instant I had the pleasure of addressing my first letter to you, and delivered the same to the care of Capt. W. int, an Indian, to be presented by him, but having received answer since, I presume it has miscarried through some gleet. The purport of it was, to be permitted a passage in one of the vessels on Lake Erie, for such number of Indians and white men destined to accompany me to some convenient port on the west end of the Lake. The mission I am charged with, directed to the Indians now unhappily at war with the United States, with desires to reclaim them to a peaceable demeanor before certain destruction overtakes, which is now pending over them.

Mr. Horatio Jones will deliver you my letter, and wait your answer which I hope will be to the granting of my request. And whatsoever expense may accrue upon this occasion, I shall most cheerfully satisfy the same with the commander; and subscribe myself.

Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

THOMAS PROCTOR.

I. A. GORDON, Commandant of Fort Niagara, &c.

Col. Gordon to Col. Proctor.

NIAGARA, May 18, 1791.

SIR:—A few days ago I had your letter of the 5th instant, to which I should have returned an immediate answer, had I not waited for some public papers which you wrote were to be handed to me by the Farmer's Brother and other chiefs who were waiting upon me, to receive my advice on business of importance. They have, however, as yet, never made their appearance at this post.

I think it but proper to give you this explanation of my not having sooner replied to your letter; but as there is no document which places you in any other light than a private agent, I cannot enter into any discussion of a public nature. Whenever

any of the chiefs of the Senecas or others of the Six Nations apply to me for counsel, I shall give them such advice as I conceive best suits with the present situation of affairs.

As to that part of your letter which requests to be permitted to freight one of the vessels on Lake Erie, to carry you and such Indians as may be inclined to accompany you to Sandusky, on the west side of the lake, I beg leave to inform you, that I am not authorized to comply with your requests.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant.

A. GORDON.

Colonel PROCTOR.

*The speech of the Young King of the Six Nations, on my leaving
of Buffalo Creek.*

May 21, 1791.

BROTHERS:—We are called together this day by the appointment of yesterday, to hear what answer has been sent to your letter, from the commanding officer of Niagara. And the same having been made known to us, we find that you are disappointed in your expectations of getting a vessel, in which we were to go with you toward the unfriendly Indians, and that, therefore, you would return by the way of Fort Pitt.

You have also said, that you do not blame us, but that you blame the British; and that, therefore, we should be easy in our minds, and be at peace with the United States.

You have also mentioned a letter which came from General St. Clair, to us, and what answer we should give to the same, so that Colonel Butler, at Pittsburgh, might be informed by you.

The answer of our fighting, as requested by General St. Clair: On seeing how your troops should act against the enemy Indians, you must listen and hear what is the full determination of all the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations; what they have determined upon, and that in a few words for Col. Butler, to be sent to General St. Clair. Now the answer is, that we are desirous of complying with the instructions of his first letter, sent to Cuyasatta, our great chief for the Six Nations, namely, that we must sit still, and not to mind any other business but peace; and those were the words of his letter. Moreover, last fall it was told to us by Col. Pickering, that the Six Nations must take no notice of anything, but what tended to be peaceable; for that would be an advantage to our nation and nothing else. So that ever since, we have conformed to these instructions, in not interfering in any matter that has another tendency; for with the British we are at peace, according to their request of us; and we are the same with the Americans. And should the unfriendly

Indians come forward to seek peace by us, we will help to do so; and we are desirous ourselves of remaining peaceable.

The reason why we now tell you these things, is, that we are neither on the one side or on the other, whether of the British or of the Americans, for we desire to be still, and to be at peace with both.

Here, brother, we speak to you on another matter, that has respect to the Six Nations. General Washington, the great chief, has kindled a fire at the Painted Post, and this we expect was done for the sake of peace; for he has called all the nations from the Grand river to the Oneidas. And it is our desire to attend the same, at the time proposed.

Therefore, tell Colonel Butler, at Pittsburgh, that we cannot attend according to the request of General St. Clair; for we shall attend the treaty at the Painted Post, where the fire is lighted by General Washington, and at that place all matters we here related shall then be talked over again. In this, brother, you have heard the sense of the Six Nations, and our sentiments are firm and strong; for amongst us there is not one deficient. This, is therefore, the close of this speech, as we want to talk over other matters which concern the errand that you have come to us upon, and which we can't go through with, because we can't speak to the Indians, that reside towards the setting sun. But we have told you, that we have sent Captain Brandt, to know their opinion; and we have always wanted you to stay with us until his return, to know what is the minds of those people towards the Thirteen Fires.

We have also told you, that we shall take the same into consideration, as we want to speak to them once more on terms of peace; for our mind is the same as when you first came amongst us, and we are desirous of seeing Captain Brandt return, and when we hear that those people will incline to peace, we will help it, and try to bring the same to effect, and should Captain Brandt be here before we go for the Painted Post, whatever their intentions are, we shall make the same known; and if for peace, the one-half of our chiefs shall go to the un-friendly Indians, and the other half, with our women and children, shall attend the treaty before named, and the same information shall be sent to Fort Pitt, for the information of Col. Butler, as you have requested of us.

This, therefore, is all that we have to say to you at this time, and are desirous that you may go whither you intended.

SIR:—Thus far, I have attempted to delineate the several events and progress of my tour among the Six Nations of Indians, &c.

And, although the commissions you were pleased to honor me with were not so completely accomplished as wished for, I nevertheless enjoy a conscious evidence, that, in no instance, have I omitted to put in practice such means as I conceived to be the most conducive to that end.

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most
humble servant,

THOMAS PROCTOR.

Major General H. KNOX, Secretary of War.

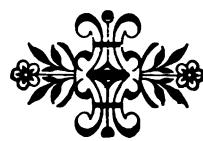
PAPERS

RELATING TO THE

DEFENCE OF THE FRONTIERS.



1790-1796.



RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
TUESDAY, February 23, 1790—A. M.

A motion was made by Mr. Ryerson, seconded by Mr. Allison, and adopted as follows, viz:

WHEREAS, It hath been represented to this House from good authority, that the Indians have in every year for many years past, harrassed and distressed the inhabitants on the Western frontiers of this State, and are likely to continue so to do unless some provision is made against their future murders and depredations:

And whereas, This Commonwealth is desirous of procuring protection and safety for all its citizens, inasmuch as the peace, welfare and happiness of the State depend thereon;

Resolved, That this House hereby recommend to the Supreme Executive Council, to make application to the President and Congress of the United States, respecting a protection for the inhabitants of the Western frontiers of this State against the future hostile incursions of the Indians, and that this resolution be transmitted to Council that they may take immediate measures thereon.

Extract from the Minutes.

PETER Z. LLOYD,
Clerk of the General Assembly.

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
SATURDAY, March 6th, 1790—A. M.

On motion of Mr. Ryerson, seconded by Mr Rawle,

Resolved, That the resolution which passed the Assembly on the twenty-third day of February last, on the subject of a defence for the Western frontiers of this State be and the same is hereby rescinded.

Extract from the Minutes.

PETER ZACHARY LLOYD,
Clerk of the General Assembly.

INDIAN CONFERENCE AT PHILADELPHIA.

The speech of the Cornplanter, Half-Town and the Great-Tree, Chiefs and Councillors of the Seneca Nation, to the Great Councillor of the Thirteen Fires.

FATHER:—The voice of the Seneca nations speaks to you, the great councillor, in whose heart the wise men of all the Thirteen

Fires have placed their wisdom. It may be very small in your ears, and we therefore entreat you to hearken with attention, for we are about to speak of things, which are to us, very great. When your army entered the country of the Six Nations, we called you the Town Destroyer; and to this day, when that name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the necks of their mothers. Our counsellors and warriors are men, and cannot be afraid; but their hearts are grieved with the fears of our women and children, and desire that it may be buried so deep as to be heard no more. When you gave us peace, we called you father, because you promised to secure us in the possession of our lands. Do this, and so long as the lands shall remain, that beloved name will live in the heart of every Seneca.

Father: We mean to open our hearts before you, and we earnestly desire that you will let us clearly understand what you resolve to do. When our chiefs returned from the treaty at Fort Stanwix, and laid before our council what had been done there, our nation was surprised to hear how great a country you had compelled them to give up to you, without your paying to us anything for it. Every one said that your hearts were yet swollen with resentment against us for what had happened during the war, but that one day you would reconsider it with more kindness. We asked each other, What have we done to deserve such severe chastisement?

Father: When you kindled your thirteen fires separately, the wise men that assembled at them told us, that you were all brothers, the children of one great father, who regarded, also, the red people as his children. They called us brothers and invited us to his protection; they told us that he resided beyond the great water, where the sun first rises; that he was a King whose power no people could resist, and that his goodness was bright as that sun. What they said went to our hearts; we accepted the invitation and promised to obey him. What the Seneca nation promised, they faithfully perform; and when you refused obedience to that King, he commanded us to assist his beloved men in making you sober. In obeying him, we did no more than yourselves had led us to promise. The men who claimed this promise, told us that you were children and had no guns; that when they had shaken you, you would submit. We hearkened to them, and were deceived, until your army approached our towns. We were deceived; but your people, in teaching us to confide in that King, had helped to deceive us, and we now appeal to your heart —Is the blame all ours.

Father: When we saw that we were deceived, and heard the invitation which you gave us to draw near to the fire which you

kindled, and talk with you concerning peace, we made haste toward it. You then told us that we were in your hand and that by closing it you could crush us to nothing, and you demanded from us a great country, as the price of that peace which you had offered us; as if our want of strength had destroyed our rights. Our chiefs had felt your power, and were unable to contend against you, and they therefore gave up that country. What they agreed to, has bound our nation, but your anger against us must by this time be cooled; and although our strength has not increased nor your power become less, we ask you to consider calmly—Were the terms dictated to us by your Commissioners reasonable and just?

Father: Your commissioners when they drew the line which separated the land then given up to you from that which you agreed should remain to be ours, did most solemnly promise, that we should be secured in the peaceable possession of the lands which we inhabited east and north of that line. Does this promise bind you? Hear now, we entreat you, what has since happened concerning that land. On the day in which we finished the treaty at Fort Stanwix, commissioners from Pennsylvania told our chiefs that they had come there to purchase from us all the lands belonging to us within the lines of their State, and they told us that their line would strike the river Susquehanna below Tioga branch. They then left us to consider of the bargain till the next day; on the next day we let them know that we were unwilling to sell all the lands within their State, and proposed to let them have a part of it, which we pointed out to them in their map. They told us that they must have the whole; that it was already ceded to them by the great king at the time of making peace with you, and was their own; but they said that they would not take advantage of that, and were willing to pay us for it after the manner of their ancestors. Our chiefs were unable to contend at that time, and therefore they sold the lands up to the line which was then shewn to them as the line of that State. What the commissioners had said about the land having been ceded to them at the peace, our chiefs considered as intended only to lessen the price, and they passed it by with very little notice; but, since that time we have heard so much from others about the right to our lands, which the king gave when you made peace with him, that it is our earnest desire that you will tell us what it means.

Father: Our nation empowered John Livingston to let out part of our lands on rent, to be paid to us. He told us that he was sent by Congress to do this for us, and we fear he has deceived us in the writing he obtained from us: for, since the time of our giving that power, a man of the name of Phelps, has come

among us and claimed our whole country, northward of the line of Pennsylvania, under purchase from that Livingston, to whom he said he had paid twenty thousand dollars for it. He said also that he had bought likewise from the council of the Thirteen Fires, and paid them twenty thousand dollars more for the same. And he said also, that it did not belong to us, for that the great king had ceded the whole of it when you made peace with him. Thus he claimed the whole country north of Pennsylvania, and west of the lands belonging to the Cayugas. He demanded it; he insisted on his demand, and declared that he would have it all. It was impossible for us to grant him this, and we immediately refused it. After some days he proposed to run a line at a small distance eastward of our western boundary, which we also refused to agree to. He then threatened us with immediate war if we did not comply. Upon this threat our chiefs held a council, and they agreed that no event of war could be worse than to be driven, with their wives and children, from the only country which we had any right to; and therefore, weak as our nation was, they determine to take the chance of war, rather than submit to such unjust demands, which seemed to have no bounds. Street, the great trader of Niagara, was then with us, having come at the request of Phelps, and as he always professed to be our great friend, we consulted him on this subject. He also told us that our lands had been ceded by the king, and that we must give them up. Astonished at what we heard from every quarter, with hearts aching with compassion for our women and children, we were thus compelled to give up all our country north of the line of Pennsylvania and east of the Genesee river, up to the fork, and east of the south line drawn from that fork to the Pennsylvania line. For his land Phelps agreed to pay us ten thousand dollars in hand, and one thousand dollars a year for ever. He paid us two thousand and five hundred dollars in hand, part of the ten thousand and he sent for us to come last spring to receive our money; but instead of paying us the remainder of the ten thousand dollars, and the one thousand dollars due for the first year, he offered us no more than five hundred dollars, and insisted that he had agreed with us for that sum to be paid yearly. We debated with him for six days, during all which time he persisted in refusing to pay us our just demand, and he insisted that we should receive the five hundred dollars; and Street, from Niagara, also insisted on our receiving the money as it was offered to us. The last reason he assigned for continuing to refuse paying to us was, that the King had ceded the lands to the Thirteen Fires, and that he had bought them from you, and paid you for them.

We could bear this confusion no' longer, and determined to press through every difficulty, and lift up our voice that you might hear us, and to claim that security in the possession of our lands which your commissioners so solemnly promised us. And we now entreat you to inquire into our complaints and redress our wrongs.

Father: Our writings were lodged in the hands of Street, of Niagara, as we supposed him to be our friend; but when we saw Phelps consulting with Street on every occasion, we doubted his honesty towards us, and we have since heard that he was to receive for his endeavors to deceive us, a piece of land ten miles in width, west of the Genesee river, and near forty miles in length, extending to lake Ontario; and the lines of this tract have been run accordingly, although no part of it is within the bounds which limit his purchase. No doubt he meant to deceive us.

Father: You have said that we are in your hand, and that by closing, it you could crush us to nothing. Are you determined to crush us? If you are, tell us so, that those of our nation who have become your children, and have determined to die so, may know what to do. In this case, one chief has said he would ask you to put him out of pain; another, who will not think of dying by the hand of his father or of his brother, has said he will retire to the Chateaugay, eat of the fatal root, and sleep with his fathers in peace. Before you determine on a measure so unjust, look up to God, who made us as well as you. We hope he will not permit you to destroy the whole of our nation.

Father: Hear our case; many nations inhabited this country, but they had no wisdom, and therefore, they warred together. The Six Nations were powerful, and compelled them to peace. The lands, for a great extent, were given up to them; but the nations which were not destroyed, all continued on those lands, and claimed the protection of the Six Nations, as the brothers of their fathers. They were men, and when at peace, they had a right to live upon the earth. The French came among us and built Niagara; they became our fathers and took care of us. Sir William Johnson came and took that fort from the French; he became our father, and promised to take care of us, and did so, until you were too strong for his king. To him we gave four miles around Niagara as a place of trade. We have already said how we came to join against you; we saw that we were wrong; we wished for peace; you demanded a great country to be given up to you; it was surrendered to you as the price of peace, and we ought to have peace and possession of the little land which you then left us.

Father: When that great country was given up there were but few chiefs present, and they were compelled to give it up, and it is not the Six Nations only that reproach those chiefs with having given up that country. The Chippewas, and all the nations who lived on those lands westward, call to us and ask us: Brothers of our fathers, where is the place which you have reserved for us to lie down upon?

Father: You have compelled us to do that which has made us ashamed. We have nothing to answer to the children of the brothers of our fathers. When, last spring, they called upon us to go to war, to secure them a bed to lie upon, the Senecas entreated them to be quiet, until we had spoken to you. But on our way down, we heard that your army had gone toward the country which those nations inhabit, and if they meet together, the best blood on both sides will stain the ground.

Father: We will not conceal from you, that the great God, and not men, has preserved the Cornplanter from the hands of his own nation. For they ask continually, where is the land which our children, and their children after them, are to lie down upon? You told us, say they, the line drawn from Pennsylvania to lake Ontario, would mark it forever on the east, and the line running from Beaver creek to Pennsylvania, would mark it on the west, and we see it is not so; for first one and then another came and take it away by order of that people which you tell us promised to secure it to us. He is silent, for he has nothing to answer.

When the sun goes down he opens his heart before God, and earlier than that sun appears again upon the hills; he gives thanks for his protection during the night, for he feels that among men, become desperate by their danger, it is God only that can preserve him. He loves peace, and all that he had in store he has given to those who have been robbed by your people, lest they should plunder the innocent to repay themselves. The whole season which others have employed in providing for their families he has spent in his endeavours to preserve peace; and at this moment his wife and children are lying on the ground and in want of food; his heart is in pain for them, but he perceives that the great God will try his firmness in doing what is right.

Father: The grain which the Great Spirit sent into our country for us to eat, is going from among us. We thought he intended that we should till the ground with the plough, as the white people do, and we talked to one another about it. But before we speak to you concerning this, we must know from you whether you mean to leave us and our children any land to till? speak plainly to us concerning this great business. All the lands we have been speaking of belonged to the Six Nations; no part of it ever belonged to the king of England, and he could

not give it to you. The land we live on our fathers received from God, and they transmitted to us, for our children, and we cannot part with it.

Father: We told you that we would open our hearts to you. Hear us once more.

At Fort Stanwix we agreed to deliver up those of our people who should do you any wrong, that you might try them and punish them according to your law. We delivered up two men accordingly; but instead of trying them according to your law, the lowest of your people took them from your magistrate, and put them immediately to death. It is just to punish murder with death; but the Senecas will not deliver up their people to men who disregard the treaties of their own nation.

Father: Innocent men of our nation are killed one after another, and of our best families; but none of your people who have committed the murder have been punished. We recollect that you did not promise to punish those who killed our people, and we now ask: Was it intended that your people should kill the Senecas, and not only remain unpunished by you but be protected by you against the revenge of the next of kin?

Father: These are to us very great things. We know that you are very strong, and we have heard that you are wise, and we wait to hear your answer to what we have said, that we may know that you are just.

Signed at Philadelphia, the first day of December, 1790.

CORNPLANTER, his X mark,
HALF-TOWN, his X mark.
GREAT-TREE, his X mark.

Present at signing,

JOSEPH NICHOLSON, *Interpreter.*

T. MATLACK.

INDIAN CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 10th January, 1791.

The speech of the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and the Great-Tree, Chiefs of the Seneca Nation, to the President of the United States of America.

FATHER:—Your speech written on the great paper is to us like the first light of the morning to a sick man, whose pulse beats too strongly in his temples and prevents him from sleep. He sees it, and rejoices, but he is not cured. You say that you have spoken plainly on the great point. That you will protect us

in the lands secured to us at Fort Stanwix, and that we have the right to sell or to refuse to sell it. This is very good, but our nation complain that you compelled us at that treaty to give up too much of our lands. We confess that our nation is bound by what was then done, and acknowledging your power, we have now appealed to yourselves against that treaty as made while you were too angry to us, and, therefore, unreasonable and unjust. To this you have given us no answer.

Father: That treaty was not made with a single State, it was with the thirteen States. We would never have given all that land to one State. We know it was before you had the great authority, and as you have more wisdom than the commissioners who forced us into that treaty, we expect that you have also more regard to justice, and will now, at our request reconsider that treaty and restore to us a part of that land.

Father: The land which lies between the line running south from lake Erie to the boundary of Pennsylvania as mentioned at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and the eastern boundary of the land which you sold, and the Senecas confirmed to Pennsylvania, is the land on which Half Town and all his people live with other chiefs, who always have been, and still are, dissatisfied with the treaty at Fort Stanwix. They grew out of this land, and their fathers' fathers grew out of it, and they can not be persuaded to part with it. We therefore entreat you to restore to us this little piece.

Father: Look at the land which we gave to you at that treaty, and then turn your eyes upon what we now ask you to restore to us, and you will see that what we now ask you to return is a very little piece. By giving it back again, you will satisfy the whole of our nation. The chiefs who signed that treaty will be in safety, and peace between your children and our children will continue so long as your land shall join to ours. Every man of our nation will then turn his eyes away from all the other lands which we then gave up to you and forget that our fathers ever said that they belonged to them.

Father: We see that you ought to have the path at the carrying place from lake Erie to Niagara, as it was marked down at Fort Stanwix, and we are all willing it should remain to be yours. And if you desire to reserve a passage through the Conewango, and through the Chatauque lake and land, for a path from that lake to lake Erie, take it where you best like. Our nation will rejoice to see it an open path for you and your children, while the land and water remain. But let us also pass along the same way, and continue to take the fish of those waters in common with you.

Father: You say that you will appoint an agent to take care of us. Let him come and take care of our trade; but we desire he may not have anything to do with our land; for the agents which have come amongst us, and pretended to take care of us, have always deceived us whenever we sold lands; both when the King of England and when the States have bargained with us. They have by this means occasioned many wars, and we are therefore unwilling to trust them again.

Father: When we return home, we will call a great council and consider well how lands may be hereafter sold by our nation. And when we have agreed upon it, we will send you notice of it. But we desire that you will not depend on your agent for information concerning land; for, after the abuses which we have suffered by such men, we will not trust them with anything which relates to land.

Father: We will not hear lies concerning you, and we desire that you will not hear lies concerning us, and then we shall certainly live at peace with you.

Father: There are men who go from town to town and beget children, and leave them to perish, or, except better men take care of them, to grow up without instruction. Our nation has long looked around for a father, but they found none that would own them for children, until you now tell us that your courts are open to us as to your own people. The joy which we feel at this great news, so mixes with the sorrows that are passed, that we cannot express our gladness, nor conceal the remembrance of our afflictions. We will speak of them at another time.

Father: We are ashamed that we have listened to the lies of Livingston, or been influenced by threats of war by Phelps, and would hide that whole transaction from the world, and from ourselves, by quietly receiving what Phelps promised to give us for the lands they cheated us of. But as Phelps will not even pay us according to that fraudulent bargain, we will lay the whole proceedings before your court. When the evidence which we can produce is heard, we think it will appear that the whole bargain was founded on lies, which he placed one upon another; that the goods which he charges to us as part payment were plundered from us; that if Phelps was not directly concerned in the theft, he knew of it at the time, and concealed it from us; and that the persons we confided in were bribed by him to deceive us in the bargain. And if these facts appear, that your court will not say that such bargains are just, but will set the whole aside.

Father: We apprehend that our evidence might be called for, as Phelps was here and knew what we have said concerning him; and as Ebenezer Allen knew something of the matter, we de-

sired him to continue here. Nicholson, the interpreter, is very sick, and we request that Allen may remain a few days longer, as he speaks our language.

Father: The blood which was spilled near Pine Creek is covered, and we shall never look where it lies. We know that Pennsylvania will satisfy us for that which we spoke of to them before we spoke to you. The claim of friendship, will now, we hope, be made strong as you desire it to be. We will hold it fast, and our end of it shall never rust in our hands.

Father: We told you what advice we gave to the people you are now at war with, and we now tell you that they have promised to come again to our towns next spring. We shall not wait for their coming, but will set out very early and shew to them what you have done for us, which must convince them that you will do for them everything which they ought to ask. We think they will hear and follow our advice.

Father: You give us leave to speak our minds concerning the tilling of the ground. We ask you to teach us to plough and grind corn; to assist us in building saw mills, and supply us with broad axes, saws, augers, and other tools, so as that we may make our houses more comfortable and more durable; that you will send smiths among us, and above all, that you will teach our children to read and write, and our women to spin and to weave. The manner of your doing these things for us we leave to you, who understand them; but we assure you that we will follow your advice as far as we are able.

CORNPLANTER, his X mark.

HALF-TOWN, his X mark.

GREAT-TREE, his X mark.

Present at signing:

JOSEPH NICHOLSON, Interpreter.

T. MATLACK.

JOHN DECKART, his X mark.

JEM. HUDSON, his X mark.

THIRD INDIAN CONFERENCE AT PHILADELPHIA.

The speech of Cornplanter, Half-Town and the Big-Tree, Seneca Chiefs, to the Great Councillor of the Thirteen Fires.

FATHER:

No Seneca ever goes from the fire of his friend, until he has said to him, "I am going." We therefore tell you, that we are now setting out for our own country.

Father: We thank you, from our hearts, that we now know there is a country we may call our own, and on which we may

lie down in peace. We see that there will be peace between your children and our children, and our hearts are very glad. We will persuade the Wyandots and other Western nations, to open their eyes, and look toward the bed which you have made for us, to ask of you a bed for themselves and their children, that will not slide from under them. We thank you for your presents to us, and rely on your promise to instruct us in raising corn, as the white people do; the sooner you do this, the better for us. And we thank you for the care you have taken to prevent bad men coming to trade among us; if any come without your license, we will turn them back; and we hope our nation will determine to spill all the rum which shall, hereafter, be brought to our towns.

Father: We are glad to hear that you determine to appoint an agent that will do us justice, in taking care that bad men do not come to trade amongst us; but we earnestly intreat you that you will let us have an interpreter in whom we can confide, to reside at Pittsburgh. To that place our people, and other nations, will long continue to resort; there we must send what news we hear when we go among the Western nations, which, we are determined, shall be early in the spring. We know Joseph Nicholson and he speaks our language so that we clearly understand what you say to us, and we rely on what he says. If we were able to pay him for his services, we would do it; but, when we mean to pay him, by giving him land, it has not been confirmed to him, and he will not serve us any longer unless you will pay him. Let him stand between us, we intreat you.

Father: You have not asked any security for peace on our part, but we have agreed to send nine Seneca boys, to be under your care for education. Tell us at what time you will receive them, and they shall be sent at the time you shall appoint. This will assure you, that we are, indeed, at peace with you, and determined to continue so. If you can teach them to become wise and good men, we will take care that our nation shall be willing to receive instruction from them.

CORN PLANTER, his X mark.

HALF-TOWN, his X mark.

BIG-TREE, his X mark.

Signed at Philadelphia, 7th February, 1791, in presence of

JOSEPH NICHOLSON, Interpreter.

THOMAS PROCTOR,

T. MATLACK.

JAMES MARSHAL TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WASHINGTON, 19th February, 1791.

SIR:—Inclosed is a Return of the Officers elected by the Militia of the different Districts in this County; it may be that the elections and Return thereof have been delayed too long, but it has not been in my power to forward them sooner. The former Districts being much too large and in many instances very inconvenient, I was obliged to new model them which delayed the business considerably. In several instances I have been under the necessity to order new elections where they were warmly contested, one of which Returns is not yet come to hand, but will forward it the first opportunity.

From the fullest evidence of the hostile intentions of the Indians, I have no doubt but that the service of our Militia will be necessary the ensuing Summer; our situation on the frontier at this time is truly alarming; the late Expedition under the command of Gen'l Harmar has had a very different effect from what was expected; the Indians appear elated with their success on that occasion, and are roused by a Spirit of Resentment. It is evident that nothing prevents their crossing the Ohio River, but the inclemency of the Season, and the danger attending their Retreat by the Running of the Ice. They have, subsequent to the Expedition in the depth of Winter, committed frequent murders on the west side of the River, and had the Insolence, after killing a family a few days ago on the bank of the River, to call to the people on this side to "come over and bury their dead, that it would be their turn next and that they would not leave a Smoking Chimney on this side the Alliganey Mountains." To these facts has been added the testimony of a Mr. Robbins, an old Indian trader who left St. Duskie on the 10th day of December last, and who says that the Indians boast of victory on the late Expedition; that a general Council by the Different tribes was to be held at the lower St. Duskie the first of January last, and that a Spirit of War universally prevailed amongst the Warriors of the different Nations. That so far as Mr. Robbins had access to their Councils, previous to his departure, they had agreed to take no more prisoners, but to kill and destroy all in their power. Mr. Robbins further adds, that notwithstanding the Troops under Gen'l Harmar had destroyed a Considerable quantity of Corn at the Maumi town, they are by no means in want, that they have yet a considerable supply to enable them to go to War, and that they intend making reprisals on our Towns and Garrisons as soon as the Season will admit.

I mention the information of Mr. Robbins to show that the late depredations at Muskingham and other places ought not to be considered as the effect of that ungovernable Spirit that exist among Warriors, who from an Insatiable thirst for plunder cannot even in time of peace be restrained by their leaders, but that it is the cool and Deliberate resolution of the different tribes, particularly the Shawnee Nation, to commence a General War.

One trait in Mr. Robbins' Character gives his Testimony respectability; from an extraordinary goodness of heart, he has from affluent circumstances become a poor man by frequent purchases of prisoners from the Indians. There are at this moment, in this and Ohio County, sundry persons Residing that were by him purchased and for whom he has actually advanced Several hundred Dollars, as they themselves acknowledge, and some of them altho' very willing, are unable to pay him.

From a real sense of Danger the Officers and principal people of Ohio County, in Virginia, with those of this County, have addressed the President of the United States on the subject. I have also thought it my Duty to state to your Excellency our apprehensions of Danger, that speedy and effectual measures may be taken, either by the General or State government, for the protection and safety of our frontier. Offensive War is in my humble opinion the most eligible; this country at present abounds with the Necessary supplies for an army. And from the most perfect confidence in your Disposition to promote the happiness and safety of every Individual in the State, I rest assured that the subject will receive that attention from you which it deserves. I have only to add, that such is our sense of Danger, that the joint application from this and Ohio County to the General Government, has been forwarded by express at the expence of a few Individuals. I could wish that commissions for the Militia Officers of this County might be sent by the same person. I have directed him to wait three or four Days for that purpose.

I have the honor to be,
With the Greatest respect,
Your Excellencie's most Obt.
and humble Servant,
JAMES MARSHAL,
Lieut. W. Co'y.

P. S.—Since I began to write, have been able to complete the Return by receiving the one mentioned in the former part of my letter.

DAVID REDICK TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WASHINGTON, 20th Feb., 1791.

SIR:—It must be the prevailing opinion, from the splendid accounts given by the governor of the Western territory, and Gen'l Harmar, of the success of our troops in the late expedition, that the hostile tribes have got at best a check and that the frontier people will be in safety. Nothing is further from the fact. With reluctance, indeed, do I dare to contradict the opinion founded on such respectable authority; but my intelligence directly from Sandusky, by a Mr. Robbins of good character, says that the Indians boast of having obtained a victory; and this is further supported by the audacity and daily insolence which the frontiers have, ever since the return of the army, experienced at the hands of Indians. I believe, sir, whilst they boast of having found almost two hundred of our men abandoned and slain, and that not more than thirty of their people were killed, with eight others which afterwards died of their wounds, there will be but little ground to conclude that they have even been checked, much less defeated. They say that the chief part of the corn which was destroy'd was the property of the French settlers and Traders, that the price of corn has not risen in that country on account the campaign, Mr. Robbins asserts. I have no doubt but that the officers who gave a contrary information, hoped and believed it well founded; but facts since procured, with the conduct and determinations of the savages, leave us no ground to hope anything favorable, but rather the contrary. From all which has yet been done a large frontier of this State lies much exposed; the Dunkard creek & Ten-Mile settlements may be secured by the River Ohio, being made a line of defence for the people of Virginia; but as their settlements don't reach so far down the river as to cover these two tracts of country, we are then immediately vulnerable; up the river our people are settled on the N. West side of the river, and who must either fly in on the interior settlements, or fall an easy prey. An application is dispatched to the Pres't of the Union for immediate relief, and have ventured to assure the people here that you, sir, will not be wanting in attention to the safety of the western country. I am sure it will be enough that you believe them in danger.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

your Excellency's most ob't Serv.,

DAVID REDICK.

GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR
MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *Feb. 25th, 1791.*

SIR:—As a matter of information, I beg leave to submit to your Excellency the enclosed extract of a paragraph from a letter from the Secretary of the Western territory of the United States north-west of the Ohio.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

With great respect, Your Excellency's,

Most obedient humble servant,

H. KNOX,

Sec'y of War.

His Excellency, Governor MIFFLIN.

[Extract of a letter from Winthrop Sargent, Esquire, Secretary of the territory of the United States North-West of the Ohio, to the Secretary of War; dated Pittsburgh, February the 12th, 1791.]

“It may not be amiss, Sir, to inform you that this little place which from its situation will at least be a temporary depositary for stores is almost totally without defence; that the number of men enrolled in the militia is about two hundred and fifty, and not more than one hundred of them armed.”

GEN. KNOX TO JAMES MARSHAL.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *8d March, 1791.*

GENTLEMEN:—The President of the United States, has received your Letter of the 19th of last month, stating certain depredations of the Indians.

And he has commanded me to inform you that the Congress of the United States, having been deliberating for some time past upon the means which may effectually protect the Frontiers, have just concluded thereon.

That he shall take the most vigorous measures to execute the intentions of Congress. That for this purpose men will be required to act offensively. That it is to be hoped and expected, that as soon as the conditions shall be made known, that the hardy yeomanry of the Frontier Counties will engage readily and cheerfully, for a short period, to act against the Indians,

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

and thereby prevent their depopulating the exposed parts of the frontier counties.

That the Governor of the Western territory, who will immediately repair to Fort Pitt, or the Commanding Officer of the troops, will have discretionary power to make all necessary arrangements for the temporary defensive protection of the frontier counties, which the occasion may require.

I have the honor to be,

Gentlemen, &c.,

H. KNOX,

Sec'y of War.

To James MARSHAL and others of Washington county, in Pennsylvania.

ESTIMATE OF MILITIA EXPENSES.

Estimate of the Expense of the Equipment of a draught of 300 Militia, and of the Supplies of Provisions and Forage for their support for One Month.

EQUIPMENT.

300 stand of Arms—if Muskets & bayonets are made use of, Cartooch boxes will be necessary, or if Rifles are made use of, shot bags & pouches and a Tomahock to each man will be required, which in each Case will cost per stand, about 55s.	£825 0 0
58 Camp-kettles, allowing one to six men & in proportion to Officers, 6s. 6d.	18 17 0
58 axes, allowed in the same proportion, but if Rifles & Tomahocks are used, $\frac{1}{2}$ will do, 7s. 6d.	21 15 0
Ammunition, 96 rounds per man, say 900 lb. powder, 1s. 4d.	60 0 0
1,800 lb. Lead, or ball, 6d.	45 0 0
	<u>£970 12 0</u>

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

548

MONTHLY EXPENCE.

	Dollars	Days	Rations each.	Total of rations,	Rations of forage
Pay per month,		Whole pay per month,			
1 Field Officer,	60	60	5	5	2
1 Adjutant,	83½				
1 Quarter mr,	33⅓				
1 Paymaster,	83⅓	100	2	6	8
6 Captains,	40	240	3	18	.
6 Lieutenants,	30	180	2	12	.
6 Ensigns,	24	144	2	12	.
12 Sergeants,	15	180			
12 Corporals,	13	156	1	282	.
12 Drums & Fifes,	13	156			
246 Privates,	12	2,952			
			4,168	885	1

Pay of Officers and men one month,

4.168 Drs £1,568 00 0

Rations 335 per day, is for 30 days.

10,050 rations of Provisions, same as allowed by the United States to their Troops, including Incidentals,

@ 12d. per ration
Rations of Forage, 5 for 30 days, is

502 10 0

M-441-B 62-372-15-2

Monthly Expence	£2,076 15 0
Suppose for four Months	8,907 0 0
Contingent Expenses, Carriage hire, &c.	1,722 8 0

€10.000,00

CLEMENT BIDDE

CLEMENT BIDDELL,
Q'r m'r Gen'l of the Militia.

PHILAD'A. March 8. 1791.

**GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR
MIFFLIN.**

WAR DEPARTMENT. 10th March, 1791.

SIR:—I have understood that doubts have arisen in the minds of some gentlemen from the western counties of the State, as to the promptness and efficacy of the protection to be afforded the frontier counties, against the incursions of hostile Indians.

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

I am commanded, Sir, by the President of the United States, to inform you explicitly that the most immediate and effectual provision shall be made for the defensive protection of the frontiers, this State included, by calling into service at the expence of the United States such proportions of the militia as the nature of the case may require.

I have the honor to be,

With great respect,

Your Excellency's,

Most obedient humble servant,

H. KNOX.

Sec'y of War.

His Excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania.

GENERAL KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *March 14th, 1791.*

SIR:—I have the honor to enclose for your Excellency's satisfaction a copy of the letter written to the Lieutenants of the counties of Washington, Allegheny and Westmoreland on the 10th instant, and which was transmitted by express on the same day.

I am, Sir, With great respect,

Your Excellency's most

Obedient humble Servant,

H. KNOX,

Sec'y of War.

His Excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania.

GENERAL KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO THE LIEUTENANTS OF THE WESTERN COUNTIES.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *10th March, 1791.*

SIR:—In consideration of the present exposed situation of the County of — — — The President of the United States hereby authorizes you to embody at the expence of the United States, as many of the militia by voluntary engagements or otherwise according to law, as in your judgment the defensive protection of the said county may require.

He is persuaded that from a regard to proper œconomy and your own character, you will not call out an unnecessary number of men.

The rangers to be called into service in pursuance of this authority are to be upon the same establishment of pay and rations, as the troops of the United States, agreeably to the schedule herein enclosed.

The county lieutenants are to make an arrangement for supplying the said rangers with rations, provided each ration shall not exceed the amount of eight cents.

The county lieutenants are also to direct the said rangers to be mustered upon entering and leaving the service, and the officers commanding the said rangers are to make oath to the truth of their muster rolls.

That muster rolls and abstracts for the pay and rations of the said rangers are to be made out and certified by the county lieutenants, who are to transmit the same to the War Office for examination and payment; and also their powers of attorney to receive the money.

You will keep the said rangers in constant activity in such directions as may best serve to secure the inhabitants, and to give information of the approach of the Indians.

You will report to me and to the commanding general of the troops in writing, the number you may have called out by virtue of this authority, and the arrangements you have made for furnishing them with rations.

This measure is to be considered as temporary, until other and more efficient arrangements which are in train shall be carried into execution.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
H. KNOX,
Sec'y of War.

MAJOR ISAAC CRAIG TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

FORT PITT, 16th March, 1791.

SIR:—The people on the frontier are exceedingly alarmed; parties of Volunteer militia have been sent from several parts of this county and Washington, as patrols, one of which fell in with a party of friendly Indians at the block house on Beaver creek (where they had been at a store) killed three men and one woman, notwithstanding the Indians called to them in English; two of them being Moravian Indians and known to several of the patrol.

85—VOL. IV.

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

Although this action appears very much like deliberate murder, yet it is approved of, I believe, by a majority of the people on the Ohio.

I am,
Sir, &c.,
ISAAC CRAIG.

JAMES MORRISON TO GENERAL RICHARD BUTLER.

PITTSBURGH, *March 17th, 1791.*

SIR:—The Indians have not committed any depredations on our frontiers since my last. Notwithstanding a party of militia from Ohio County, in number 30, came to the west side of Beaver Creek, opposite the block house where William Wilson of this place has been trading for some considerable time past, fell on some Delaware Indians who had been trading with Mr. Wilson, killed 3 men and one woman, took 9 horses, the Indians' arms, &c.—the residue of the Indians made their escape. This ill-timed stroke (to say no worse) has greatly alarmed the settlements opposite Beaver. They have left their houses along the river for some distance and collected in small bodies some miles back. Should the Indians revenge this injury done them on our frontier, (which it is more than probable they will,) that thriving settlement on Racoon will break up and fly a considerable distance into the interior part of the country.

I have the honor to be,

Your ob't h'ble serv't,

JAMES MORRISON.

CORNPLANTER AND OTHER SENECA INDIANS TO
PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PITTSBURGH, *March 17, 1791.*

SIR:—When we raised from the great council of the Thirteen Fires, we mentioned that we meant to have a council with the chiefs of the bad angry Indians.

Through the whole Quaker State, as we came up the road, we was treated well, and they took good care of us until we came here. One misfortune happened only that one of our wagons is not yet arrived here, the one we first engaged with the goods you presented to us.

Father: Your promise to me was, that you would keep all your people quiet, but since I came here, I find that some of

my people have been killed, the good honest people who were here trading.

Father: We hope you will not suffer all the good people to be killed, but your people are killing them as fast as they can. Three men and one woman have been killed at Big Beaver creek, and they were good people, and some of the white men will testify the truth of this. When I heard the news, I found one boy had made his escape and got to the trader's house who saved his life; I now wait to see him.

Father: We have been informed that twenty-seven men came from another State and murdered these men in the Quaker State and took away nine horses and all the goods they had purchased from the trader. Our father and ruler over all mankind, now speak and tell me, did you order these men to be killed?

Father: Our words are pledged to you that we would endeavor to make peace with all warrior nations. If we cannot do it, do not blame us; you struck the innocent men first. We hope you will not blame us, as your people has first broke good rules, but as for our people, they are as friendly and as firm as ever.

Father: We must now acquaint you with the men's names who did this murder at Beaver creek. Samuel Brady, formerly a captain in your army and under your command, also Balden were persons concerned in this murder.

Father: I can inform you little more, therefore will conclude, with asking you how I should have came to the knowledge of this or how I could have informed you had it not been for our good friend Joseph Nicholas? I, therefore, beg you may grant him an appointment as interpreter, for we cannot see how we will do without him. I know of no other man who speaks your language and ours so well as him.

CORNPLANTER, his × mark.

NEW-ARROW, his × mark.

HALF-TOWN, his × mark.

BIG-TREE, his × mark.

P. S.—The boy who made his escape at Beaver creek has arrived at this place, and I have taken him under my protection.

Father: Your dispatches for Detroit has been unavoidably detained heretofore, but to-morrow Big-Tree and one other shall set off with it and will also take the boy mentioned here and deliver him to his relations. We part to-day at this place. Big-Tree is going amongst the cross Indians to see if they will make peace, and I go to my own people to call them to council.

CORNPLANTER.

To the President of the United States.

MAJOR SAMUEL HODGDON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILADELPHIA, March 19th, 1791.

SIR:—The Artillery Companies of this City have on *Loan*, *Seven Pieces* of Brass Ordnance belonging to the United States of the following Calibres, viz: One Six Pounder, five four Pounders, and one three Pounder. The *Six* Pounder & *three* Pounder are now Wanted, and I have to request that you will be pleased to issue an Order addressed to the proper Officer for their delivery. If others are wanted in their stead, those of different dimentions shall be furnished.

I have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's Most Obedient Servant,
SAMUEL HODGDON,
Commiss' y Mil. Store.

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esq'r.

GEN. NEVILLE TO COL. RICHARD BUTLER.

WOODVILLE, ALLEGHANY COUNTY,
March 25th, 1791.

SIR:—In the absence of the County Lieut. it devolves on me to inform your Excellency of our situation with Respect to the Indians, whose Intentions, generally, I fear, are inimical.

The frequent Murders they had committed during the latter part of the Winter, having greatly exasperated the People on the Frontiers. A Party about the 9th Inst., (I believe Virginians,) fell on a Party of Indians near the Mouth of Beaver Creek and killed five of them; that those Indians were not hostile, appears from their having with them articles of Trade and their Squaws, but that they either had been so, or were connected with unfriendly Indians, appears from their having with them several articles well known to be the property of a Family who sometime before was murdered at the Mingoe Bottom.

On the 18th Inst. one man was kill'd and three Prisoners taken from about four Miles above Pittsburgh, on the Alleghany Shore, and on the 23d Inst. Thirteen Men, Women & Children (mostly the latter) were kill'd about fifteen Miles above Pitts-b'gh, on the same River, (I believe at the Mouth of Bull Creek,) which has so alarmed the Frontiers, that I fear they will break up.

The settlement on the depreciation Tract, amounting to about Forty or Fifty Families, has fled to a Man, and many on the

Ohio have moved to more interior Situations. The Militia are in great want of Arms. I do not believe that more than one-sixth are provided for. Five or Six years of continued Peace had destroy'd all thoughts of Defence; and the game becoming scarce, the Arms have slipt off to Kentucky and other later Settlements, where there appeared to more use for them.

The Corn Planter and his Party (about forty-five in number) are now ascending the Alleghany River to their Country; they left Pittsburgh four days ago. The first Murder on the Alleghany was committed in one Mile of his Camp, and he was not very distant from the other. Notwithstanding his Professions, some of his Party are greatly suspected, at least of being confederate in this Business, and Parties have been forming to pursue & cut them off. However, I hope it may not be carried into effect, it would add the Senecas to our Enemies, already too numerous for our defenceless Frontiers, & the Settlement on the French C'k would be an immediate Sacrifice.

With the Sentiments of the highest Esteem & Respect,

I've the honor to be, Your Excellency's

Ob't humb'e Serv't,

PRESLEY NEVILLE.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR
MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 28th March, 1791.

SIR:—I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency, a representation made to the President of the United States by the Cornplanter, a Seneca Chief, upon the subject of the murder of some friendly Indians on the 9th instant, who had been trading at the Block house, on Big Beaver Creek within this State. It would appear both from the representation of the Cornplanter, and the information of persons of respectable characters at Pittsburgh, and its neighbourhood, herein enclosed, whose names it might not be proper to make public, that the act of killing the Indians aforesaid is considered by the good Citizens of the frontiers, as an atrocious murder and deserving of the severest punishment.

If such crimes as the murder of friendly Indians should be suffered to pass off with impunity, the endeavours of the United States to establish peace on terms of justice and humanity will be in vain; a general Indian war will be excited, in which the opinion of the enlightened and impartial part of mankind will be

opposed to us; and the blood and treasures of the nation will be dissipated in the accomplishment of measures degrading to its characters.

To avoid such deplorable consequences, every exertion will be immediately made within the power of the General Government.

Major General St. Clair will be instructed to enquire into the facts, and finding them as represented, to call the relations of the deceased Indians together; to disavow and disapprove of the murder in the strongest terms; to assure the Indians that every measure authorized by the laws will be immediately taken to bring the murderers to condign punishment; and to make the said relations entire compensation for the loss of the horses and property taken from the murdered Indians.

But the punishment of the murderers will not belong to the General Government. The crime having been committed within the jurisdiction of the State of Pennsylvania, is to be tried by its laws. No doubt can arise that your Excellency will view the transaction in its proper light, and that you will demand the accused of the State of Virginia, according to the Constitution of the United States, or take such other measures on the occasion, as you may judge proper.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obed. servant,

H. KNOX,

Secretary of War.

His Excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania.

CEN KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR TO GOVERNOR,
MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
31st March, 1791.

SIR:—I had the honor on the 7th Instant, to inform your excellency, that the President of the United States had directed a number of recruits to be raised in the State of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of completing the First regiment of Infantry in the service of the United States. I have now the honor further to inform your excellency, that the President of the United States, in pursuance of the authority vested in him by an act, entitled "An Act for raising and adding another regiment to the military establishment of the United States, and for making further provision for the protection of the frontiers," has directed that two battalions, of Levies of four companies, each amounting to three hundred and thirty-two, non-commissioned

and privates, should be raised within the State of Pennsylvania.

The said Levies to be enlisted for the term of six months from the time of joining the Rendezvous upon the frontiers

As soon as one company shall be completed at Carlisle or other rendezvous to the westward, it will be marched to Fort Pitt.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

H KNOX,

Sec'y of War.

His Excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania.

COL. WILKINS TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, 31st March, 1791.

SIR:—The Indians have committed considerable depredations on the people living on the west side of the Allegheny river, which has caused our frontier people, for an extent of fifty miles, to fly. They have abandoned their farms, their stock and their furniture, and fled with the utmost precipitation. The Indians have killed one man & carried off three people prisoners within five miles of this town, & they have killed nine persons within twelve miles. The conjecture of most people with respect to the Indians who have done this mischief, is, that they were of the same nation of some who were killed when peaceably trading about thirty miles of this place, by a party of militia from Ohio County, Virginia.

Our country will be reduced to the utmost distress, unless government interferes decisively in their favor. Gen'l Knox has written to the respective County Lieutenants, directing them to turn out a sufficient number of Militia for the purpose of immediate defence. The county Lieutenant of our county being at Phil'a., received the letters of the Minister of War, & forwarded them here to a person to act for him. There has arisen a question with us, which I think a just one: If the Minister at War can order out our militia under a Penn'a Law, & direct them to be paid Continental Pay, when the law under which they are ordered out, allows them twice as much, whether the Governor of Penn'a ought not to be the official character in ordering out the militia under the laws of this State? & also, it has been questioned, whether the County Lieutenant, sitting at Phil'a., can authorise any person to act as deputy for him, especially when some of his directions are discretionary? These things occurring have prevented the people from acting with that unanimity & spirit which their situation required.

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

We have heard of a Law of this State appropriating four thousand Pounds for the defence of the frontiers, which has given great hope, as you will have the direction of the manner in which it will be applied. If you think me capable of assisting you in this business in this country, I flatter myself you will employ me, and shall exert myself to do you justice & Credit to myself.

I have, as yet, no idea in what manner you will carry the views of the Legislature into execution, but I am confident of its being done in the best manner.

I have the honor of being, your

Excellency's most ob't & very Hum'l Servant,

JNO. WILKINS, JR.

JOHN GIBSON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

VEARSAILS TOWNSHIP, ALLEGHANY COUNTY,

April ye 1st, 1791.

To His Excellency Thomas Mifflin, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania :

HONoured AND WORTHY SIR :—Permit Me to Address you thus by Presenting to your notice the Contents of a few Extracts of Military Discipline, which to My opinion, would be an Necessary Addition to that abstract set forth By the Hon'l Barron Steuben, Recommended to the officers & Privates of Pennsylvania Militia troop as an Excellent Method of forming.

Immediately after the forming of troops, Military Discipline is the first object that Presents itself to our notice. It is the soul of all Armies, and unless it be established among them, with Great Prudance, and Suported with unshaken Resolution, they become more Dangerous than Useful, more hurtful to ourselves than to our Enemys. It, therefore, becometh Every officer to pay the same attention to his Duty in time of Profound peace as when on the very theatre of War, in suporting authority in Decency and good Order. To honour & obey superiors, is setting an Example Which with the better sort will have its Effect.

It is a false notion to think that subordination and a passive obedience to superiors can be any Debasement to a Man's courage; so far from it, that it is a General Remark, that those armies (whether standing or Militia) which have been subject to the strictest Discipline, have always Proformed the Greatest Actions. For testimony, look back to good Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Who with the Assistance of the well Disciplined Militia of England, Defended the Kingdom against the Spanish Armada had on board 30,000 Landsmen.

Not willing to tire your Patience too long by way of an address, I shall only Give you here a summary abridgement of the contents as I am under the necessity of transmitting my address Post, Living in the Western Department of your State, at the distance of 307 Miles from the metropolis.

The Contents is as follows, viz: An Address to the several officers of a Regiment, Gently touching the Characters & Duties they ought to adhear to; Cautions, Directions & Observations for young officers; Some Particular Dutys of Adjutant General, Captain Majors, Adjutant, &c.; a Roster for Detaching Battalions; Rendezvousing of an army; the Disposition of an Army marching through an Enemy's Country; Manouvers to be opposed to the Enemy's false alarms; Manouvers & Explanations to be made on a field Day, with a field Return; Some Remarks proper to be made by the Reviewing Officer; an inspection Report; general Exact copies & Directions for Making Muster Roles; morning & Monthly Reports of Regiment or Company When Stationed; forms & Directions for holding Court Martial, Regimental or General; instructions for officers on Grand Guards, outposts of parties; Particular Dutys on which Light Cavalry are generally Employed. These, with a Large addition of Useful Instructions proper to qualify the young & Unexperianced officer for Military Service.

Honoured Sir: Pardon me if I have Unworthily Employed My self, as it is the zeal Which I have for the Service and welfare of my Country that induces me thereto. If the above is thought Consequence as to the Restoration of Military Discipline, will Count it My Duty and honour to be Employed Under your authority. And as a faithful subject I Subscribe Myself,

Your Excellency's Most obedient
and Most humble Servant,
JNO. GIBSON.

JAMES MARSHAL TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WASHINGTON, 11th April, 1791.

R:—Yours of the 18th ult. with its inclosure, I Received by Mr. Marshall. Previous to the Receipt thereof, I was authorised by the President of the United States, thro' the Secretary of War, "to embody at the expence of the United States, as many of the Militia, by Voluntary engagement, or otherwise, according to law, as the defensive protection of this County may require." In consequence of this author, I ordered on duty one Company of Militia for one Month, with the design of embodying within

that time, a sufficient number of active Woodsmen to continue in service six Months, (unless sooner discharged,) for the defence of our frontiers, and which I expect to effect by the 18th Inst. The General Government having thus provided for our defence until other and more efficient arrangements, which the Secretary of War writes me are in train, shall be carried into execution, supercedes the necessity, in my opinion, of calling out any Militia at the expence of this State at present.

We have not yet suffered any damage in this County by the Indians, that I know of. The frontier Inhabitants are, nevertheless, very much alarmed on account of the Murders committed on the Neighbouring frontiers, and several of the frontier settlements in this County have been evacuated before I was authorised to send out any men for their protection.

By the 20th Inst., I shall set out for Philadelphia, at which time I will be able to make as accurate a statement of the Number and equipments of our Militia, &c., as practicable to obtain.

I have the Honor to be,

your Excellency's most obed't
and very Humble servant,

JAMES MARSHEL.

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esquire.

GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR
MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 20th, 1791.

SIR:—I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency, the copy of a letter from Lieutenant Ernest, at Fort Pitt.

The affair of which he speaks is of a most atrocious nature. It may be expected that a more particular account will be received by the post of to-morrow, when I shall have the honor of communicating further with your Excellency on the subject.

I have the honor to be,

with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obed't
and very humble serv't,

H. KNOX,
Sec'y of War.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

LIEUTENANT ERNEST, OF THE FEDERAL ARTILLERY,
TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

FORT PITT, 10th April, 1791.

SIR:—Mr. Jeffers informed me by Express, two days since, that he had just received good information of one thousand of the lower Indians being within thirty miles of him, and that their views were to destroy the Cussawaga settlement and the post at Vinango; that his garrison is reinforced by forty Seneka Indians and white men from Cussawaga, and that he had then but ten days' provisions on hand, the contractor's boat having been stopped on its passage to Fort Franklin by the militia of Westmoreland county, on account of there being friendly Indians on board who assisted in navigating her up the Alleghany. These Indians were a part of Cornplanter's party who had with them the presents they received from Congress and State of Pennsylvania, which was taken from them and exposed at public sale. The party that did this mischief was under the command of Major Guthrie, of Westmoreland.

The Contractor's boat set out again from this place the 3d instant and expected to arrive at Fort Franklin the 14th or 15th at farthest. Mr. Jeffers letter is dated the 5th, so that it is probable the supply may arrive seasonably.

Your obt. serv't,
MATTHEW ERNEST.

WILLIAM FINDLEY TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

April 29, 1791.

DEAR SIR:—I have just time to inform you by post that yesterday the Indians attacked the house of James Kilpatrick, on Crooked Creek, and killed two men and Broke a child's leg, &c., the people, however, supported the house. There were six Militia men stationed at the house and nine, I understand, at a house in the neighborhood. I am informed that a block house opposite to Pittsburgh has been attacked by the savages, but they have been repulsed. Col. Campbell has been much complained of for keeping the Militia out from their labors. (This affair will convince people of the necessity of the measure.) He called upon Genl. St. Clair for the few recruits that we raised here to supply in part the place of the first called Militia, but was refused, as the Gen'l is taking them to guard himself down the River. The people here were convinced that

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

they had not much assistance to expect from his industry or attention. I am sorry that these apprehensions are so much verified. My information is imperfect, for though a Boy came express this morning to my house for assistance to scout on the frontier, yet I not being in the house did not see him. Excuse haste and confusion, and believe me to be with sincere respect,

Your obed't humble serv't,

WILLIAM FINDLEY.

A. DALLAS, Secretary of the Commonwealth.

DAVID STEWART TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

SUNDAY, 8th day of May, 1791.

SIR:—I have this day received information which may be depended on, that a party of Indians known to be Senecaes, some time in the last week of April, killed two men and one child (which account I expect your Excellency has received by this time,) at a place known by the name of Crooked Creek near Kitaning Old Town, and within twenty-eight or thirty miles of our Frontiers, which lye as much exposed as the place where they have committed the murder. Our Settlements are in considerable fear and danger, and unless some Guards are stationed along the wilderness back of our Settlement, I am afraid they will give way particularly as the murders were committed by a Nation we expected were upon the most friendly terms with us. A Capt. McGuire who lives the most exposed, informs me that he has discovered traces of the Indians in several parts of the Country in which he lives, and as he informs me they are Senecaes, we have too little right to expect anything from their placable disposition. Your Excellency, we trust, will take such measures as will be necessary to strengthen our Frontiers.

I am, with all possible regard and esteem,

Your Excellencie's most

obedient and very humble Serv't,

DAVID STEWART.

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR
MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 10th, 1791.*

SIR :—I have the honor to transmit, for the information of your Excellency, the copy of a letter from Major Heart, respecting the consequences of the Indians who were killed near the block house on Big Beaver Creek.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Your Excellency's Most obedient
and very humble Serv't,
H. KNOX,
Sec'y of War.

His Excellency the Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

MAJOR JONATHAN HEART TO GEN. KNOX.

PHILADELPHIA, *10th May, 1791.*

SIR :—With respect to the murders committed by the Indians on the Alleghany in March last, I can assure you they were not committed by the Munsee & Senecas, as has been publicly reported. Capt. Bullit, who was said to be killed, I have myself seen since that time, he with a number of Munsee had been hunting near the Susquehannah waters during the whole winter and spring. The Seneca, called Snip Nose, who was also said to be of the party, I did not see, but not long before the massacre he was near Fort Franklin, and went to Buffaloe creek where the chiefs say he now is and that he has not been absent. The Indian supposed to be Snip Nose, was a Munsee living on Beaver waters, and known by the name of Capt. Peters, a relation to some of the Indians killed by Capt. Brady. Another of the Indians who committed the murder was known by the name of Flin, had often been with the Senecas, but he lived and hunted on Beaver waters, and was also connected with the families who suffered at the Beaver Block house, and there can be no doubt but the murders were committed by the friends and relations of those families who hunted on Beaver waters, and not by the Indians on the Alleghany, who in every particular manifest the most sincere attachment to the United States.

I have the honor to be,
with due respect, Sir,
Your most hum'l Serv't,
JONA. HEART.

Major General KNOX.

JOHN SCULL TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, May 12th, 1791.

SIR:—I take the liberty of inclosing you a Pittsburgh *Gazette*, which contains some accounts of the depredations of the Indians, and since publishing which I have rec'd an authentic account, that two men were taken on Sunday last about six miles from the Allegheny, in Westmoreland County, and about twenty miles from this place. There were three men in company, one escaped by being some distance behind the others, and informs that there were 20 Indians.

With sentiments of respect, I am

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

JOHN SCULL.

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Governor of the State of Pennsylvania.

MAJOR JOHN IRWIN TO COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

PITTSBURGH, May 12th, 1791.

SIR:—In the absence of the County Lieut., I acknowledge the rec't of your letter of the 81st March, with an order for 200 Stand Musquets & Bayonets. They have, I hope, been distributed in the most Juditious manner to the Counties alluded to in your letter. By next post you may expect the necessary Vouchers. The Waggon mentioned in this letter sent off last Saturday with Arns, Ammunition, &c., we have not since heard of. Your letter of the 8th Aprile, by Mr. Dunwoodie, with an inclosed Invoice of Military Stores—a certain Mr. William Todd, of Westmoreland County, 10 miles from Greensburgh, has taken the liberty in the name of the County Lieut. to take possession of the whole—how he is to account to Government for his Conduct, the Governour may Judge. The Counties of Washington and Allegaheny, I am confident, acknowledge with Gratitude the attention paid them by Government. But you see the Misconduct of a Mr. Todd oversets the designs of a good Government, & I am Confident the Exertions of a Majority of most Spirited Virtuous Citizens.—drop the subject. I hope your representation of this business to the Governour will be the line to have it sett right. I have nothing new to inform you of. We are got perfectly Easy on the subject of Tomhawking & Scalping, as it happens every two or three days. It is probable I may not

have the pleasure of writing you again, as I believe mine would be very acceptable to our Swarthy Neighbors.

Your Most Obedient Humble Serv't,
JOHN IRWIN,

*Major 4th Battln. Allegaheny Militia, Acting for the County Lieut.
MR. CLEMENT BIDDLE, Q. M. Gen'l P. Militia.*

ANDREW GREGG TO COL. BRYSON.

PENNS VALLEY, 16th May, 1791.

D'R SIR:—We have received some tolerably well authenticated accounts of the Indians being on our Frontiers. Not many Day since they attacked a House on Crooked Creek, where a party of seven Men had assembled for their mutual Defence, & killed two Men & one Boy in the House. The Indians had one killed on the Spot and another appeared badly wounded.

Crooked Creek, where the above happened, I am informed, is not more than eighty or ninety Miles distant from my House. The Lieutenant of Huntingdon County has ordered out a scouting party to reconoiter, which marched last Saturday. The people here are a good Deal alarmed & are urging me to do something in the Way of preparing for Defence. Being without authority, I feel a Backwardness to proceed, tho' I see the Necessity of it now. I have taken this previous step to advise with you & shall wait your Answer. We have very few Arms & no Ammunition. I have, therefore, been thinking that it would be very well for you to procure & send us some of both, & likewise to hasten the period of our Organization, as without some Establishment, that way you know Nothing can be well done. Besides, should Danger approach nearer, both you & I will be charged with Neglect & unnecessary Delay. I shall wait your answer & wish you to hasten it.

I am, Sir, with the highest Esteem,
Your Friend and most obe't serv't,
ANDREW GREGG.
Col. SAM'L. BRYSON, Lieutenant of Mifflin county.

GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR
MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 19, 1791.*

SIR:—Conformably to your Excellency's request of this day, I have given Col. Clement Biddle, the quarter master general of this State, an order on Major Craig, at Fort Pitt, for two hundred arms and accoutrements, and a proportionate quantity of ammunition.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's
most obedient and very humble Serv't,
H. KNOX,
Sec'y of War.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

JOHN ADLUM TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

NEW TOWN, *June 27th, 1791.*

HONoured SIR:—I arrived at this place on the 19th Instant, where I found Col. Pickering and a few Indians, the waters being so low he could not reach the Painted Post, the place appointed for the Treaty, so he concluded to hold it at this place. Since I came here, there is to the amount of near two hundred warriors and others of the Oneida & Onondaga tribes arrived, and yesterday a runner came from the Senecas, informing that there were six hundred and eighty-two of them in a body, on their way, besides a considerable number from other Towns who were expected to join them; but the Cornplanter was not amongst them, and the runner could not inform me whether he would come to the Treaty or not, and as my business here was to see him, I concluded it would be only losing of time for me to wait for him, as I have other business to attend to, and it does not appear to me that the Treaty will be over this three weeks. I left a letter informing him of my having been here with an intention of doing his business, (to be forwarded to him if he does not attend the Treaty,) with my reasons for not waiting, promising, at the same time, to attend to the same as soon as I can go to that Country in safety.

I am, Sir,

with sentiments of esteem,
your most obedient humble Serv't,
JOHN ADLUM.

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN.

ESTIMATE FOR DEFENCE OF FRONTIERS.

PHILADELPHIA, August 6th, 1791.

Estimate of Expenditures for the defence of the Western Frontiers in the Quarter Master's Department by order of His Excellency the Governor, under the authority of the Act of Assembly, entitled "An Act to provide for the temporary defence of the Frontiers of this Commonwealth."

1791, April. sent to Westmoreland, Allegheny and Washington.	40 quarter casks powder, bags, &c. . . .	£61 18 9
	88 Muskets and accou- trements, Flints, &c. . . .	132 15 2
	42 Rifles	144 14 0
	5 Cwt. Lead	18 9 2
	Carriage	107 18 8
		460 15 9
May 3d. sent to Middle- town to for- ward to Hunt- ingd'n County.	10 quarter casks powder, bags, &c. . . .	15 8 10
	32 Muskets and accou- trements	45 1 6
	7 Rifles	81 5 6
	386 lbs. Lead and Balls, 600 flints	13 12 2
	Carriage, &c.	9 7 9
		114 15 9
Charge of an Express to Pittsburgh & postage		28 10 2
	Delivered at Pittsburg.	900 00 00
	Borrowed of the Secretary at War of the United States to be replaced & now replac-	60 00 00
	200 stand of Arms, complete March 31st	900 00 00
	Ammunition in proportion	60 00 00
	200 stand of ditto, May 19th	900 00 00
	Ammunition in proportion	60 00 00
		270 00 00
		2,190 00 00
		£2,789 1 8

N. B. About 100 stand of arms, I am informed, have not been issued at Pittsburgh.

CLEMENT BIDDLE,
Q. M. Gen. Penn. Militia.

MAJOR JOHN IRWIN TO COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

PITTSBURGH, June 8d, 1791.

DEAR SIR:—Since my last to you, the Indians have been perfectly quiet (except in one trifling instance) on the frontier of

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

the Countys of Allegaheny & Westmoreland. Yours of the 19th May, with the order for 300 Stand arms, Ammunition, &c., came Safe to hand. 50 of these, with a proportion of ammunition, have been delivered to the Lieut. of Washington County. Gen'l Butler thinks it improper that any more arms Should be Issu'd on this order, as the levies are arriving almost every day, and there does not appear to be more Arms in Store at this place than will be Sufficient to arm them. The ammunition may be had if wanted. The Gentlemen of Westmoreland must have been greatly allarm'd, and I am Sorry for it, but it may not be improper in this place to observe, that their Neighbouring County, Allegaheny, have Suffered four times as much in alarms & real attacks in the Course of three months past. We have lost from this County fourteen person Killed, Wounded & taken, & I recollect but three from Westmoreland. The County last mentioned, have now in their possession, Stores Stopt, & what they got of the first Order, for two hundred Stand arms, &c.

2,960 pounds ball, buck Shott, &c.

1,100 Do Riffle & Musquet powders.

2,000 Flints.

127 Stand arms and the accoutrements, &c., Sent
in your two last Waggons.

I am, Sir, your most
obedient Humble Serv't,

JOHN IRWIN,

*Major 4th Batt'l'n Allegaheny Militia, acting for the County Lieut
Col. CLEMENT BIDDLE, Quarter Master General Penn'a Mil
tia.*

RHEA'S NARRATIVE.

*Narrative of Mr. Thomas Rhea who arrived at Pittsburgh from
captivity the 30th of June, 1791.*

On the 5th day of May, 1791, I was taken prisoner at a place called Cussawaga, and plundered of seven horses by a party of five Indians, partly Delawares, partly Munsees, among whom was one called Captain Peter, a Munsee, and one called Jacob Philips, who both talk English; Philips is well known at Detroit as a Delaware. They also took, at the same time, Cornelius Van Horne and two horses, part of the above seven, and killed and scalped William Gregg. They proceeded with us to Sandusky by the way of the mouth of Cayahoga river and the Moravian town, which is evacuated and the people moved be-

bond the Detroit river, to a spot near one Captain Elliott's of the Indian Department, where they have planted corn. We arrived at Sandusky the 12th day, which made it the 16th day of May. At this town was a Captain Coon with from one hundred and fifty to two hundred Indians, beside some war parties, who had brought in negroes, horses and other property, also a white prisoner who was left at a village seven miles up the Sandusky. During my stay at Sandusky, which was seven days, I was chiefly employed in planting corn; the eighth day, which was the 24th of May, an Indian came in with the news-halloo, and information that a large body of troops were discovered moving, ie said, towards the Miami towns in three coluns; on which the Indians were much alarmed, and immediately destroyed the corn which had been planted, burned their houses and moved to the great crossing of the Miami or Ottawa river, called Sandusky. Several war parties came in with prisoners and scalps. At this place (the Miami) were Colonels Brandt and McKee, with his son Thomas and Captains Bunbury and Silvie of the British troops. These officers, &c., were all encamped on the south side of the Miami or Ottawa river. at the rapids above lake Erie, about eighteen miles; they had clever houses, built chiefly by the Pottawatamies and other Indians; in these they had stores of goods, with arms, ammunition and provision, which they issued to the Indians in great abundance, viz: corn, pork, peas, &c. The Indians came to this place in parties of one, two, three, four and five hundred at a time from different quarters, and received from Mr. McKee and the Indian officers, clothing, arms, ammunition, provision, &c., and set out immediately for the Upper Miami towns, where they understood the forces of the United States were bending their course, and in order to supply the Indians from other quarters collected there. Pirogues, loaded with the above mentioned articles, were sent up the Miami river, wrought by French Canadians. About the last of May, Captain Silvie purchased me from the Indians, and I staid with him at this place till the 4th of June, (the King's birth day,) when I was sent to Detroit.

Previous to leaving the Miami river, I saw one Mr. Dick, who, with his wife, was taken prisoner near Pittsburgh in the spring—I believe by the Wyandots. Mr. McKee was about purchasing Mr. Dick from the Indians, but found it difficult. Mrs. Dick was separated from him, and left at a village at some distance from this place. I also saw a young boy named Brittle, who was taken in the spring from near a mill, (Captain O'Hara's,) near Pittsburgh; his hair was cut, and he was dressed and armed for war; could not get speaking to him.

About the 5th June, in the Detroit river, I met from sixty to

one hundred canoes, in three parties, containing a large body of Indians, who appeared to be very wild and uncivilized; they were dressed chiefly in buffalo and other skin blankets, with otter skin and other fur breech cloths, armed with bows, and arrows, and spears; they had no guns, and seemed to set no store by them, or know little of their use, nor had they any inclination to receive them, though offered to them. They said they were three moons on their way. The other Indians called them Mannitoos. About this time there was a field day of the troops at Detroit, which I think is from five to six hundred in number. The next day a field day of the French militia took place, and one hundred and fifty of the Canadians with some others turned out volunteers to join the Indians, and were to set off the 8th for the Miami village, with their own horses, after being plentifully supplied with arms, ammunition, clothing and provisions, &c., to fit them for the march. While I was at the Miami, or Ottawa river, as they call it, I had mentioned to Colonel McKee and the other officers, that I had seen Colonel Proctor, on his way to Fort Franklin—that I understood he was on his way to Miami or Sandusky, with some of the Senecas, and that he expected the Cornplanter would accompany him in order to settle matters with the hostile nations; and that he expected to get shipping at Fort Erie, to bring him and these people to the Miami, or Sandusky, &c. That the officers in their conversation with each other said, if they were at fort Erie he should get no shipping there, &c. That the Mohawks and other Indians that could speak English declared that if he (meaning Colonel Proctor) or any other Yankee messenger came there they should never carry messages back. This was frequently expressed by the Indians and Simon Girty; and a certain Patt Hill declared Proctor should not return if he had a hundred Senecas with him; and many other such threats were used, and every movement, appearance and declaration seemed hostile to the United States. And I understood that Colonel McKee and the other officers intended only to stay at the Miami till they had furnished the war parties of Indians with the necessaries mentioned above to fit them for war, and then would returned to Detroit. That Elliott had returned to Detroit, and Simon Girty; and that Girty declared he would go and join the Indians, and that Captain Elliott told him he was going the next day with a boat load of goods for the Indians, and that Girty might have a passage with him. That on the 7th of June the ship Dunmore sailed for Fort Erie, in which I got a passage. We arrived there in four days. About the 12th June I saw taken into this vessel a number of cannon, eighteen-pounders, with other military stores, and better than two companies of artillery

troops, destined, as I understood, for Detroit and the upper posts; some of the artillery-men had to remain behind, for want of room in the vessel. I have just recollect that, while I was at the Ottawa river, I saw a party of warriors come in with the arms, accoutrements, clothing, &c., of a sergeant, corporal, and (they said) twelve men, whom they had killed in some of the lower posts on the Ohio; that a man of the Indian department offered me a coat, which had a number of bullet and other holes in it, and was all bloody, which I refused to take, and Colonel McKee then ordered me clothes out of the Indian store.

THOMAS RHEA.

ALLEGHENY COUNTY,
PITTSBURGH, July 2d, 1791, } ss:

Personally appeared before me, one of the justices of the court of common pleas in and for the aforesaid county, the subscriber, Thomas Rhea, and being sworn according to law deposeth that the above narrative is a true state of facts, to the best of his knowledge and recollection.

JAMES BRISON.

CAPT. TORRENCE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

FAYETTE COUNTY, Aug't 10th, 1791.

SIR:—With propriety your Excellency may conclude that I am guilty of a great neglect in not writing sooner, or before now, but the inclosed will, I hope, mitigate, as I will shew that I was attentive When I intruded with the Gentlemen mentioned on the back, I thought I had a good conveyance, but he forgot my packett at home, and only handed it me a few days agoe. Since my last, General Richard Buttler call'd the County Lieut's of Ohio, Washington, Allegheni, Westmoreland & Fayette to a consultation for the protection of the frontiers in the absence of the Fœderal Troops, which was to be drawn off the 5th Inst. We agreed that 300 Militia Should be kept up—Sixty-five, properly Officer'd, is my Quota, which is marched from the first & Second Battalions, First class. Their Station is One Capt., One Ens'n & 45 rank and file at the block House, near the mouth of bigg Beaver Creek, and One Lieut. and 20 rank and file at the mouth of Yellow Creek, on the Ohio. Should it be deemed necessary for them to continue longer for the defence of the Inhabitants, I mean to relieve them Once a month, as the burthen will then fall more equal. Hirelings and Servants in this Country is very scarce, and consequently, two months' tour to a farmer would be very injurious. This is all the Official transactions that has

lately passed which your honour requires me to transmitt—
Should any appointment to Office lie before your Excellenc~~e~~
that my abilities would be adequate to, in this part, should b~~e~~
happy to meet your approbation—and as it is a asking or seek —
ing time, I humbly crave a continuance of my present Office—
should your honour see fitt. For recommendation, I refer t~~e~~
Jno. Smilie, Esq'r, and the rest of Our representatives fr~~o~~
Our County.

I am with due respect,

Your Excellency's most

Obedient and Very humble Servant,

JOSEPH TORRENCE.

His Excellencie THOMAS MIFFLIN.

COL. CAMPBELL TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

GREENSBURGH, Aug't 13th, 1791.

SIR:—In Consequence of your Letter to me directed, of the ~~18th~~
Nineteenth of May, 1791, I Ordered, by Draught, a full Com-
pany of Millitia, of this County, to Guard the froontees untill ~~the~~
Sutch Time as the General Government would Grant them Pro-
tection, and as Soon as a part of Coll. Gibson's New Levies Was
Sent on our Froontees, I went to Maj'r John Clark, of the New
Levies, who Had the Command of the Troops in our County and
Wished to have the whole of the Millitia of the County dis-
charged; But as the Men Under His Command was Not Suffi-
cient to guard Sutch An Extensive Froonter, He Wished Me
to Continue fifty of the men. Upon whitch I did, and dis-
charged the Captain and thirty of the men; the Remainder Ser-
ved their Proper Tour, and Against that time was Expired Gen-
eral Butler gave me Information that He would With Draw the
New Levies from their Posts, and Requested me to Protect the
froontees of Westmoreland County. I then Agreed with the
Lieutenants of Washington, Feyete and Alegany Counties to
furnish for my Quota to guard the Froontees, Seventy-five men
to give Protection To the froontees of Westmoreland county,
Whitch I Expected would have Been Sufficient, But Upon
finding the Enemy Being so mutch On Our froontees, and so
Constantly a Stealing of Horses, But Hath not yet Done Other
Damage, But often Seen; and as I found one Company of Men
was Not Sufficient to give Protection to so Extensive a froonter,
I Ordered to thier Assistance one L't and twenty-five men, and
with The Whole of them it is as mutch as I can Get the froon-
tees Inhabitants Not to Break up. I will do Everything in My

Power to give Satisfaction to the fronteers and Not to Let them Move from their Stations. I have Apointed John Deniston Contractor for the Westmoreland County Millitia, and is to see him Paid Eight Pence Pr. Ration on the account of the Stations being so small. I Expect you Will Order the Expences to be Paid to William Findley, Esq'r, as my Charecter Is At Stake for the Punctual Payment of the Men and provitions.

I have the Honor to be, Sir,

your Obedient Humble Serv't,

CHAS. CAMPBELL.

His Excellency THOS. MILFLIN, Esq'r.

REPRESENTATION OF THE INHABITANTS OF PITTSBURGH.

PITTSBURGH, 11th December, 1791.

SIR:—In consequence of the late intelligence of the fate of the campaign to the Westward, the inhabitants of the town of Pittsburgh have convened, and appointed us a committee, for the purpose of addressing your Excellency. The late disaster of the army must greatly affect the safety of this place. There can be no doubt but the enemy will now come forward, and with more spirit, and greater numbers than they ever did before for success will give confidence, and secure allies. We seriously apprehend that the Six Nations heretofore wavering will now avow themselves; at least their young men will come to war. Be that as it may, the Indians at present hostile are well acquainted with the defenceless situation of this town. During the late war there was a garrison at this place, though, even then, there was not such a combination of the savage nations, nor so much to be dreaded from them. At present we have neither garrison arms, nor ammunition to defend the place. If the enemy should be disposed to pursue the blow they have given, (which it is morally certain they will,) they would, in our situation, find it easy to destroy us, and should this place be lost the whole country is open to them, and must be abandoned. The safety of this place being an object of the greatest consequence, not only to the neighboring country but to the United States, as it is the point of communication to the Westward, and the proper depository of their magazines, it must be of the greatest consequence to preserve it.

We state these things to your Excellency as the executive authority of the Government, that if anything can be done by your Excellency towards our immediate defence it may be done; if

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

not, your Excellency will communicate our situation to our State Legislature, or to the General Government, as it may seem expedient or proper. Having the highest confidence in your Excellency's good disposition towards the citizens of this State in general, and those of this place in particular,

We are your Excellency's obedient humble servants,

JAMES O'HARRA,

JOHN IRWIN,

JOHN WILKINS, JUN.,

A. TANNEHILL,

JOHN McMASTERS,

WILLIAM TURNBULL.

To His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILAD'A, December 23, 1791.

SIR:—I have received your Excellency's letter of yesterday enclosing a copy of a representation to you from the inhabitants of Pittsburgh, relatively to their apprehensions in consequence of the late defeat of the troops under Major General St. Clair.

I can, with great propriety, assure your Excellency, that it is my earnest desire, that all the exposed parts of the frontier should be as effectually protected, at the general expense, as the case may require.

I shall direct the Secretary of War to confer with your Excellency upon this subject, and to inform you of such measures as have been directed, and are in train of execution.

I have the honor to be,

your obd't serv't,

GO. WASHINGTON.

To His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Governor of Pennsylvania.

SECRETARY OF WAR TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILAD'A, 26th December, 1791.

SIR:—I have the honor, in pursuance of the orders of the President of the United States, to state to your Excellency the measures which are at present in train of execution, for the defensive protection of the Western parts of Pennsylvania, to wit:

First. That, on the sixteenth day of the present month, orders were issued to Major Craig to construct, immediately, a block house at fort Pitt, and to surround it with pallisadoes, so as to contain about one hundred men.

Secondly. On the same day directions were given, that a party of a commissioned officer and thirty-four non-commissioned and privates, should remain at fort Pitt, from two companies, part of which had been stationed at fort Pitt, from the twentieth of October to the fifteenth instant, at which time they were under orders to descend the Ohio. That it is, however, to be expected, that the said two companies may have departed from fort Pitt previously to the receipt of this order, unless prevented by the ice.

Thirdly. That, on this day, will march from this city, a detachment of about one hundred and twenty non-commissioned officers and privates, besides commissioned officers. Part of these will be stationed at fort Pitt, and detachments posted at such other places on the Ohio and upper of the Alleghany, as to be most conducive to the general safety of these parts.

Fourthly. The Lieutenants of the counties of Westmoreland, Alleghany and Washington will be authorized to call out such a number of scouts or patrols, at the expense of the General Government, as they shall judge proper; not, however, exceeding eight in number to each of the said counties. These scouts are to be the best of hunters or woodsmen; and, as an inducement to such to perform the service, they will be allowed the high pay of five-sixths of a dollar per day, the price usually given on the frontiers of Virginia for said service.

I hope, sir, that these arrangements will be satisfactory to your Excellency, and effectually answer the purpose for which they are designed.

I have the honor to be,
your Excellency's ob't Serv't,
H. KNOX,
Secretary of War.

To His Excellency's THOMAS MIFFLIN.

LIEUT. J. JEFFERS ON THE SITUATION AT FORT FRANKLIN.

Copy of a Letter from Lieut. Jeffers, dated Fort Franklin the 26th Dec'r, 1791, By express to the Commanding officer at Pitts'b'gh or Maj'r J. Irwin of the Militia:

SIR:—I have this moment rec'd authentic accounts from the Cornplanter, that an attack on this Garrison will almost immediately take place, for the Indians from below declare that they are determined to reduce this place, shake the Cornplanter by the head & sweep this river from end to end.

Your are most earnestly requested, & if I have any authority

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

positively ordered to send me, without loss of time, One Sub-altern & thirty men as a reinforcement, together with my men who have been left sick at Pitt.

Under this Convoy send me provision to make five months' rations for seventy men. This news is not fictitious nor this letter to be trifled with. I have written to the minister of War, but his orders will come too late.

I am, &c.,
J. JEFFERS.

Extract of a Letter from Lt. Jeffers to Mr. Elie Williams, Contractor, of same date above:

"I am happy to inform you that the Cattle and salt arrived safe; the danger in this Country is so great that I sent Soldiers & Indians to escort them.

"I am astonished that Mr. Bond arrived safe; I have every reason to expect that nine times out of ten so small a party will be cut off. No time to be lost in sending five months' provision as one escort will answer for the whole."

Extract from Colo. Geo. McCully, dated Fort Franklin, 26th Dec'r, 1791, To John Wilkins, esq'r:

"By express this moment rec'd from the Cornplanter, he advises that the Women at this Garrison be immediately sent to Pittsburgh for safety."

The express who was the bearer of these extracts says that ~~a~~ Council of the Hostile Indians was then sitting at Buffalo Creek, and that Cornplanter was summoned to it; how far this information may be depended on, can only be judged of from ~~the~~ our late disasters.

N. B.—These extracts arrived here the 28th at 3 o'clock P.M. by Express.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 29th December, 1791.

SIR:—I have the honor to enclose, for your information, ~~a~~ copy of a second memorial which has been transmitted to me by the inhabitants of the frontier counties of Pennsylvania.

In my communication to the Legislature, upon this subject, I have suggested the propriety of furnishing the militia with an immediate supply of arms and ammunition; and my instruction to the Lieutenants of the several exposed counties will be to co-operate, in case of an emergency, with the officers of the

Federal Government, conformably to the plan of defence which the Secretary at War has described to me by your directions.

I am, with perfect respect,

Your most obed't serv't,

THOS. MIFFLIN.

To His Excellency the President of the United States.

MEMORIAL FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE COUN-
TIES OF WESTMORELAND, WASHINGTON, FAYETTE
AND ALLEGHENY TO THE GOVERNOR OF PENN-
SYLVANIA.

PITTSBURGH, 21st December, 1791.

To his Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esq., Governor of the State of Pennsylvania:

SIR:—We have the honor to address you, in behalf of the counties of Westmoreland, Fayette and Alleghany respecting the present defenceless state of their frontiers now exposed to the cruel ravages of a powerful and savage foe. The late defeat of the army under General St Clair, has given rise to the most serious apprehensions to the inhabitants of those counties, who being entirely unprotected, as well as destitute of arms and ammunition for defending themselves, now look up to your Excellency as the Executive arm of the Government to ward off those dangers which threaten them as well the Commonwealth in General.

Your Excellency is well aware of the great extent of our frontier; and when you consider the high degree of spirit which the savages, animated by two successive victories, entertain, you may more easily conceive, than we can describe, the fears which pervade the breasts of those men, women and children, who are more immediately subject to their barbarities and depredations. Had the people a sufficiency of arms in their hands they might, in some measure, defend themselves until the General Government, to whose care the common defence is entrusted, should adopt efficient steps for that purpose. At the same time, we beg leave to state to your Excellency what occurs to us as the most speedy and effectual mode. When the extent of country to be protected is taken into view, we conceive that eight hundred effective men will not be deemed more than sufficient. They should be active partisans, under experienced officers and provided with good rifles, to suit the grand object of meeting the enemy upon equal terms, to scouting and giving the alarm when needful. Such a body should have encouragement proportioned to the price of common labor in this country, which averages at fifty shillings

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

per month, as the pay allowed to the troops of the United States would not be a sufficient inducement to able bodied men, possessing the requisite qualifications. We suggest these general ideas, from our knowledge of local circumstances, which they, who are at a distance, unacquainted with the actual situation of the Western country, cannot so well perceive. It is not our wish to enter into a minute detail, being convinced that your Excellency is not only fully acquainted with, but feelingly alive to, those impressions which a state such as ours must give rise to; nor can we apply to any person more proper than yourself to procure that assistance which it requires.

In the meanwhile, we hope, from your attention, that a quantity of arms and ammunition, of good quality, will be forwarded to the several county lieutenants to be distributed among the most active men of the militia of these counties, who at present can make but a partial and feeble defence if attacked. They have been draughted throughout the last summer, and those of Westmoreland even until now. This is attended with great inconvenience and is particularly harassing to this part of the State; and the officers, as well as men, taking their tour promiscuously, are not as well adapted to an active and hazardous service, as a select corps who have confidence in one another.

If nothing else can be done, we trust your Excellency will give orders for calling out the militia of the other counties, which, at least, may afford a temporary relief.

We have the honor to be, sir, with the greatest respect,
your Excellency's humble and obedient servants,

CHARLES CAMPBELL,

JOHN YOUNG,

On behalf of the county of Westmoreland.

ALEXANDER ADDISON,

JAMES MARSHAL,

ABSALOM BAIRD,

G. BLACKNEY,

DAVID REDICK,

Washington.

EDWARD COOK,

ZADOCK SPRINGER,

JAMES PAUL,

Fayette.

PRESLEY NEVILLE,

JAMES O'HARA,

EDWARD BUTLER,

JOHN WILKINS,

JOHN McMASTERS,

ISAAC CRAIG,

JOHN McDOWELL,

Allagheny.

SECRETARY OF WAR TO THE LIEUTENANTS OF THE
COUNTIES OF WESTMORELAND, ALLEGHENY AND
WASHINGTON.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
29th December, 1791.

SIR:—The President of the United States having duly considered the present apprehensions of the counties lying upon the Ohio, and the just causes thereof, arising from the late disaster to the troops under Major General St. Clair, is desirous of affording, at the expense of the United States all the protection which the nature of the case may require, and the public means will admit.

A considerable detachment of recruits, for the regular troops, has marched for fort Pitt. These troops will be posted in such a manner on the upper parts of the Ohio as will best conduce to the safety of the inhabitants.

But, in addition to this arrangement, you, as lieutenant of the county of , will be permitted to call into service such a number of the most expert hunters or woodsmen to serve as scouts or patrols, in order to alarm the inhabitants on the approach of any danger, not exceeding, however, eight in number, for the county of It will depend upon you to make a proper choice of these scouts, for which you will be both responsible with your character to the people of your county, who may be exposed by an injudicious choice, and to the United States who will pay the money. And, as an inducement for suitable characters to perform the service, the United States will pay such scouts the great pay of five-sixths of a dollar per day, in lieu of all charges or expenses whatever. The service of said men must be proved in the manner hereinafter mentioned, to wit: On their entrance into service they must be mustered in your presence by a justice of the peace, and sworn to the faithful discharge of their duty. In the muster then taken, the ages, names, and residence of the said scouts must be taken, and whether married or single. At the expiration of their services they must be again mustered, and sworn that they have faithfully performed service for the number of days mentioned, and in the district specified.

An account is then to be made by you of the said service, which account must be supported by the muster rolls aforementioned, certified by you, and transmitted to this office for examination and payment, accompanied by a power from you to receive the money.

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

You will please to acknowledge the receipt of this letter, and transmit me an account of your proceedings thereon.

I have the honor to be,

Yours, &c.,

H. KNOX,

Secretary of War.

SECRETARY OF WAR TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON

WAR DEPARTMENT,
1st January, 1792.

SIR:—The Secretary of War having, in obedience to the order of the President of the United States, taken into consideration the memorial of the inhabitants of the frontier counties of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, to the Governor thereof, dated the 21st ultimo, together with the letter of the Governor thereon, respectfully reports:

That, in the present case it is unfortunate, and it may be equally or more so in others which may arise, that the United States are destitute of a general militia law. The frontiers require protection, and ought to have it amply imparted to them in the present moment. But no other expedient presents itself in this exigence, but requesting the Executives of the States, that have exposed counties, to call out such numbers of militia as may afford the necessary aid. If the militia, so to be called out, should be for a short period, a considerable portion of the time would be wasted in repairing to and returning from the places to be defended, unless all should be taken from the frontier parts, which would be unequal and oppressive.

It would seem, therefore, most proper then, that the militia to be called out at the general expense, should be for a period of six months, unless discharged sooner, if circumstances should permit. That the existence of these circumstances would depend upon the despatch that regular troops should be raised and marched to the frontiers, and upon other considerations at the time of their arrival, relative to the enemy. That the following arrangement seems necessary for the frontiers of Pennsylvania:

1st. That in addition to the detachments of regular troops now on their march to fort Pitt, and the scouts permitted to the counties of Westmoreland, Washington and Alleghany, it might be proper to add, if the Governor should judge the measure essential, such a number of scouts for the county of Fayette, as he may deem proper, not exceeding the proportion to the

other before mentioned counties, their relative situations being duly considered.

2dly. That the Governor be further allowed, if he judge the measure expedient and essentially necessary, to organize and call into service, for a period of six months, a certain number of militia, at the expense of the General Government, in the same manner as the Governor of Virginia has called into service militia, for the protection of the frontiers of said State.

That these militia be paid and subsisted at the expense of the United States, under such regulations as the Secretary of War shall direct, in order to prevent irregularities.

That the number so to be called into service be such as may be equal, on an average, to about one company for each of the frontier counties, so as to correspond as nearly as may be to the defensive protection of Virginia. The increased pay, however, cannot be allowed unless by a special act of Congress; and no good reasons exist for urging a higher pay for mere militia than for the regular troops. Indeed, as the latter have clothing allowed, and the former none, it would appear reasonable that the militia employed under the General Government should have an allowance for this object. But in order thereto, it would be necessary that Congress should first make a law for the purpose. Should they think proper so to do, the monthly cost of clothing for a regular soldier might be added to the pay of the militia, which would increase it to nearly five dollars per month, which, perhaps, is fully sufficient for any species of militia, excepting the scouts. It is presumed that Governor St. Clair will make an arrangement for the protection of the French settlements at Gallipolis. The settlement at Marietta will be protected by a company of regular troops.

All which is humbly submitted to the President of the United States.

H. KNOX,
Secretary of War.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO SECRETARY OF WAR.

PHILADELPHIA, 8d January, 1792.

SIR:—In consequence of the distressed situation of the western counties of this Commonwealth, and with a view to co-operate in the design of the Federal Government, which you observe, in your letter of the 10th of March, 1791, was to make the most effectual provision for the defensive protection of the frontier, by calling into service, at the expense of the United States, such proportions of the Militia as the nature of the case might require,

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

I issued instructions to the lieutenants of the counties of Washington, Westmoreland, Allegheny, Fayette and Huntingdon, for draughting a competent force from the militia under their respective commands, to act as rangers against the hostile Indians. The expense incurred upon this occasion has, in part, been defrayed out of a sum appropriated by an act of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania. But I think it proper at this time to inquire, how far the State will be re-imburshed from the treasury of the Union, as the object seems clearly to be comprehended within the idea of general defence. You will be pleased, therefore, sir, to favor me with an explanation on this ground, that I may be enabled to render an accurate statement to the Legislature, as well respecting the past as future expenditures, in the same service.

I am, sir, your most obedient, &c.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To HENRY KNOX, Esq'r, Secretary of War.

SECRETARY OF WAR TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 3d January, 1792.

SIR:—The President of the United States has received and considered the memorial of the inhabitants of certain western counties, dated Pittsburgh, the 21st ultimo, which you transmitted to him on the 31st of last month.

I am again directed, sir, to assure your Excellency that it is the desire of the President of the United States that all reasonable and effectual protection be afforded the exposed parts of the frontiers, which the nature of the case may require.

That, if it should be your judgment to the measure already ordered, and of which I informed you on the 26th ultimo, that an arrangement of the following description should be added, he will consent thereto in behalf of the United States.

That scouts be permitted to Fayette county, in such proportion to the other exposed counties as you shall judge proper. That a number of such militia of the State, not exceeding two hundred and twenty-eight non-commissioned and privates, and commanded by such officers as you shall think proper, be called into service, on the pay and rations established by the United States, and stationed at such places on the Alleghany and Ohio, and other parts of the frontiers, so as best to defend the exposed parts, according to your judgment and the county lieutenants. That these militia be organized into three companies, and a captain, lieutenant, and ensign, and four sergeants, four corporals, two music, and sixty-six privates.

That they be engaged for as many months as you shall judge proper, not exceeding six months, to be discharged sooner if circumstances shall permit.

That these militia be under the orders of the respective county lieutenants, being designed for defensive protection only. That such persons as you shall direct furnish the rations, provided the same do not exceed eight cents.

That the proofs, both of the supplies and services, to be such as shall be prescribed by me, in order to prevent either irregularity or abuse.

That for both the services and supplies payment will be made by the United States upon the adjustment of the accounts, according to the forms which may be directed.

I request your Excellency's opinion on this additional arrangement which, if satisfactory, may be carried into immediate execution.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

H. KNOX.

Secretary of War.

His Excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania.

SECRETARY OF WAR TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,

January 3d, 1792.

SIR:—In answer to your Excellency's letter of this date, I have the honor to observe that I conceive the General Government are responsible for the pay and subsistence of the militia called out in pursuance of the authority of the President of the United States, vested in certain county lieutenants of this State by the letter to them of the 10th of last March, provided that the rules therein prescribed, as well for the proofs of the service and the price of the rations, shall have been observed, and the accounts thereof duly settled at the pay office of the Department of War. And as appropriations therefor have been made by Congress, no further delay of payment will take place than may be required for the settlement of the accounts.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

H. KNOX.

Secretary of War.

His Excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania.

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO GEN. TANNEHILL AND
OTHERS.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE.
PHILADELPHIA, 6th January, 1792.

GENTLEMEN.—The Governor directs me to acknowledge the Receipt of yours, inclosing Extracts from the Communications made to you by the commanding Officers at Fort Franklin and to assure you that every Exertion is now making to afford speedy and effectual Relief to the Frontiers. These last Documents will undoubtedly stimulate the Legislature, and I am in great Hopes that by the next Post, if not sooner by Express, the necessary Instructions will be transmitted for carrying into Effect the Plan suggested by the United States, and Information of an adequate Supply of Arms and Ammunition being forwarded. The Governor is pleased with the Confidence which his Fellow Citizens repose in his Desire to discharge the Duties of his station upon the present occasion, and instructs me to assure you that in this Respect, at least, you will not be disappointed.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,
A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary.*

TO ADAMSON TANNEHILL, JAMES O'HARRA, JNO. McMASTERS,
WILLIAM TURNBULL & JNO. WILKINS, Jun'r, Esq'rs, a Committee of the Inhabitants of Pittsburgh.

JOHN GIBSON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

VERSEALES TOWNSHIP, ALLEGHANY COUNTY,
January 12th, 1792.

MOST HIGH, POTENT AND WORTHY SIR:—The unhappy situation of this, our western Country, by reason of the hostile alarms daily arriving from so Cruell an Enemy, Engages your Excellency's Most Humble Servant to address you thus:—

As Military Discipline is the soul of all armies, Unless It be established amongst them with Great Prudence and Suported with Unshaken Resolution, they are more burdensome than useful, wether Militia or standing Troops. And whereas, I am of opinion that Discipline is Lost, or at least much neglected in this western Department, I am also of opinion that it will be as much wanted. I therefore beg leave to inform your Excellency, that I Profess an knowledge of Military Discipline, and am Redy to Devote Myself to the service of Public, Either as a

Discipliner to train the Militia, or take the field otherwise in Defence of the Country, if thought worthy of an appointment thereto.

I am, Sir, with that Respect,
Due to your Exalted Station,
Your Excellency's Most obedient.
& Most Humble Servant,

JOHN GIBSON.

N. B. Altho' I am, in this case, My one Representative, I Sincerly Declear it with no other view than to serve the Public, in hope of obtaining that honor that Is Due to Every faithful servant in Defence of a Country.

I am, Sir, as above, yours, &c.,

JNO. GIBSON.

To His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esq'r., Governor of Pennsylvania.

COL. CHARLES CAMPBELL TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN

January 15th, 1792.

SIR:—I Received your Letter Bearing Date the 26th of December 1791. As I have Not yet time to Give you An Exact Account of Ammunition and Arms I have At Present on Hand, nor yet time to fill the Vacancies of Millitia Officers, But Will Be Ready in A few days. When the News Arived Here of the Defeat of Our Army, Under the Command of General St. Clair, and then a Letter from Lt. Gephries, at fort Franklin, that the Indians Was Determined to take that Place and sweep the Ohio from End to End. It Hath took Sutch Impression on those Who is Immedately the froonter, that I Believe It Will be Allmost Impossible to get them to Make a stand, Unless keeping Men Constantly at the Froonter Posts, and then the Inhabitants Who Lyeth Immedately on the froonter is in danger of the Indians Spying and going Round our Garrisons and Comeing on the Weomen and children and Murdiring them, So that I have Still to Keep out some Men to Guard, Whitch is Very Distressing to Our County to Guard It self and Stand As a Barier for the Interior Parts of the State, when we Were Allways Willing to give Our Assistance when Required. In the time of the Late War With England, our Militia Marched into the State of the Jersey to Asist Our fellow Cittisens, when In distress, And I Would be Of the Opinion, We have the Same Undoubted Right, from those of Our Own State At Least. There was A Law Pased dureing The Late war for Each Company of Millitia Company, In this State,

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

to Have two Men and send to the Assistance Of the froontereers, Whitch Had A good Effect. I Could Wish that Mode of Raising Men Rather than draughting the Militia, as so Mutch of thier Time will Be Spent Before they can Arive At thier Statton. I Am Persuaded that Westnorland County will Not be Against Finding their Quoto, Although So mutch Harressed By Draughting During the Last Summer, And Until This Time the Distressed Sittuation of the Inhabitants Causes me to Urge for Assistance, More than I Could Wish for to do, But the Allways Look Up to yuo As thier Guardean for to Grant them Protection.

I am With Esteem,
your Obedient Humble Serv't,

CHAS CAMPBELL.

His Excellency THOS. MIFFLIN.

COL. JOHN WILKINS TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILA., 26th Jan., 1792.

SIR:—I will contract for supplying all rations required by the State for the troops stationed on the western Frontiers at eight cents per Ration. If you find these proposals satisfactory, I am ready to enter into a contract & give security for the performance. I know what I offer for is as low as it can be done for in that country, especially when you take into view the divided situation of the men. Some people who furnished last year, on account of the United States had ten cents a ration.

Am, Sir, your most ob't Hum'l Serv't,

JNO. WILKINS, JR.

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Governor of Penn'a.

COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILADELPHIA, an. 19th, 1792.

SIR:—I have perused the proposals of John Wilkins, Jun'r, Esquire, for supplying the Rations for the Troops to be raised by authority of the State for the defence of the frontiers, and am of Opinion that it will be best to Accept of his Offer for furnishing the same at Eight Cents per ration, as this is as low or lower than I have heard it estimated at, and as cheap as it can

be done, considering the dispersed Stations the Troops will be employed at.

I have the honor to be,

Your mo. obed. Serv.,

CLEMENT BIDDLE,

Q. M. Gen. Penn. Militia.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

Indorsed:

Approved, 19th Jan'y, 1792:

T. MIFFLIN.

CIRCULAR LETTER FROM THE GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA, January 20, 1792.

To the Lieutenants of the counties of Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette and Alleghany:

GENTLEMEN.—Upon the repeated applications of the inhabitants of the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, the Executive of the Federal Government was induced to propose to me a plan of defensive operation for the protection of the counties which are exposed to immediate danger; and the Legislature having given their sanction to the proposal, agreeably to the terms of the enclosed act, it becomes my duty, as well as disposition, to carry it into effect with all possible energy and despatch.

You will perceive that the general militia law has been suspended in some respects, in order to answer the present emergency, particularly in the mode of raising the intended force, which is by engaging active and experienced riflemen wherever they can be obtained, and not by draughting in classes from the militia of the respective counties; in the mode of appointing the officers, which is immediately by the Executive, and not upon the election of the people; in the period of service, which is for six months, and not for two; and in the rate of pay, which is liberally estimated by the price of labor, and not by the military allowance established for the troops of the Federal Government.

I am desirous, however, that, as far as it is practicable, the men engaged under the authority of this law should still be considered, and act as a select corps of militia, and therefore I shall, from time to time, convey duplicates of my instructions to the commanding officers through the medium of the lieutenants of the several counties comprehended in the description of the western frontiers. As the first step towards organizing the

proposed corps, I now transmit commissions for the officers, which you will be pleased immediately to deliver, with instructions to engage seventy-six men, of the description, and upon the terms mentioned in the act, for each of the companies to which they are respectively appointed, making, in the whole, two hundred and twenty-eight active and experienced riflemen of the militia, and to deliver regular weekly returns to the major, (whose commission is likewise transmitted,) until the number of engagements shall be completed.

The men, it is to be observed, must be engaged for the period of six months, unless sooner discharged, commencing on the first day of March next; and it may be stipulated, that each man, armed with his own rifle, such as the Captain of the company may approve, shall be allowed two dollars for the use of it, during the period of his engagement, and a reasonable equivalent if it is lost or destroyed in the public service. The companies being filled, are to be stationed, in the first instance, under the general direction of the Major, at the following places:

1st Company.—The first company shall be stationed at the south-west corner of Washington, between the heads of Wheeling and Duncard creeks, ranging thence to the Ohio.

2d Company. The second company shall be stationed at the mouth of Great Beaver, and ranging thence to fort Crawford, by the heads of Pine Creek.

3d Company.—The third company shall be stationed at the Kittanning, ranging thence up and down the river, Under the inspection and management of Colonel Clement Biddle, who acts on this occasion as quarter master general for the State. A competent supply of arms and ammunition will be immediately forwarded to Pittsburgh, at which place a proportionate distribution will be made and sent to the respective frontier counties. It is expected that great care will be taken to ensure the return of the arms at the expiration of the present service, and to prevent the loss or waste of ammunition.

I have also entered into a contract with John Wilkins, Jun., for supplying the corps with rations, at the rate of eight cents per ration, and I am persuaded we will do honor to the confidence which is reposed in him.

You will be pleased, gentlemen, to maintain a punctual correspondence with the commanding officer of the proposed corps, and to render him every aid in your power, consistent with a plan of defensive operation, which you will remember is the sole purpose of these arrangements; though, if any unforeseen emergency should occur, they are not to preclude the general exertion of the militia for repelling actual hostilities agreeably to the instructions contained in my letter of the 18th March, 1791.

The proofs that will be sufficient to establish the claim for supplies and services, and the forms that will be required in the adjustment of the accounts at the office of the Secretary of War, will be stated to you in the course of a few days; and, in the mean time, relying upon your zeal, discretion and patriotism, I deem it unnecessary to add more than an earnest wish that you would, by every means, facilitate the engagements of the men for the present service, and render the interference of the Government honorable and effectual.

I am, gentlemen,

Your most obed't serv't,

THOS. MIFFLIN.

List of Officers appointed to command the three defensive companies of active and experienced riflemen of the Militia, agreeably to the act, entitled "An Act to provide for the immediate defence of the frontiers of the Commonwealth."

Major—George McCully.

First Company.

Captain—James Paul, Fayette.

Lieutenant—Henry Enochs, Washington.

Ensign—Jeremiah Long, do.

Second Company.

Captain—Samuel Smith, do.

Lieutenant—Daniel Hamilton, do.

Ensign—William Jones, Alleghany.

Third Company.

Captain—John Guthrie, Westmoreland.

Lieutenant—William Cooper, do.

Ensign—Samuel Murphy do.

Quartermaster General—Clement Biddle.

Contractor of rations—John Wilkins, Jun.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR,

PHILADELPHIA, 28^d January, 1792.

SIR:—The General Assembly of this Commonwealth having passed an act for the immediate defence of our western Frontiers, I have enclosed, for the information of the President of the United States, a copy of that law, together with a copy of the instructions which I have transmitted to the lieutenants of certain counties on the subject. As it is my intention, on this occasion, to conform as nearly as possible, to the propositions that are contained in your letter of the 3^d instant, and the explanation which you afterwards gave of their meaning and extent,

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

you will be pleased to furnish me with a statement of the proofs which will be sufficient to establish the claim for supplies and services and the forms that will be required in the adjustment of the accounts at your office.

I shall, from time to time, communicate to the executive of the Federal Government any important information that I may receive from the frontiers; and it will afford me sincere pleasure, if, upon a plan, strictly defensive, the corps of militia engaged under the authority of the State shall be found a useful auxiliary to the force employed under the authority of the Union for the General purpose of the war.

I am, sir, Your most obt. serv't,
THOS. MIFFLIN.

ACTION OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ASSEMBLY.

AN ACT to provide for the immediate defence for the frontiers of this Commonwealth.

WHEREAS, It appears necessary, at this time to make some effectual provision in aid of the measures of the Federal Government, for the protecting of the frontiers of this Commonwealth, which are exposed to imminent danger from the Indians now at war with the United States;

SEC. 1. *Be it therefore enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That the Governor shall engage, for the term of six months, unless sooner discharged, a number of active and experienced riflemen of the militia of this Commonwealth, not exceeding two hundred and twenty-eight non-commissioned officers and privates, and station the same at such places and in such proportions as shall, in his judgment, be best calculated to protect and defend the western frontiers of this Commonwealth; and he shall organize the men, so to be engaged, into companies over which he may, if need be, appoint and commission one major; and each company shall consist of one captain, one lieutenant and one ensign, to be appointed and commissioned by the Governor, four sergeants, four corporals, two musicians and sixty-six privates to be engaged as aforesaid.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the pay of the commissioned officers, respectively, shall be the same as the pay allowed to the commissioned officers of corresponding rank in the service of the United States; and there shall be allowed to such of the militia as shall be engaged as aforesaid, a bounty, which, being added to the amount of the

pay allowed, or to be allowed by the United States to non-commissioned officers and privates in their service, as shall render the pay of the said militia equal to the sum of sixty shillings per month to each sergeant, fifty-five shillings per month to each corporal and fifty shillings per month to each private and musician.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the sum of four thousand five hundred pounds be appropriated for carrying into effect the foregoing objects of this law, of providing the necessary arms and ammunition and of defraying the other necessary incidental expenses for the defence of the frontiers aforesaid; which sum shall be paid by the State treasurer, upon the warrants of the Governor, out of the funds appropriated by law to pay the expenses of Government; and on account of the disbursements thereof, or of any part thereof shall be laid by the Governor before the General Assembly at the next ensuing session.

WM. RIPPEY TO COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

SHIPPENSBURGH, Jan'y 24th., 1792.

SIR—I was honoured with your favour of the 13th inst., and attended to the Contents. I speake with Reed, the waggoner, as he past through this place; he told me he thought he Could Go on, But Should he not be Able when he Got to the mountain, when he returned he would Inform me—and in that Case I will attend to your Instructions.

I have the honour, Sir,
To be, with Due regard,
your Ob't humble serv't,

WM. RIPPEY.

Indorsed:

CLEMENT BIDDLE, Esqr., Q. M. General Militia—Transportation of Stores.

INHABITANTS OF PITTSBURGH TO GOVERNOR
MIFFLIN.

FORT PITT, Jan'y 27th, 1792.

SIR:—In the Secretary's letter of the—Inst., addressed to the Committee of this place, it is with singular Pleasure, we observe, that a Bill has passed the house of Representatives, for raising three companies of riflemen for six months, for the protection of the Western Frontiers, to be commanded by a Major.

We have therefore taken the Liberty of recommending to

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

Your Excellency James Morrison, Esq'r, as a Gentleman qualified in every respect to fill that Office. He served in the late American Army as an Officer, with the greatest credit, Under Generals Irwin, Morgan and Brodhead; he is particularly well acquainted with the situation of the Western frontiers. Being constantly Employed as a partisan, by Generals Brodhead and Gibson, whilst they commanded at this Place. His influence with the people here is very great, and promises every success in Raising the men.

Permit us to refer Your Excellency to the above mentioned Gentlemen for further information respecting him.

We have the honour to be, with much respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient humble Serv'ts,

JNO. GIBSON,
A. TANNEHILL,
GEO. WALLACE,
JAMES O'HARA,
JOHN SCULL.

Governour MIFFLIN.

COL. JOHN WILKINS TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILA., 27th Jan'y, 1792.

SIR:—I have entered into a contract with Mr. Clem. Biddle for supplying with provisions the State troops which are to be raised for the defence of the western frontiers, & have given a Bond with security for the performance. It is customary to make an advance of money to the Contractors, to enable them to conduct the business more easily. I have, therefore, to beg you would advance me, on account of the Contract, fifteen hundred Dollars.

Your most obt. Hum. Ser.,
JNO. WILKINS, JR.

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Governor of Penna.

GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR
MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, Feb'y 8th, 1792.

SIR:—I have the honor to transmit your Excellency, herewith, a copy of my letter to the lieutenants of the frontier counties of Pennsylvania, dated the 29th December last.

I am, with great respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's Most obdet. humble servt.,

H. KNOX.

His Excellency GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

**ESTIMATE FOR RAISING AND EQUIPPING THE
TROOPS.**

PHILAD'A, Feb'y 7th, 1792.

Estimate of the Money required for the immediate purpose of raising and equipping the Troops under the command of Major George McCullay, for the defence of the Frontiers of Pennsylvania.

One Month's Pay, Per Estimate	£672 15 0
228 Rifles, Powder Horns, Shot Bags, Gun covers and Knapsacks, @ 100s.	1,140 00
228 Tomahawks and Knives @ 5s.	57 00
36 Axes, 12 Spades and Shovels	20 00
20 Cwt. Gunpowder	175 0 0
60 Cwt. Bar Lead	160 0 0
Flints, &c.	25 15 0
50 Camp Kettles	20 0 0
Carriage to Pittsburgh	250 0 0
Stationary, Express, & other Contingences	180 0 0
<hr/>	
	£2,700 0 0

CLEMENT BIDDLE,
Q'r M'r Gen'l Penna.

Mr. DALLAS:

Let a warrant be drawn for the amount of the above Estimate.

T. MIFFLIN.

Feb. 8, 1792.

RECOMMENDATION OF JOHN ROBINSON.

WASHINGTON COUNTY, February 9th, 1792.

SIR:—Haveing Understood that a number of Commissions vacant in the course destined for the security of the frunteers of this State, by the Resignation of some of those officers whome your excellency were pleased first to appoint, We beg leave to Recommend to your Excellency John Robison, of Pidgeon Creek, in Washington County, as a person well qualified to discharge the duties of a Lieutenant, instead of Daniel Hamilton. From his knownen activity, Courage and Capacity he will,

we Believe, Render Special Service to his Country, and do honour to his appointment and to himself also.

We have the honour to be, Sir, your

Excellency's Most obedient humble Ser'ts,

JAMES McFARLANE,

P. PARKISON,

JNO. HAMILTON,

COLO. TERRENCE CAMPBELL,

WM. PARKER, Esq.,

CAPT. JAS. PARKER,

COLO. W. WALLACE.

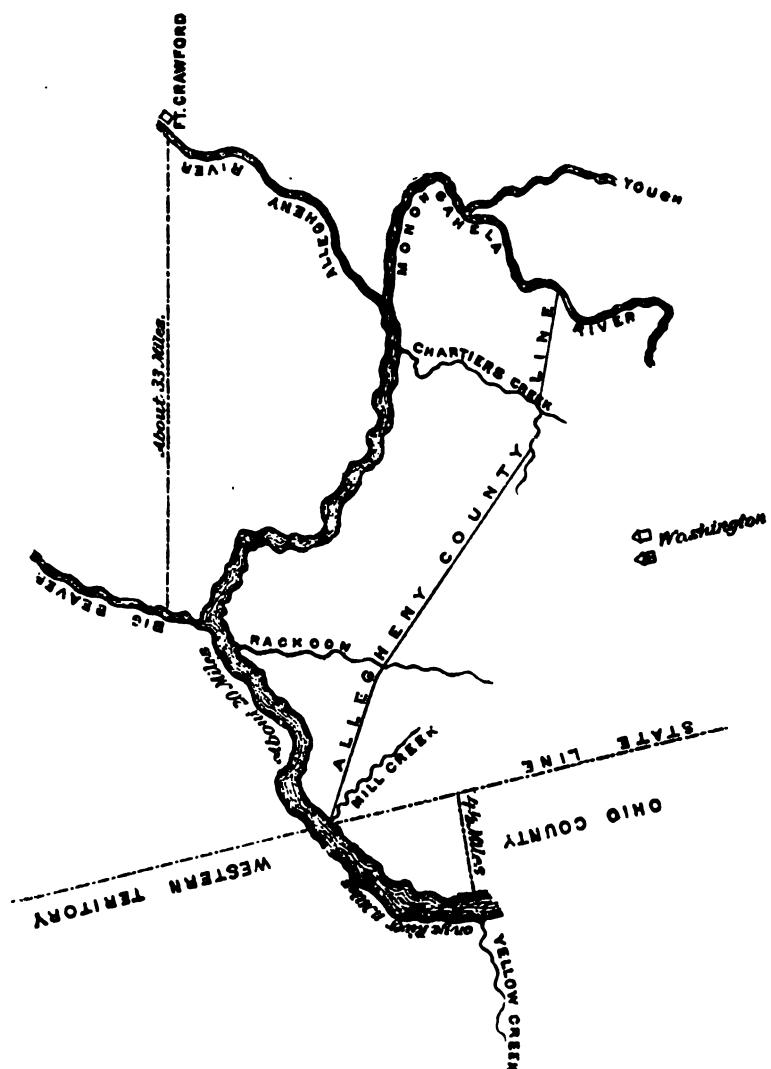
To His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esqr., Governor of Pennsylvania.

DAVID REDICK TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WASHINGTON, 13th Feb'y, 1792.

SIR:—What appears to me of considerable consequence, induces me to trouble your Excellency at a time when, I presume, you are sufficiently engaged. I have read your letter of information & instruction to the County Lieutenants, on the subject of protection. I find that a considerable gap is left open to the enemy on the North westerly part of the County, and that at a place where, in former wars, ye enemy perpetually made their approach on that quarter—the Settlements on Rackoon, especially about Dilloe's fort, constantly experienced in former times the repeated attacks of the Savages. Capt. Smith's Company will cover Allegheny County, but will be of but little Service to this, unless we consider the enemy as coming across the part of Allegheny County which lies on this Side the Ohio river, and that, too, in a direction by which we have seldom known them to come. In order that your Excellency may the better understand me, I have, with my pen, made a sketch of the River & Country on that side of the County. I have extended the river as far beyond the State line as to Yellow Creek, so that you may discover how narrow Ohio County in Virginia is, and how easy it will be for the enemy, by their usual rout, to come upon us—more especially as I learn the Virginian will not guard the river higher up than to Yellow Creek. I persuade myself that the Sketch will be sufficiently accurate for elucidation at best. I am told that many of our Riffle men decline entering into the Six month Service on this ground. Say they, "why will we go into a Service which appears to be calculated for the protection of Allegheny county, whilst our own friends and fami-





lies will continue exposed?" I am of opinion that if the State would advance a month's pay it would greatly facilitate the recruiting Service. Money has magic power. I am told that Mr. Dan'l Hambleton declines accepting his Commission as a Lieutenant, and that Mr. Rob't Stevenson will be recommended to your Excellency to fill the vacancy. I have no doubt of his being a proper person.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
your Excellency's most ob't serv't,
DAVID REDICK.

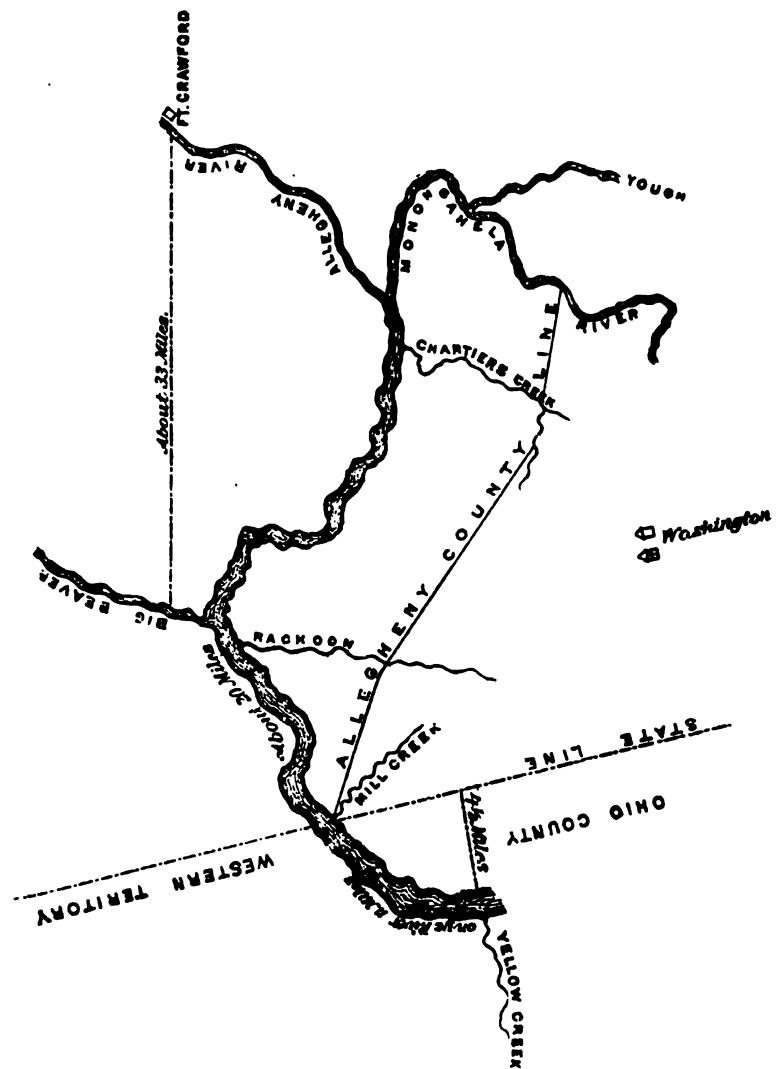
vide Sketch on the other Side.

THE COMMITTEE OF HOLLIDAY'S COVE TO COL.
BAIRD.

WASHINGTON, Feb'y 7th, 1792.

SIR:—Together with this will be presented to you a Copy of Resolutions entered into at a Very Respectable Meeting of the Inhabitants of this part of the Frontier.

Although we make not the least doubt, Sir, that You, as a man and fellow Citizen, are alive to all the feelings of Humanity for our Dangerous situation, and that, in your publick Capacity, You will use the authority in your hands to the best advantage. Yet fearful of being overlook'd, and Sensible that our immediate Support must Come from Your County, The Meeting thought it advisable to address You on this Occasion. We then, a Committee of said Meeting appointed for that purpose, Beg leave, according to the Resolution of the Meeting, to lay before you a Short Statement of our Situation both with Regard to the Country we live in and the peculiar Circumstances we live under. This part of the County of Ohio, which we Inhabit is Stretched along the Ohio River, between that River and the Western Boundary of Pennsylvania, for at least thirty miles from Herman's Creek upwards to Beaver, a Narrow Country, in many places not three miles wide, and not exceeding five where Broadest. To Defend this great extention of frontier, only a few Scattered Settlers present themselves, and numbers of them Without arms. In an open frontier Country such as we have Described, with an Enemy to deal with who carry on war against Women and Children and committ their Murders at our doors and in our houses, a Man's own Safety and that of his family is his first object. For this Reason we are not in a Condition to help ourselves, as no person will turn out for the Common defence when whatever is dear to him is left in so much hazard. An-



lies will continue exposed?" I am of opinion that if the State would advance a month's pay it would greatly facilitate the recruiting Service. Money has magic power. I am told that Mr. Dan'l Hambleton declines accepting his Commission as a Lieutenant, and that Mr. Rob't Stevenson will be recommended to your Excellency to fill the vacancy. I have no doubt of his being a proper person.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
your Excellency's most ob't serv't,
DAVID REDICK.

vide Sketch on the other Side.

THE COMMITTEE OF HOLLIDAY'S COVE TO COL.
BAIRD.

WASHINGTON, *Feb'y 7th, 1792.*

SIR:—Together with this will be presented to you a Copy of Resolutions entered into at a Very Respectable Meeting of the Inhabitants of this part of the Frontier.

Although we make not the least doubt, Sir, that You, as a man and fellow Citizen, are alive to all the feelings of Humanity for our Dangerous situation, and that, in your publick Capacity, You will use the authority in your hands to the best advantage. Yet fearful of being overlook'd, and Sensible that our immediate Support must Come from Your County, The Meeting thought it advisable to address You on this Occasion. We then, a Committee of said Meeting appointed for that purpose, Beg leave, according to the Resolution of the Meeting, to lay before you a Short Statement of our Situation both with Regard to the Country we live in and the peculiar Circumstances we live under. This part of the County of Ohio, which we Inhabit is Stretched along the Ohio River, between that River and the Western Boundary of Pennsylvania, for at least thirty miles from Herman's Creek upwards to Beaver, a Narrow Country, in many places not three miles wide, and not exceeding five where Broadest. To Defend this great extention of frontier, only a few Scattered Settlers present themselves, and numbers of them Without arms. In an open frontier Country such as we have Described, with an Enemy to deal with who carry on war against Women and Children and committ their Murders at our doors and in our houses, a Man's own Safety and that of his family is his first object. For this Reason we are not in a Condition to help ourselves, as no person will turn out for the Common defence when whatever is dear to him is left in so much hazard. An-

other Circumstance of our local situation, which has hitherto been very unfavorable to us, is our being frontier to two States. This, one would think, would be productive of contrary effects, but the fact is otherwise, for the Reasons mentioned in our Resolutions. Last Year the Neglect we Suffer'd was Shamefull. In the most Dangerous and alarming times not a man was Left to defend the River from Raccoon to Buffaloe, a Space, we Suppose, of about forty Miles, and, to add to our Distress, at this very time our men were drafted off to a Distant part of the Country. To whose Misconduct this is to be ascribed We will not pretend to say, but we have thought it our duty, by an early application to you, Sir, on whose help we chiefly depend to prevent for the future, such ungenerous treatment. We therefore, Sir, in the name and by the Order of the Meeting, pray you to take our situation, which we have now laid before you, into Your Consideration, and send us such assistance As You may think our Circumstances require.

JAMES CAMPBELL,
RICH'D BROWN,
DAV'D BRUCE.
WILL'M LEDLIE,

Colo. A. Baird, L't W. County.

PROCEEDING OF THE MEETING AT HOLLIDAY'S COVE.

At a Meeting of the Frontier Inhabitants living on the Ohio River in and near Holiday's Cove, held upon Saturday, the fourth day of February, 1792, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted, Collo. Rich'd Brown, chairman.

We, a Number of the Inhabitants living on the Ohio River, in and near Holiday's Cove, justly alarmed at our Situation in Consequence of the late defeat of the American Army under the Command of Major Gen'l St. Clair, and contemplating the dreadful Prospect before us, if no speedy and Effectual Relief is afforded us—Ourselves, our Families and Property exposed to the Cruelties and Ravages of a subtle and a barbarous Enemy—Relying, however, on the Energy of the General Government, and fully satisfy'd that nothing will be wanting for our Safety which a wise and an active Administration can effect; Yet to show that We are not unworthy of Protection, but are willing and ready by our own Exertions to promote and facilitate the Execution of any Plan which the Wisdom of Government may see best for our Defence, Have entered into the following Resolutions, Viz:

Resolved, That the River Ohio is the safest and easiest maintained Frontier Line on this Side the Mountains, and We bind ourselves by the most sacred Ties of Honor and Good Faith to Keep up, support and defend the same to the last Extremity.

Resolved, That the better to put in execution the foregoing Resolution, and the better to secure our own safety and particularly that of our Women and Children, Places of strength be erected within our Bounds in such convenient Places as may be hereafter fixed upon.

Resolved, That draughting the Frontier Inhabitants to serve upon Militia duty in any other part of the Country but where they reside is equally unjust, oppressive and impolitick; and resolved that an address on this subject be drawn up and presented to the Lieut. of this County, and that Dav'd Bruce and Wm. Sutherland, Esqs., be a Committee to draw up & present the same, together with a Copy of these Resolutions.

Resolved, That every Member of this Meeting shall bind himself, and We do hereby bind ourselves, in the most sacred Bonds of Honour and good Faith, Each of us to Keep in good order at least one Gun, and have always in readiness a sufficient quantity of ammunition to be prepared at a Minute's warning to repuls any Attack which may be made on this part of the Frontier where we inhabit.

Resolved, That an Address be drawn up and presented to the Lieut. of Washington County, stating to him the Peculiarity of our local situation, being a Frontier to both States, representing the Neglect we have hitherto experienced from this Circumstance, The one State tending our defence to the other till we have been totally forgot by both, and praying him if drafts from the Militia of his County are ordered down to cover the River, not to forget this part of the Frontier, and ordered that James Campbell, Ritchard Brown, Dav'd Bruce and Wm. Ledley be a Committee to draw up & present s'd Address, together with a Copy of these Resolutions.

Resolved, That the foregoing Resolutions be published in the Pittsburgh *Gazette*.

Signed by order of the Meeting,

RICHARD BROWN, *Chairman*.

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

MATTHEW RITCHIE TO COL. BAIRD.

WASHINGTON, *February 10, 1792.*

SIR:—A Long acquaintance of that part of Ohio County, mentioned in the within address, induces me to assure you it is Juste, and am confident that A Company will be wanted to range from the Mingo town to meet those from Beaver. If this is obtained, they will attempt to continue on their farms, if not, they will abandon them, and leave thirty miles of Washington County exposed.

I am, Sir,
your most humble Servant,
MATT'W RITCHIE.

COLO. A. BAIRD, L. Washington County.

MAJOR McCULLY TO COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

PITTSBURGH, *March 2nd, 1792.*

DEAR SIR:—I have the pleasure to inform you, that the waggon with 20 Quarter Casks of powder and 18 Lead, with two Boxes of Rifles, containing only twenty-nine, have arrived. There must be a mistake in the Quantity of Rifles, as your Bill mentions forty-nine. How this could happen, I know not; please inform me the first opportunity, and hurry on the arms, &c., as speedily as possible. I am in hopes to have the men ready before the arms arrive—I can purchase a number of Rifles here, but the price will be high. I could count on 80, but cannot purchase them under £6 00 and £6 10 0. Please to instruct me wheather to purchase or not at that price.

In addition to the list of articles I gave you in Phila'a, I pray you to send me on four pocket Compass's, as that is an article I cannot procure at this place. I will take the Earliest opportunity of making returns of the Rifles that may be brought into Service by the Soldiers, and shall have them duly appraised. Please send on Copies of Muster Rolls, Monthly returns, and every other specious of return that may be necessary—a few Blank Books.

We are recruiting very fast; I pray you hurry on the arms.

I am, Sir, your sincere friend
and very humble Servant,

GEO. McCULLY,
Major 6 Month Militia.

COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE, Q. M. Gen'l Penns'a.

MAJOR McCULLY TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, 2d March, 1792.

SIR:—I have the honor of informing your Excellency that I arrived at this place on the ninth day after my departure from Philadelphia. At Greensburgh, on my way, I wrote to Captains Paul and Guthrie, desiring them to meet me at Pittsburgh as soon as possible to receive Inlistments, money, and my Instructions for the recruiting Service. I also, on my arrival at this place, wrote to Captain Smith, of Washington, to the same Purport. I remained here several days with much anxiety, none of these Gentlemen attending. I at length determined to proceed to Washington to see Captain Smith, who I found to be very much engaged in the recruiting business, aided by Mr. Beird, the County Lieutenant, who had given every assistance in his power. At Washington I learned that Mr. Enocks and Hamilton, Lieutenants in the first and second Companies, had refused to accept their Commissions, and in Consequence of their refusal Mr. Beird had nominated John Gray, of Washington County, to serve in the first Company in place of Mr. Enocks, and Robert Stevson in the second Company in place of Mr. Hamilton, who were recruiting with Success. These Gentlemen I am not personally acquainted with, but have no dout but they may answer the purpose. I then returned to Pittsburgh where I met Captains Paul and Guthrie, who had been busily engaged in the recruiting service, and from their accounts, two-thirds of the men are inlisted, and I flatter myself we shall have the whole in good time. The Snow is yet deep in this Country. The people in General feel themselves in a State of Security, and feel very thankfull for your Excellency's attention and Care of their lives and property.

Permit me to Observe to your Excellency, that when I was in Washington County, from actual Survey shewen me by Mr. Rediek, I find a frontier of Forty Miles on the South west of that County, exclusive of Ninety miles from Yallow Creek to Kittanion on the Ohio and Allegheny. Should it please your Excellency to Order One Company of Melitia to be drafted for the defence of the south west part of Washington County, I would then dispose of my three Companies on the river and would hope to give a good account.

I have the honor to be, with the highest Esteem,

Your most Obedient Hum'l Serv't,

GEO. McCULLY,

Major 6 Month Militia.

His Excellency THOS. MIFFLIN, Governor Commonwealth
Pennsyl'a.

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

MAJOR McCULLY TO COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

PITTSBURGH, March 11th, 1792.

DEAR SIR:—I with pleasure acknowledge the receipt of your favor, 28 February; am happy to be informed that those Articles you mention are on the way—am fully sensible you will do everything in your power to forward the Rifles. I mentioned in my last, that I could buy 30 Rifles at this place, but was afraid to give the price without your Instructions; they are good New Rifles, and will be worth the money here at the end of the service.

The Idea of Muskets to the men we have engaged, is a distressing thing—yet shall be obliged to use some of them for a while, until we get a Sufficient number of Rifles. I thought by this time, to have had it in my power to make you a regular return of the Rifles brought into Service by the recruits—but the high waters, I presume, has prevented my geting returns from the recruiting officers, although I had sent Express's as early as the 3rd Instant, for that purpose.

The bullet bags are all ready, and some of the Gun Covers, will have the whole in good time. The Rifles that have arrived, 29, I have put into the hands of the recruits, and sent them out to assist the Scouts in ranging in front of the Most Exposed frontiers, and as soon as those articles you mention arrive, I shall send detachments to the fixed posts.

I am, D'r Sir, with high regard,
your very humble Servant,
GEO. McCULLY,
Major 6 M. Militia.
COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE, Quarter Master Gen'l Pennsylvania.

THE COMMITTEE OF HOLLIDAY'S COVE TO COL.
BAIRD.

March 20th, 1792.

SIR:—The time is now come when our Situation is growing every day more Critical; the Indians have already begun their depredations in our Neighbourhood, and it is the opinion of the most experienced Men among us, that they are at this moment lying in Bodies at no great Distance waiting for the Removal of the Snow, which at present is deep in their Country, to make an Invasion upon us. For this Reason, We the Committee of the Inhabitants in and near Holliday's Cove, have

again thought it necessary to trouble you on this subject. We formerly Represented to you, Sir, the Manner in which we have been Hitherto neglected, and from every appearance at present (unless relief comes from your County) we will this year be no better protecketed than we have been in years past. The Rangers of your State come down no Lower than Beaver, and the Rangers Raised by the State of Virginia will not come higher up than the Mingo Bottom, so that we are left intirely to our own exertions, which, considering the circumstances of our Country, laid before you in a former address, must be but feeble and enable us to make but a short stand. Let us then, sir, urge you, if consistent with your orders, to draft as many of the Militia of your County (as no other provision is now made) as will serve this part of the frontier. In our opinion, Sixty men would not be more than sufficient for this purpose. We would further Remark, Sir, the more to evince the Necessity of immediate assistance, that from the Dread of the Indians, numbers of People holding no Landed property here, have already moved and are daily Moving off, and we have the greatest Reason to believe, that upon the very first attack, unless encouraged by protection being afforded, the greatest part of the Inhabitants will Remove at the most Convenient places for Stations. Block-houses are already erected, we mean, Sir, at Yellow Creek, Croxton's Run and Mouth of Herman's Creek. Men placed In these Stations would, in our opinion, be the best mode of disposing them and Most agreeable to the Inhabitants. The Spies now in the Indian Country would likewise be greatly Benefitted by the filling these Block-houses. When a Discovery is made they will have these posts to Repair to, where a Boat can always be had to convey them over the River for the purpose of Warning the Inhabitants. Sir, we submit these hints to your better Judgment, and hope you will do every thing for us that our Dangerous Situation Requires.

RICH'D BROWN,
WILLIAM LEDLIE,
DAVID BRUCE,
JAMES CAMPBELL.

Colo. ABSALOM BAIRD.

CAPTAIN SAMUEL BRADY TO COLONEL BAIRD.

MOUTH OF YALLOW CREEK, *March 20. 1792.*

D'R COL.:—I am Glad I have it in my power to Send you a Line, and Likewise happy that I have not as yet made aney Discovery of Indiens, altho' everey Industery Has bean made by myself and brother Spies; but Every Day Expect to have the pleashure of meeting with Some of them. We have bean about twentey miles out from the river, and in the flat Lands the Snow last thursday was at Least ten Inches deep, which, I Expect, is one reason why they have not paid us a Vissit before this time.

I Start to-morrow morning, and make no doubt I Shall mak a Discovery Before I am maney days on the west Side the ohio. The Inhabitants in this Quarter have bean for these Three weeks past, Looking for and Expecting men to fill the Block-house at the mouth of yallow Creek. But this Day, to their Great mortification, they have Heard news Quite the reverce, which is, there are no men from Pennsylvania to Range Lower Down then the mouth of big Beaver. Some families who heard the news before the People at this place heard it, have already Moved of, and the rest are, tho' Contrarey to thier Former Intention, makeing ready; and it is my opinion that if Something is not Done Shortley for thier Safety, there Will be but few people, if aney. Between the mouth of Little beaver and The Cove. I thought it onely my Duty to inform you what I have done, and do declare I much Lemont the Sutuation of the Inhabitants in this Quarter.

I am, D'r Sir, with Due Respekt,
your H'l. Servant,
SAM'L BRADY.

Col. BEARD.

JAMES HARRIS TO WILLIAM FINDLEY.

JUNIATA, March the 22d. 1792.

D'R SIR:—I have heard that the Bill providing for the defence of the frontiers has at length pass'd. The Season is advancing fast when the troops Should take the field, & very few are yet enlisted. I fear the Bill has hung too long on its passage to provide effectually for the defence of the frontiers. The Indians do not lie long in Winter Quarters. By a report of the Committee to whom were referred the petitions, &c., respecting

As & inland navigation, it appears that it is recommended
the road from the Mouth of Juniata to David Miller's be
ed by the Commissioners to be appointed by the Governor.
measure (which I think a good one) be adopted, I should
Commissioners to be appointed who live at some distance
at neighborhood, whose only object would be the having
d road the nearest & best way.

I hope you will pay some attention to this matter, as Doctor
Smith rightly observes, "'tis a link of the great Chain which
connects the Western Country with Philadelphia." If the Com-
missioners & surv'r are not already appointed, & you think me
not an improper person, I will thank you to mention my name
to the Governor. 'Tis my wish that an intercourse between the
Western Country & Philad'a may be opened as soon as possible
by this rout.

Should you have leisure to write, & an opportunity of sending
me a line or two, it will be considered as a particular favor
by, Sir.

Your friend & Humble Serv't,

JAMES HARRIS.

WILLIAM FINDLEY, Esq'r,

MAJOR McCULLY TO COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

GREENSBURGH, 31st March, 1792.

DEAR SIR:—I had the pleasure to receive yours of the 24 Inst,
am happy to hear that the Rifles are ready to be sent on. I
think 60 Rifles beside those twenty-one that is on the way, will
be as many as I shall want.

The Soldiers, being Inlisted for Rifle men, refused to take the
muskits, and it had liked to have caused some difficulty; how-
ever, the Officers and myself agreed to purchise a number of
Rifles, the soldiers agreeing to receive them as their property,
and giving a power of Attorney to stop as much of thier pay as
would answer the sum.

There is no part of the Camp Equipage yet arrived, nor can
I hear when they will. I have been greatly distressed about the
Knapsacks, Camp-Kettles, Axes and powder Horns; I have
borrowed as many of those articles as I could, and some I have
bought.

Captain Paul, with a beautiful Company, March'd from Pitts-
burgh, on wednesday, the 28th, to cover the South West frontier
of Washington County.

Capt'n Smith, with his Company, (wanting six privates,) are

over the Alleganey, scouting with as many as are armed. I cannot send them to their Stations untill the Camp Equipage arrive. Ensign Murphy marched, on Thursday 29th, with twenty-Eight Men, of Captain Guthrie's Company, Completely armed, to join some who had been sent out before to Cover the frontiers of Westmoreland County.

I am now at Greensburgh on my way to the frontiers of Westmoreland, and shall hurry Capt'n Guthrie out with the remainder of his company, with all possible haste.

As soon as the Blank returns arrive, I shall forward them, monthly, to his Excellency Governor Mifflin.

There has not any discovery of Indians been made on the frontier of Pennsylvania—they have made their second appearance near Wheeling, and have taken away four Horses. Please communicate this Information to his Excellency Governor Mifflin.

I am, Sir, with the highest Esteem,
Your most obedient servant,
GEO. McCULLY, Major.

Col. BIDDLE.

MEMORIAL OF INHABITANTS OF MIDDLE WHEELING.

April the 2, 1792.

We, the inhabitants of middle wheeling, Now in a distressed and dangros situation Have imbodyed our selves and we are Tow weak to make a stand without asistens. We, your humble petitioners, do Pray your asistanc in men, arms and ammunition. as we judge william Craig to be the suitable plase for the station. We flater our selves, that you will do Everey thing that is in your Power, and humbley submits to your will In the fair; we your petitionars do pray.

THOMAS ORR,	THOMAS HARPON,
DAVID HOSACK.	WILLIAM HULTS,
THOMAS HOSACK,	ANDREW WHITE,
SAMUEL MOORE,	DEVET HOWEL
WILLIAM MORRISON,	WILLIAM M'CASKILL,
JAMES HOSACK,	ROBERT PENDERGAST
JAMES McDONNAL,	GEORGE KNOX,
ANDREW HANNAH.	JAMES KNOK,
SAMUEL HOLMES,	JAMES STETER,
GEORGE WHITEHILL,	HILIAN SLEATER,
WILLIAM BOHANON.	HUGH McCUTCHEN,
ROBART McCOY,	JOHN BRICE, V. D. M.,
FERDINAND MOORE,	WM. PORTER.

MAJOR McCULLY TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

PITTSBURGH, April 6, 1792.

SIR:—I, with pleasure, acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 24th March, wherein you have mentioned Major Irvin's appointment as muster master to our Corps of Rifle Men.

You will please to communicate to His Excellency Governor Mifflin that it gives me great Concern that no part of our Camp Equipage has yet arrived, and that but twenty-Nine Rifles have came to hand, without any other article except powder and lead.

The delay of those articles has prevented my Establishing posts on the fronteers of Alleganey County that would have been done could I have been enabled to Equip the Soldiers fit to march out—the three Companies want but 6 privates to compleat the whole two full Companies. One on the fronteers of Washington County, and one on Westmorland are posted, though not compleetly Armed and Equiped.

I am, sir, with high Esteem,
Your huml. servant,

GEO. McCULLY,
Major 6 M. M.

Mr. DALLAS, Sec'y.

THE COMMITTEE OF HOLLIDAY'S COVE TO COL.
BAIRD.

April 8th, 1792.

SIR:—Your Letter of the 4th Current is now before us. We observe what you say with regard to fixing a Station at Yellow Creek, and return you our sincere Thanks for your Kindly Regard and generous attention to our Situation. But we must beg Leave for to mention to you, that a Station at Yellow Creek alone will not be sufficient for the Defence of this part of the Frontier which we inhabit. Between Yellow Creek & Holiday's Cove, a space of 15 miles will be uncovered. At present, indeed, we have twelve Men at the Station of Croxton's Run, being a part of 20 Men draughted from the Militia of this County & destined for Holiday's Cove, but by the application of the Inhabitants, so many of them have been got up this far. These alone, are only sufficient barely to Keep the Bl'k House, being too few to render any effectual Service, and we must request of you, Sir, to order as many of the Militia, which you speak of in your

letter, to strengthen this Station, as will enable the Post to send out Scouting Parties, without which they can afford no Protection. A Party of Indians have been discovered, last Saturday night, at the Station at Holiday's Cove. The Bearer will inform you more particularly.

We are, sir,

Your mo. Ob't servants,
DAV'D BRUCE.
WILLIAM LEDLIE.

Coll. ABS'M BAIRD, Lieutenant of Washington.

THOMAS RYERSON TO COL. BAIRD.

MORRIS VILL, April 17th, 1792.

SIR:—A party of Indians appeared at this place about noon to-day and intercepted an escort of provisions, &c., which was bound to Lieu. Gray's Station. I was at the Mills when the men were receiving these stores, and left it about the same time they did, and before I reached my house, heard a few guns fired in quick succession near that place. Soon after a cry of alarm was made, & I was informed that the men belonging to Mr. Gray's Post had scarcely departed with their charge when they met & fired upon some Indians, within view of several people who were then about the mill house, which was instantly returned by the Indians. Our men being fewest in number immediately abandoned the horses and Stores, which were carried off by the enemy, except some flour and powder. A party of active men, amounting to fifteen, under the command of Capt. Paul, went in pursuit of them within an hour after this transaction, and we flatter ourselves will over take them.

I was at Capt'n Paul's Post this morning when he received an express from Ensign Long, acquainting him that a party of thirteen Indians had approached very near his Post, and he was that moment setting off with a detachment from his few men after them, their trail & number having been discovered & ascertained by the Dunkard Spies. His letter was dated this morning.

The prospects, indeed, toward the Indian country, are more hostile than I have known them since my residence at this place; but an unusual degree of fear and inquietude seems to pervade all our frontier, and although we have the fullest confidence in Capt'n Paul's exertions and prudence for the defence & Protection of this quarter, yet we apprehend this frontier will break unless a few militia should be scattered among the inhabitants.

at their houses or at such other places as they may think proper to assemble at for their own convenience and common safety. I mean that this protection should be granted to us in addition to the levies which are now on duty here, and Is hould think it of great moment to the Public weel that the frontier should be kept at as great a distance from the populous settlements as possible.

Capt. Paul has Just now returned (4 o'Cl'k P. M.) from the chase, and desires me to inform you thereof. He came up with the indians in a little while (their number uncertain, five ascertained) and has retaken the horses and stores. He pressed them so close that they lost a Cap, some feathers, a gun case, &c., which are now at the door. As soon as they turned off the horses 'twas impracticable to follow them, as the vegetation is not yet sufficiently forward to pursue a trail with any considerable speed. Besides, Capt. Paul left his Post too weak for the absence of a day or two. He will thank you to make these communications to Major McCully.

Permit me, sir, to conclude with making the request, that if it is consistent with Your powers and opinion of its utility, that you will send some militia hither, as soon as may be convenient, to be placed among the Inhabitants from Capt. Farley's Neighbourhood to my mills.

I am, Sir,

Your most Obed. and very H'ble Serv't,

THO. RYERSON.

P. S. —I write at the request of a number of the inhabitants & in haste; you will, therefore, please to make the necessary allowance for inaccuracies, &c. The indians are undoubtedly in many parties on our frontier.

They laid a trap for the party which they expected would follow them for the Stores, &c., having tied the horses in a deep hollow, 1½ miles from the mill. They placed themselves on a hill near them behind a large log where they waited for the pursuers; but Capt. Paul so prudently disposed his men that upon their near approach the indians rose and fled with great precipitation. We lost one of the escort's guns.

T. H. R.

Two of the spies have been out rather too long under particular circumstances, not to be apprehensive for their saf' y.—Baskins & Brady.

MAJOR McCULLY TO COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

PITTSBURGH, April 20th, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR:—Give me leave to take the liberty to request the favor of you to Call on the honorable General Knox, secretary for the war department, and know of him wheather I can hope for an appointment in the Rifle Corps of the Federal Government. The last words he spoke to me he promised that I should be provided for according to my wish, but so many appointments coming up, makes me fear he has forgotten me. I should not take this liberty, only I am sure you are my friend and Intimate with the Secretary of War.

There has nothing hapened since my last, only seven head of horned Cattle drove away from the frontiers, suposed to be Indians—two parties are in quest of them, and I hope will not quit the Chase untill they are over taken. You shall hear in my next.

I am, sir, with high regard,
Your most Obedient Servant,
GEO. McCULLY,
Major Rifle Corps.

COL. BIDDLE.

STATE OF THE ARMS.

May 5, 1792.

D'R SIR:—On Examining I find the State of the Arms as follow:

Rifles sent from hence & which had arrived at Pittsburgh early in April	54
Ditto said to be provided by the men on the Governor's allowance, as mentioned in Major McCully's Letter	45
Purchased at Pittsburgh, & for which Major McCully has drawn a bill on me, which I paid abo	30
An Order for the Secretary at War for 100 Stand of Arms compleat, to serve til replaced by Rifles	100

229

On the 12th April I sent from here 25 Rifles, procured from Reading, and on the 19th the waggon with the 25 took in 50 more Rifles which I had bespoke at York town, and proceeded with the 75 to Pittsburgh to replace the muskets.

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

603

I purchased 50 more Rifles which lay in Virginia, but did not receive them til a few days ago, and thinking they were not now wanted by the State, I appropriated them to the United States.

I am, D'r sir, Your mo. Obed. Serv.,

CLEMENT BIDDLE,

Q. M. Penn.

A. J. DALLAS, Esqr.

COLONEL SHEPHERD TO COL. BAIRD.

OHIO COUNTY, 5 May, '92.

SIR:—Last Evening two Indians Shot at a man within one mile of my house, & Snapt at another in the night. They have also taken two boys, sons of James Behams, living on middle wheeling, one of which they have kill'd, the other has got in, tho' he is Scalp'd and badly Tomahawk'd. The Spies inform me there is great Sign of them on Caplena and Stillwater. We Expect nothing Else but a General onset; our People are Generally moving to the forts, and Seems to be in great Confusion. I Shall give you every Information as early as possible,

and am, with respect,

your Humble Serv't,

DAVID SHEPHERD.

COLLO. BEARD.

COL. JOHN IRWIN TO COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

PITTSBURGH, May 12th, 1792

SIR:—I herewith Send you the Muster Rolls and Inspection Returns of the Corps of Riflemen for the Month of March, which you might have had Sooner had it not been for the disappointment in Capt Guthrie's Inspection Return. However, the fatigue, danger, time and Expense of obtaining these Rolls and Returns you may not perhaps have thought of. I am obliged to travel about Three hundred and fifty Miles Each Month to Compleat this business. The troops are divided into Eight parties or Stations, and placed at proper distances on an Extensive frontier, So that Visiting and returning from each makes up the number of Miles above mentioned; and two-thirds of the distance in a Country where a man might with propriety wish himself at home, least he might be deprived of his Scalp. In

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

your letter with the Governor's Warent, you have no doubt, a proper Compensation will be allowed for performing this business. I would be Sorry to Suspect the Generosity of the State; but Still more so if my family Should Reflect that I had deprived them of my Savings at home without knowing for what. It would be as easy and perhaps much Safer to Muster 5,000 Men than this handfull of Rangers Scattered in the Manner they are. The Rolls and returns for the month of Aprile you may expect Soon as possible, which will be at the end of this or early in the month of June. You may probably by that time, on Consulting with the Governor, be able to give me Some Idea of the Compensation, and whither he wishes the Muster and Inspection to be Continued Monthly. If so, it might not be amiss to forward a little Cash for Contingent Expenses, As it might perhaps be more Convenient for Government to advance on this occasion than an Individual. The returns now forwarded may not be so Correct as I could wish; any errors you may observe, inform me, and I will endeavor to put them Right in future; have Sent you two Muster Rolls for each Company, As it is the practice in the Federal troops. Let me know whether it is necessary or not.

Your Most Obedient Humble Serv't,
 JOHN IRWIN,
M. M. C. R. Men.

CLEMENT BIDDLE, Esq., Q. M'str C. W. M. P.

MAJOR McCULLY TO COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

PITTSBURGH, May 14th, 1792.

DEAR SIR:—The Bearer, General Gibson, having furnished us with ten New Rifles, which the men have received as their Own property, I have taken the liberty to draw for the amount to be stoped out of the first pay—proper Vouchers shall be produced to Justify the Measure. I will refer you to General Gibson for news and the State of the frontiers, as he is a Gentleman may be relied on.

I am, Sir, with high Esteem,
 Your most Obed't Servant,
 GEO McCULLY,
Major R. Corps.

COL. CLEM'T BIDDLE.

P. S.—The seventy-five Rifles have not yet arrived.

GEN. PRESLEY NEVILLE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, *May ye 26th, 1792.*

SIR:—On tuesday Morning a party of Indians, said to be about forty in number, attacked Reed's Station, on the Allegheny River, four Miles below the Keskemenetas. They kill'd one man and a child, wounded a Soldier of McCully's Corps, and took a woman and some children Prisoners. This account came by Express from Ensign Murphy of that Corps, who was stationed near the spot. A small party of Indians were seen the same day within twelve Miles of this Town, on the Vinalgo Path, which were no doubt, a *lookout* party from those who did the Mischief. Exclusive of a Detachment of the Regulars, consisting of thirty men sent by Maj'r Smith, at my Request, there are several Parties in pursuit of those Indians, both of Militia and McCully's Rangers. I hope to inform your Excellency of their Success by next Post.

I rec'd a few days ago a Letter from Mr. Dallas, mentioning the Mistake in the dates of the Militia Commissions of this County, (which I had not before heard of,) and desiring me to collect the Sentiments of the County, whether to hold Elections or to renew the Commissions to the present officers for one year; the latter is prefered, because it can be sooner done in the present period of danger, and the Priviledge of the Law is urged, directing that the officers be elected for three years. I have the honor to be, with great Respect & attachment,

y'r Excellency's

Ob't hum'l. Serv't,

PRESLEY NEVILLE,

L't Alle'y County.

His Excellency THOS. MIFFLIN, Esq'r.

CHARLES CAMPBELL TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

BLAK LICK, *May 28th, 1792.*

SIR:—I am Under the Necesesity of Informing you of the Distressed Sittuation of the fronteers of Westmoreland County. That on the twenty-second Inst., the Indians Came to L't William Cooper Statton, Near the Mouth of Tiscumenitis River, and attacted It; the Killed one man and Wounded one. The did not Stay Any Longer than the Took and Murdered a family With in about three Hundred yards of the Block-house. The than

Penetrated Into The Settlement About fifteen Miles; the Killed, Wounded and Took Prisoners Eleven Persons; Took About Thirty Horses; Burned a Number of Houses. The Stayed in the Settlement five or Six Days; the Whole of the frooneers is In a Distressed Sittuation, as the Came In Sutch A Large Party that the Small Stattons,that the frooneers is Gathered into, Will Not be Able to Stand them, without Getting Assistance, Maj'r M'Cully Hath Took All his men away from Green's and Reed's Stattion, Except a Few to Keep Up Green's.

Capt. Smith's and Gutherie's Companies is to be stattioned all together at the Mouth of Puckety, which is our County Line; and I Will, in a few Days have to Give up the Cetlemen or Send Millitia there, as Maj'r McCully Hath Requested me to suply It With the Millitia. If you Could have Green's and Reed's Stattion Suplyed With the Contine'l Troops, as It Is Distressing to Call on the Millitia of the one County to Guard so Extensive a frooneer; and if there is Not a sufficient Number of Men Kept out, the frooneers will Break up as the Cannot suport themselves Without Raising Some Crops. It is Hard that We must Stand as a Barier to the Enterior Parts, and Defend our Selves. I Intend a Plying to Fyate for Asistance. But I Would Wish It was Agreeable that you Would Send An Order to Coll. Torrance to Give Us Assistance and Let me Know if I May Aply to him.

I am, Sir, your obedient Humble Serv't,

CHAS. CAMPBELL.

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN.

N. B.—Mr. John Deneston is to furnish the Millitia the Same as Last year with Rations. C. C.

N. B.—I this Moment Received an Express that there Was one Hundred Indians Had Crossed the Allegany River, and there Was fifty More Seen yesterday In the Inhabitant, And one Man Was Killed. I Expect Every Moment to Hear of Our to be Mutch Destroyed. C. C.

MAJOR McCULLY TO COL. CLEMENT EIDDLE.

PITTSBURGH, *May 29th 1792.*

DEAR SIR:—I had the pleasure of your letter of the 18th May; am happy that my letters arrived in time to remove the anxiety that such false representation would naturaly give Government and you, also a reflection on me. The fifty Rifles arrived from little York yesterday. I think it would be treating Mr. Dunn-

woody well not to pay him for the Carriage, as he delayed them so Long. He lost three pair of the Bullit moles on the way; they were scattered through the waggon when they arrived here.

I refer you to my letter to the Secretary of the Commonwealth for News.

Am, Sir, with high Esteem,
Your most Obid't Servant.
GEO. McCULLY.
Major R. Corps.

COL. BIDDLE.

MAJOR McCULLY TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

PITTSBURGH, May 30th, 1792.

SIR:—You will be pleased to lay before His Excellency the Governor the Inclosed letter from Capt'n Smith, signifying his resignation, also my letter of the same date, stating the present and former arrangements of the Corps under my command.

Doctor Bedford reports Captain Smith unfit for service to me. I think Mr. Stevenson, Captain Smith's Lieutenant, will do to Command the Company. If the Governor's intention is to promote by Companies, Ensign Jones, Lieut., and a Mr. William Brown, Ensign, who is acting at present as first Sergeant, will make a good Ensign.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,
GEO. McCULLY,
Major Rifle Corps.

P. S.—Brown is of Allegany County.
A. J. DALLAS, Secretary.

CAPT. SMITH TO MAJOR McCULLY.

81st May, 1792.

SIR:—Haveing been so unfortunate as to receive a hurt on the 11th Day of April last, on a march from Pittsburgh to the falls of Big Bevour Creek by which I became ruptered, and finding that the active Service required on this Campaign has increased my Complaints, and in the opinion of the Doctor, not only renders me unfit for presant Duty, but may tirmenate fataly unless a state of quietude is preserved. I Do hereby request you to receive my Resignation as Captain of the Second Company of Six months' Livie of this Commonwelth.

I am, Sir, your Obt. Serv't,
SAM. SMITH.
Capt'n 2d Comp'y Riflemen.
To Major GEORGE McCULLY.

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

MAJOR McCULLY TO COL. BAIRD.

PITTSBURGH, May 30th 1792.

DEAR SIR:—Experiace has provid to me that the Manner in which the Corps, under my command, are disposed of is not the best for the protection of the frontiers; they men are so much scattered that it is impossible to collect them in time to appose or persue any considerable Body of Enemy. I have, therefore, determined to draw to one place Captains Smith's and Guthrie's Companies, where I can be with them myself, and if Indians appears in force, as they have lately done, I will be able to meet them on the Shortest notice.

It may be Necessary for you to send a detachment of Militia to man the Block-house at yellow Creek, as I must remove Mr. Stevenson's command. Mr. Stevison will remain there untill the tenth of June, to give you time to forward the Militia.

There is a considerable quantity of provisions at that post that will be ready for your men when they march out.

I am, Sir, with high regard,

Your most Obedient Servent,

GEO. McCULLY,

Major R. Corps.

Col. BAIRD.

P. S.—The high opinion I have of Captain Paul's abilities will make my visits to his posts fewer than I first Intended.

WILLIAM FINDLEY TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

June 1st, 1792.

DEAR SIR:—I was but a few days at home untill the Indians broke into the settlement by Reed's Station. It was garrisoned by Rangers under Cooper. They had never scouted any. They had been frolicking and were Surprized, in want of Ammunition, and the officer was absent from the station. However, the Indians fired only a few rounds upon the Block-house, with which they killed one man and wounded Another, and went away without any exertions being made by the Rangers. They then killed and took Harbison's family, in sight of the station. Harbison was one of the spies, and was reported to have relaxed a little in his duty. Indeed, the duties of the spies in this County is too hard, and they are not assisted by the troops as was designed at laying the plan. The alarm was quickly spread; indeed, they

nselves promoted the News of their coming by burning some
he first houses they came to. This occasioned the Country to
before them with the greatest rapidity, and they being about
n number took the Country before them, keeping nearly the
use of the Kiskeminty, going in small parties, from 5 to 7,
ar as has been observed. They do not seem to be so anxious
till as to plunder and destroy.

owever, several remarkable escapes have been made. For
tance, two families, belonging to Messrs. Feal's and Millars'
e surrounded in a Bottom, and only two of them taken.
o Men and woman were wounded, and are likely to live.
o of their sons who escaped, saved two other families, who
e Just entering the bottom. Their ardent desire to get
ses seems to divert their attention from shedding Blood.
ey greedily seize every kind of plunder. After some of them
l been so closely pushed in recrossing the Allegenny as to
e some of the Horses, Hopes were entertained that they were
e off, when, however, they appeared at different places much
ther in the settlement. At one plantation as far up above
mouth of Loyalhanna they went boldly to the stable and
is, and took out the Horses, killing a stallion which proved
uly, and taking of the rest without disturbing the family,
o were trembling within. Perhaps they were afraid that some
hem would fall in attempting the House. About the same
e they killed a man with a load of dry meat, going to the
tion, and took the Horse and load. Two days ago one of
m was wounded by a young man who perceived three of
m waylaying his father's and another family, carry off some
in, &c., to a place of safety. This was on the course towards
nahstown.

y a Letter from Col. Campbell I am Just informed that a
ut has pursued the party of Indians that appeared as high
the north side of Kiskeminty as the mouth of Black Leg's
ek down to Allegenny, where, though they saw them differ-
times, the ground was so unfavorable they could not get
not at them, but had recovered ten Horses. Another Scout
s out there to day. A Scout is also out from the Neigh-
irhead where I live. Though there was sufficient matter for
rim and terror, without telling lies to promote it, neverthe-
, I believe more have fled on the account of false alarms,
chievously contrived within this two or three days past than
merly. Hannastown is now the frontier, and they have
cted block Houses at Greensburg, North of Loyalhanning.
nison's is the frontier. You will perceive by the Map that
stmoreland is now Desolate to near the Center, and the rest
ch disturbed. At the first alarm Col. Campbell called upon

two Battalions of Militia to turn out a Company each, but before the day of Rendezvous, these two Battalions were chiefly broken up. He has since ordered out from two other Battalions, and is advised to call for assistance from Fayette County.

The Scarcity of Arms among the people is a distressing circumstance. Voluntary exertions are prevented, and the flight of many families promoted from that cause. The people were so Confident that they never would see war again, and in such Necessity for Money to repair their desolate places when peace was obtained, that they sold their guns to people going down the River. I hear from Pittsburgh that Mrs. Harbison has escaped from the Indians, and has discovered some treacherous persons among us. I also understood that a private expedition is on foot; but I expect you will receive more perfect account from Pittsburgh than I am possessed of. My House and many of the Neighbouring Houses being crowded with families that have fled, and frequent consultations being necessary, I have not been far abroad Since this distressing Scene commenced; therefore my information is necessarily local.

If it was possible to get more Arms into the Hands of the County Lieut's by borrowing at Pittsburgh, or otherwise, it would answer a good purpose. All the public exertions against the Hostile Indians having been hitherto unfortunate, the distresses of the people have consequently encreased instead of being removed, and the people themselves appear to have lost Heart, and not to be capable of those exertions which they made the last war; my endeavours to encourage them I find has much Less effect this year than it had the last. Though the Army is Slow of raising yet its perininancy gaves ground to hope that this Season is more critical than any that is to follow. I am, with great respect.

D'r Sir,

Your most obedient Humble Servant,
WM. FINDLEY.

A. DALLAS, Esq'r.

P. S.—If a more accurate account is not come to hand be pleased to gave this to Mr. Dunlap, with suppressing what you think proper, but particularly Cooper's Name, for though much more is said against him, it is not fair to censure him in a Newspaper at such a distance before examination.

WILLIAM FINDLEY TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

June 18th, 1792.

D'R SIR :—I have been up to Pittsburgh and saw Major McCully, Just after having returned from a scout up the Allegenny. The Neglect and disobedience of the officers and scouting parties has obliged him to keep two Companies embodied at one station, where he can enforce the execution of his own Orders. It appears that small scouting parties sent out by Guthrie, never went the Length of their destination; this is proved beyond dispute by their trail in the weeds. Cooper sent out no scouts; nor did any duty, he has turned out worse than my fears, nor has Guthrie equalled my hopes. Drunkeness, the too frequent Vice of those who spent their youth in the Army, has been indulged by those Gentlemen to excess, however, Guthrie is now carefull and is very Capable. Capt. Smith, a good sales man, was tottally unfit for that kind of service; it is surprising how difficult it is for the Gov'r to obtain good advice about appointments.

Col. Pomeroy, one of the best and trustiest officers in this side the Mountain, is now out with six Companies of Militia. The Indians have improved in the art of elluding pursuit, they always seperate after doing mischief, and go two and two in every direction, keeping generally the dry ridges, and at this season, the woods are very close and the Country is very Broken. The spies have found, by attention to the trails, that the Indians are not all gone out of the settlement. A few mornings since, the Beds of two were found in a meadow near Loyal-hanna, the dew not being off, they were trailed to a dry ridge. I am just now informed that a child is found scalped, and a number of Horses Missing six or eight Miles within the settlement, north of Conemach; the militia are certainly active, and though Major McCully has contracted his line, he is active upon the Allegenny. He does not, however, send his Scouts further up than the Kittanning, the Militia have to guard from thence to Laurel hill besides protecting the settlements in this side the Allegenny River, for McCully keeps in the West side. He informs me That the Scouts must have found the indien Camp if they had gone to their distination; much of both spring crop and harvest will be lost, notwithstanding all that can be done. Plentier of Arms would have encouraged the people to have stood their ground much better.

Whilst the Assemblymen and myself were with you, recommendations were made for Commissions of the peace in behalf of Robert Taylor, of Greensburg, and Asa Cook of Franklin

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

County. I understood the Recommendations to have been accepted and the Commissions to have been Issued, but they are not come to hand; they appear to be both necessary, and agreeable to the Majority of the people. With respect to Asa Cook, the State Attorney was with me yesterday, and informs me that the present Justice, Mr. Raugh, though a good man, is very unfit for the business; I believe this is true, though he was an old Justice. Probably Capt. Butler would carry them up to Greensburg—I would be glad at any rate to be informed about it from you.

By some Miscarriage, I have not seen the last post of Sidney. Be pleased to enclose one or more of them by post according to law to me at Greensburg. I know very little about electioneering, but I understand Mr. D—ds is displeased that Mr. Scot got the preference of him by the Ticket makers before.

I am, with great respect, Sir,

Your most obed't and very humble Serv't,

WM. FINDLEY.

A. J. DALLAS, Esq'r.

WILLIAM FINDLEY TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

June 28, 1791.

D'R SIR :—I make free again to arrest your attention by a few hasty lines, though I have nothing of importance to Communicate. The report goes that Gen'l Scot, of Kentucky, is returned from a successfull expedition and has brought 150 scalps; this is not confirmed; there has not many depredations been made in the settlement lately, though there is either Indians or some other sculking Incendiaries in the Settlements.

Along with this comes an application from Col. John Pomeroy, James Barr, Esq'r, and Mr. Guthrie for opening the Cone-mach, &c., they are honest and respectable Citizens. I presume they have expressed the reasons why their applications is not more particular; indeed the state of the frontier, and not seeing the law are sufficient reasons; there has been considerable damage suffered on the Kiskiminity this season. Dr. Smith writes me that he has procured me an appointment to assist in exploring the Road from frankstown to Stoney point. I think the appointment inconvenient and unsuitable to me, and could get no good man willing to undertake it in that season; at last, however, Col. Abra'm Hendricks consents to except of it. He is a respectable Justice of peace and Col. of Militia; he is much better acquainted with the roads, and more interested in open-

ing that communication than I am. I wish him to be appointed and my name struck out.

with unfeigned esteem, I am, Sir,

Your obed't humble serv't,

WM. FINDLEY.

A. J. DALLAS, Secretary of the Commonwealth.

COL. WILLIAM CRAWFORD TO COL. BAIRD.

June the 28, 1792.

DEAR SIR:—I am very Much Surprised at you for Calling In the Militia, as the people Is now In More Need of them than they have been this Summer. Some of their Grain Standing yet & No body to Guard them to Cut It; the Rest of their Grain In Stak In the field, & by the Mischif being Done upon whil in, the people Is very fraid, & Says, If they Do Not Get assistance they will break up Intirely. My Son John has Just Come home & has Informed Of this.

This from your friend,

WILLIAM CRAWFORD, Colo.

MAJOR McCULLY TO COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

CORES STATION, June 27th, 1792.

DEAR SIR:—I with pleasure Acknowledge the rec'pt of your letter 16 Inst. I hapened fortunatly to go to Pittsburgh the day before the post arrived, at the request of General Wayne.

I also rec'd a letter from the Secretary at the same time, Mentioning the Order for the Arms and directions how to dispose of them, and have given him a faithful Account how they Are disposed off. I, therefore, refer you to his letter on that business.

Mr. Findly and Col. Campbell I met the same time, and we soon agreed in what Manner the Arms Should be distributed; all parties I belive, were satisfied.

The County of Westmoreland drew more Arms last year (I believe) than any of the Exposed Countyes. It may not be amiss to give you a hint of the Situation. I found a Number of them at Reed's Station this Spring, left there by the Militia last Autumn; I think there was 25 Charlet Vil Muskets left in a worthless Block house without any person to take care of

SECRETARY DALLAS TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHIL., 17th July, 1792.

SIR:—Upon the Secretary at War's letter I propose:

1. That instructions be transmitted to the Lieutenants of the exposed Counties, directing them to keep up the same number of spies, drafted from the militia, that were authorized to be employed before the establishment of the three Companies.
2. That any surplus in the appropriations of the years 1791 & 1792 be employed to give bounties to engage the best woodsmen in the above Service.
3. That the Spies shall be engaged to commence their duty on the day that the service of the three Companies expires; and that so much of the arms and ammunition of the Companies as is necessary shall be supplied to the spies, the rest to be given into the custody of the Lieutenants.
4. That it be stipulated as the duty of the spies to be in constant motion on the exposed parts of the Frontiers, and to keep up a constant communication with the Federal Camp on the up part of the Ohio & Fort Franklin, giving them all the information that they can, &c.
5. That a copy of these instructions be sent to Major McCully, inclosed in a letter of thanks to him and his Corps, and recommending to the men either to volunteer as spies or to enlist in the Federal troops.

This arrangement is proposed on the presumption that the Secretary at War's communication is satisfactory to the Governor on the subject of a permanent defence of the Frontiers. I think it would be imprudent to enter into this arrangement, however, or to suggest it to the officers for sometime. Perhaps a delay of two or three weeks will prevent the necessity of any further proceeding, by the accounts of peace, or some unexpected & untoward event may render a more powerful exertion unavoidable.

LIEUT. WILLIAM CRAWFORD TO COL. BAIRD.

MUDDY CREEK, July ye 30th, 1792.

SIR:—This Evening I Rec'd an allarming acc't that the frontiers is in a Distressed Setutation. The are all flying on Dunkert and whitley Creeks. I Shall Start this Night with one or two of my Neighbours to try If I Can Porswaid the frontiers to

Make a Stand for a Day or two, untill Thos. Sidgwick Returns, as he agreed to go with this express, as I therefore hope that you will weay their Condetion with that Deliberation that In your Discretion you think meet. I hope you will Excuse haste as I am on my weay. The Bearrer Can Inform you forther.

I am, Sir, with Respect, Sir,

Your Most obedient Humble Serv't,

WM. CRAWFORD.

N. B.—Sir, it is your way to Send my Son Eight or Nine pounds, By the Bearrer, it will abridge your humble Serv't.

To ABSOLM BEARD, Col.

COL. CULBERTSON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

LEWIS TOWN, *August 2d, 1794.*

SIR:—I had the honor of receiving, on 21st of July, your Excellency's letter of the 11th of the same month, in which you are pleased to appoint me to attend to the discharge of the duties of Brigade Inspector during the absence of Mr. Nesbit. Immediately, on the receipt of it, I transmitted the letters, which were enclosed, for Generals Patton and Bratton, to those gentlemen, with information of my appointment, and also sent the letter for Mr. Nesbit to Carlisle, with directions to be forwarded, by Post, to Fort Pitt. The day subsequent to the receipt of your packet, I received advice that Mr. Nesbit had returned, and was then at Carlisle, in consequence of which I forebore issuing any orders to the officers of the Mifflin Brigade, or to the Commanders of the Volunteer Corps, untill the 29th of the same month, when upon being apprized that Mr. N. had not returned, in pursuance of your Excellency's instructions, I thought it proper to write to the Captains of the various Companies in the Brigade for returns of the number of enrolled militia, &c., to the Commanders of the three Volunteer Light Infantry Companies, & to the Capt. of the Mifflin Town Troop of Light Horses. Copies of these letters are now enclosed.

The number of Militia Companies, which are included within my circle of inspection, amounts to forty; but from the difficulty of immediate communication with the various parts of this country, I have not been enabled to transmit letters prepared for the purpose to more than twenty of the Captains; however, expect in about two days' time to have them all notified, allowing to those not yet instructed, two weeks from this time to make their returns. The commanders of the Volunteer Companies of Light Infantry, & the Commander of the Troop of Horse have received their letters of information. It is my inten-

tion also to send a few lines to the Lieut. Colonels, requesting them to sanction as much as in their power, and to forward with all their zeal, the proceedings I have directed.

It is proper I should inform your Excellency of the receipt of the military stores for Huntingdon and Mifflin Counties the day before yesterday; they agree in every respect with the account accompanying them, except in the number of flints, which fall fifty short. The Huntingdon stores will remain here until a proper conveyance might offer, and in order that no unnecessary delay might take place, I instantly dispatched a letter of advice to Mr. Cadwallader, the Brigade Inspector, on the subject. I am happy in having it in my power to inform your Excellency, that in a conference with Generals Patton and Bratton yesterday they approve of my conduct, and think the measures I have taken best calculated to attain the end proposed. With respect to the disposal of the Stores intended for the defence of this County, we were of opinion that it would be most advisable to place the rifles and some of the powder and lead in the custody of General Patton who from his very exposed situation and want of military stores, would be enabled to make use of them to the greatest possible advantage of the County in case of invasion or attack. The General is willing to give any security for preserving them safe, and for the proper distribution and use of them when occasion may require. We were of the opinion also, that their being deposited with him, would tend to quiet the apprehensions of the inhabitants of Nittany, and bind them to the defence of that frontier where they would have the means of defence in their power. In about three weeks, I hope I shall be able to transmit to your Excellency a satisfactory statement of our military force as I shall endeavour by that time to procure the necessary returns.

The duties of a Brigade Inspector being in some degree novel to me, if I should in any particulars err, your Excellency will attribute it to a deficiency of talent, and not to a want of Zeal for the public service. But having Generals Patton and Bratton to consult with in any difficulties, I am induced to believe that this advantage co-operating with the clear and explicit instructions I hope to be favoured with occasionally from you, Sir, will enable me to discharge my duties not disreputably to myself and for the public welfare.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments
of unfeigned respect and esteem,
Your Excellency's most
obedient and humble serv't,
JOHN CULBERTSON,
Brigade Insp't, pro tem., &c.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

CIRCULAR OF COL. CULBERTSON.

LEWIS TOWN, July 29th, 1794.

SIR:—It is proper I should inform you, that in consequence of the absence of Mr. Thos. Nesbit, the Gov'r, in a letter of the eleventh inst, has appointed me to attend to the discharge of the duties of Brigade Inspector. You are, no doubt, apprized of the requisition of the President of the United States of the 11th of May last, for organizing, arming and equipping 10,768 of the militia of this State, agreeably to the Act of Congress. In the instructions of the Governor, which I now have before me, is the following provision:

“Should any independent Corps of cavalry, artillery or Infantry, offer voluntarily to engage as corps in the service, you are authorised to signify my acceptance of their offer, as a part of the quota of the brigades to which they are respectively attached.”

The term of service and allowances to the detachment, are generally mentioned in the Act of Congress, &c.

As it is my duty to transmit to the Governor a full and circumstantial account of the military force of the Mifflin Brigade, You will be pleased to inform me with all convenient speed the number of men who compose your volunteer company of Light Infantry, their military equipments, arms, ammunition, &c. You will be pleased also, immediately to collect their opinions relative to their willingness to serve, in case of an invasion or a necessity of calling them into actual service. This measure is highly necessary, because if any of them refuse, the residue of the quota must be raised from the militia of the Brigade generally.

If convenient then, Sir, within ten days from the above date, transmit me a return of your proceeding, and be particular with respect to the number of those Volunteers of your company, who may be depended upon as willing to turn out in the cause of their Country, in the hour of danger. Upon your punctuality and attention to the foregoing instructions, I must rely for the necessary information, to enable me to make a satisfactory representation to the Executive of the State.

I am, Sir, y'r ob't & hum. Serv't

JNO. CULBERTSON.

Brig. Insp., pro tem.

To A B., Command't of the——Volunteer Company of Light Infantry.

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

CIRCULAR OF COL. CULBERTSON.

LEWIS TOWN, July 30th, 1794.

SIR:—It is proper I should inform you that in consequence of the absence of Mr. T. N., the Gov., in a letter of the 11th Inst., has appointed me to attend to the discharge of the duties of Brigade Inspector during his absence, or untill further instructions on the subject. In performing my duty agreeably to said appointment, I must, in a great measure, depend for the necessary information to be furnished to the Gov. upon the different Officers of the Brigade. You will therefore be pleased within two weeks from the above date, make me a return of the number of enrolled militia in your Company, the quantity of public arms in their custody, and their general military equipments. I must also request in compliance with the Gov.'s Instructions, that you would be particularly attentive to impress it on the minds of individuals who compose your Company, that the penalties incurred by every delinquent will be strictly and legally enforced and exacted. Upon you your punctuality and attention to the foregoing directions I rely for the necessary information to enable me to make a satisfactory representation to the Executive of the State,

And am, Sir, Y'r obt. hum. S't.

JOHN CULBERTSON,

Brig. Insp. pro tem., &c.

To Cap. ———, Com. of ——— Comp'y of Miffl'n Militia.

THOMAS RYERSON TO COL. BAIRD.

MORRISVILLE, Aug. 14th, 1792.

SIR:—The few days that will bring about the expiration of the services of the Levies makes me extremely uneasy. I understand, indeed, that the Militia are to supply their places during the dangerous season, & that some are now actually in our neighborhood; but I do not learn that any are to be placed near these Improvements. The Constant menaces and threats of the Indians induces me to think we shall be very much troubled by them when Capt. Paul withdraws. In truth, I cannot think of continuing my family here unless I can expressly be assured of some protection, for I have only now one man here & some children. I am sure you are sensible of the expenses we have been at in these Improvements, & of the importance of

keeping up this frontier. Our Inhabitants, too, are very much thinned by the Young men enlisting in the service. If you think proper to send some men to these Improvements & the contiguous settlers, I should be glad to know it early, in order to prevent necessity of removing my effects. Capt. Brady has told me that one or two of the spies will be kept hereabouts, but they will mostly be in the wood, & therefore they cannot afford that protection which our particular situation requires.

I am, Sir, Your most obd. Ser't,

THO. RYERSON.

Col. BAIRD, Washington.

JOHN MOORE TO COL. BAIRD.

WHITELEY CREEK, *September 5th, 1792.*

DEAR SIR:—I beg that you would Send the Melitia As Quick as Posibly you Can. The People have Fled from the Head of Dunkard as soon as the Men Left them, and we on this Creek are Left the Fronteers, And the People Murmur much that they Are Left without Relief and so much Exposed to Danger. We have an Account of thirteen Indians Crossing at the Mouth of Sunfish Creek, which I Expect you have an Account of before these Comes to hand. Sir, the Bearer, Captain Henry Dickison, will inform you of our Condition.

With Respects,

I am your Obedient Humble Servant,

JOHN MOORE.

Mr. A. BEARD, Lieut. Washington county.

COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILAD'A, *25 October, 1792.*

SIR:—I am of Opinion that it will be necessary to appoint some person of Confidence, at Pittsburgh, to pay the Troops, late under the Command of Major McCully, in the service of this State, as the Major is now engaged in the Service of the United States.

John Wilkins, junior, Esquire, I conceive will be a suitable person, and if you approve of his being employed for that pur-

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

pose, and that I should make him the necessary Advances, I request you to signify your Approbation thereof.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your mo. Obed't Serv't,

CLEMENT BIDDLE,

Qu'r M. Gen. Penn'a.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

I approve,

T. MIFFLIN,

Nov. 8, 1792.

GEN. NEVILLE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, Oct'r 25th, 1792.

SIR:—Having been some time from home on a Journey to the Southward, this is the first opportunity I have had to acknowledge the receipt of the communications from the Secretary's office, of the 21st Ult'o. I have now the honor to inform your Excellency, that I have conferr'd with General Wayne respecting the defence of this County, and that the few Militia we have had on duty, will be discharged on the 31st Inst., nor will any more be call'd into service, unless in case of great emergency or by your Excellency's order.

As soon as possible, the Militia accounts of this county shall be made out & forwarded for adjustment. I flatter myself that they will indicate as much economy as could be expected in similar Circumstances.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's Obedient humble Serv't,

PRESLEY NEVILL,

Lieut. Alleg'y County.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

THE COMMITTEE OF ASSEMBLY TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

PHILADELPHIA, 19th Dec'r, 1792.

SIR:—The Committee to whom were referred those parts of the Governor's address which relate to the protection of the frontiers and the papers on that subject accompanying the same request that you would lay before them copies of all papers,

vouchers & accounts relative to the expences incurred for that purpose in your possession, & which have not yet been laid before the House of Representatives.

They wish, especially, to get the details & several items of the general account given by Clement Biddle as Qu'r Master Gen. of Pennsylvania.

With respect, we remain, Sir,

Your most obedient & h'e Servts,

ALBERT GALLATIN,

DAVID BRADFORD,

Committee.

A. J. DALLAS, Esq'r, Secretary of the Commonwealth.

COL. JOHN WILKINS TO COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

PITTSBURGH, 21st Dec'r, 1792.

D'R SIR:—I acknoledged in my last the rec't of yours of the 8th inst. Mr. Jones has not yet arrived here, therefore have not received the pay roll of Capt. Guthrie's comp'y.

I have advertised in the Pittsburgh *Gazette* that I would attend at Washington the 4th, at Uniontown 7th, & at Denniston's mill the 17th January, to pay the officers and soldiers of the six months' State militia, & I have wrote to the captains of the different companies accordingly. Major McCully has not yet returned; have not yet got his accounts, but hope he will be here before I set out. I would not have appointed the time for paying at the different places untill his return, but was affraid I might suffer in your opinion by the delay. I have not yet received the account of those men who were entitled to pay for using their own arms, & as I have paid off the men in full as they applyed, I have been oblidged to take the word of those who used their own arms.

I wish you would inform me as soon as you can the allowance you will make Colo. Irvine for his services as inspector. He wishes much to know.

I left an account of Major McCully's against the State for an allowance of forrage for his horse whilst in service. You will please inform me if it will pass, & what the amount is.

Will there be an allowance to the officers who used their own Riffles in the service?

Am, Sir, with sentiments of Respect,

Your Hum. Ser.,

JNO. WILKINS, JR.

COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE, Philadelphia.

COL. JOHN WILKINS TO COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

PITTSBURGH, 28th Dec'r, 1792.

D'R SIR:—I now enclose to you a stated account of Colo. John Irvine, who acted as inspector to the State militia. If you approve of it, I will draw on you for the amount. There is an order among the papers I left with you for the payment of it to me, & I have made him advances on account of it to him.

Among the papers I left with you, there was an account of Dr. Baird for attending a wounded man of Capt'n Paul's company, you will please examine it, as I have paid him.

There was a Riffle loss'd by one of Capt. Paul's men, when chased by an indian, who fired at him, & broke it in his hand. Is he to be paid for it.

Am, Sir, your Hum'l Serv't,

JNO. WILKINS, JR.

CLEMENT BIDDLE, Esquire, Philadelphia.

COL. JOHN WILKINS TO COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

PITTSBURGH, 31st Dec'r, 1792.

SIR:—I set out to-morrow morning to Washington, & from thence to Fayette, to pay the officers & men residing in those districts, of which I have some time given notice by writeing to the Captains, & advertising in the Pittsburgh *Gazette*. I enclose a Statement of the money due on the pay Rolls & on other accounts, with the money rec'd Major McCully & myself. I will draw for the ballance as it becomes necessary.

The officers have requested me to know from you if they would be allowed anything for their expenses whilst recruiting—some of their accounts for that purpose I left you among the other papers—please inform me on this subject as soon as you can.

Am, with respect,

your Hum. Servant,

JNO. WILKINS, JR.

CLEMENT BIDDLE, Esq'r, Philadelphia.

COL. JOHN WILKINS TO COL. CLEMENT BIDDLE.

PITTSBURGH, 11th Jan'y, 1793.

SIR:—I just received yours of the 5th instant. I have been at Washington & Fayette agreeable to my appointment, & have paid off the men of Paul's & Stevenson's Companies. I proceed next week to Denniston's mill to pay Guthrie's. I have been under the greatest difficulty in settling with the officers, as from your first letter you seemed to doubt whether the officers should be paid agreeable to the pay rolls or not. But as I had no other Guide than the pay Roll, I have went by that & paid them accordingly.

I wrote to you in my last about Major McCully's forrage account, and about an account of Dr. Baird which I have paid ~~as~~ which account is with you. I also mentioned a man of Paul's who had lost his gun by the Indians, & if he should be paid for it. I enclosed to you a statement of money which I made, & the payment which I had received. I wish to know your ideas of the same, as I should not like to Draw for money & have my bill rejected. If you have any objections, I would like to know before I would go on farther.

You may depend on my Care in forwarding Gen'l Wilkeson's Letter, or in doing anything in this Country you shall direct me.

Am your Hum'le Serv't.

JNO. WILKINS, JR.

Colo. BIDDLE, Q'r Mast'r Gen. State Penn'a.

THOMAS TRULOCK TO THOMAS STOKELY.

WHITELEY CREEK, January 17th, 1793.

DEAR SIR:—After my Love and Compliments to you I inform you that the Indians were Discovered on the waters of Fish Creek yesterday, both by Hunters that were out and some of the Inhabitants of Dunkard Creek. The fronteers at this time seems to be under Great fears, and has made Application unto me this morning What they must Do. I told them that I would Acquaint our Government with what they had Related to me and that I would be Ready to serve them on any Occasion as far as I Could, and they at the same time place Much Confidence in you to make Provision for the Distressed Fronteers.

40—VOL. IV.

I am willing to serve my Country, and if you think me worthy of any place on the Occasion I will thankfully Acknowledge it. We hear of no Provision made for us as yet. Pray, Sir, Do not forget us, but make Immediate Application, which may be Early to our Relief; in so Doing it will Tend much to your Honour and Credit; your Friends here Rely much on your Fidelity to serve them.

I would not be further Tedious, but Remains,
Your Sincere Friend,
THOMAS TRULOCK.

To Mr. THOMAS STOKELY, Esq'r.

COL. CHARLES CAMPBELL TO WILLIAM FINDLEY.

February 22nd, 1793.

SIR:—I Send you the Pay Rooles for the Spyes and The Millitia, and Two Bills for Doctor Walls, for Curing the Two Wounded Soldiers of the Millitia, and A Praisement of A Gun that Was Lost in Actual Services.

I have Been At Head Quarters with General Wayne, and Drew the Pay for the Spyes to the first of Agust. If you Would Speake to the Secretary of War, if the Spyes will be Continued this Ensuing Spring, as I Cannot Continue them After the have Been Discharg'd, As I did Not Wish to Continue them In the winter Season. The People on the frooneers is Getting Uneassey as there Seems to be No Guard for them At the Present, and the Winter Hath Been Very Open and the are Afraid as that the New Law Will Not Likely Give them As Good Support as the former One, or at Least the change of the Of. Comand, in the County, Might Not Pay As mutch Attention to the welfare of their Sittuation, as the Are mutch afraid that A Change will Take Place. All I wish It May Be Allways for the Better. I have Been With Capt. and Major Craig, and we Have All Consulted on the Best Tracts that We Can, and Would Get them If you were Agreed. I have Enterse'ed with the Surveyer, If Posible, to Give All Indulgence Posible, Whitch I Will Inform you As Soon as you Come Home. I have Scent you Marches' Power, and he Sayeth that there is four years Pay Comeing, and wishes If you Could't Know Where He Getteth his Land and where He Shall obtain His Deed. You will Please to Pay Moses Fisher Ten Pounds for me, on Behalf of James Simpson Weaver, as It, will Save him of Sending down the Money, and If you Can Get

A Good Gown Patren for Mrs. Campbell, as there is Not Any
In the Goods that Mr. Deniston Sent to me.

I Remain your Humble Serv't,

CHAS. CAMPBELL.

W.M. FINDLEY, Esq'r.

N. B.—I have Been Perplexed to Get the Numeration List of
the Millitia from the Officers. I yet Want one Battallion, But
I will Send them Next Post.

C. C.

COL. CHARLES CAMPBELL TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

BLACKLICK, Feby'ry 27th, 1793.

SIR:—I Send you A Return of Each Battallion of Millitia of Westmoreland County, Between the years of Eighteen And Forty-five years of Age Agreeable to your Order to me. The Froontereers of this County Seems to be Afraid of Getting A Stroke from the Indians this Spring, as the Winter Hath Been Very Open And Clear of Snow in these Parts, and thier Hearing of the New Law to take Place And the Are Afraid that you may not have it in your Power to grant them as Good Assistance as you had under the Oald Law, as the Seem All to Depend much on your Having Sutch love and feelling for thier Distressed Sittuation. Although there hath not Been Any Damage Done for Some Time Past, yet Any Person Who Will Just Think of the Sittuation A Person must be in that Hath His family Lying at the Mercy of Sutch a Savage Enemy, as there Cannot be Any Warning given Before the Make the Stroke, the must Think It Would be But Reasonable that the Would Expect Some Guard. If there Could be Some Easier Plan fell Upon to guard the Froontereers than Draughting the Millitia, I Could wish, But I allways Rely that you Will Do Every thing In your Power to have the froontereers Protected. There Is About Thirty of the Continental Soldiers Stattioned At the Cattanian and At Coe's Stattion. If the Spyes Could be Continued on the Same Plan the were the Last Season, It Would give the froontereer Inhabitants Some Reason to Believe that the Enemy Would not Get To Make A Stroke Before the Were Discovered. If the froontereers Is Given Some Assurance of Assistance The Will Put in thier Spring Crops; if Not, there will A Number of them Move. I Will Do Every thing in my Power to Prevent them from Breaking.

I Remain your Obedient Humble Serv't,

CHAS. CAMPBELL.

His Excellency THOS. MIFFLIN.

FRONTIER DEFENCE

GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR
MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
April 24th, 1793.

SIR—The President of the United States has particularly directed me to inform your Excellency that the proposed treaty with the hostile Indians North of the Ohio will be held at lower Sandusky, to commence about the first day of June next. That during the continuance of the Treaty it is of the highest importance to the success thereof, as well as to the safety of the Commissioners, that all hostile incursions of the White Inhabitants on into or near to the Indian Country North of the Ohio should be absolutely prohibited until after the treaty be closed.

The commanding General of the Troops has been directed to issue a proclamation to this effect, and the President requests that you would be pleased to take such measures in the premises with your frontier Citizens as shall, in your Judgment, be most effectual to prevent a measure which might be attended with highly pernicious consequences.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem,
Your Excellency's most obed. Servant,
H. KNOX,
Sec'y of War.

His Excellency GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

DAVID REDICK TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

WASHINGTON, 6th May, 1793.

SIR:—With this you will receive two Bonds, taken from the Brigade Inspectors. It was expected by them that Bonds would have been sent prepared for signing. I took them with some reluctance not having received any instructions from you on the Subject, but knowing from your pressing letter to deliver the packages sent by the late Messenger, and that ye militia must be organized by a short day, and finding by the Act of Assembly that those officers could not proceed to business till they had first given Bond, and supposing that hurry of business had most probably been the cause of your silence on the Subject of bonds, I submitted to these solicitations. I hope the bonds will be satisfactory; having had no form, I was obliged to make one.

If any thing has been omitted, no doubt the gentlemen will execute others.

I am, Sir, with Esteem and respect,
Your most obed't Ser't,

DAVID REDICK.

A. J. DALLAS, Esq.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE MILITIA OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Appointments in the Militia of Pennsylvania made by the Governor, in pursuance of an act of the General Assembly, passed on the 11th day of April, 1793.

Adjutant General of the Militia.

Josiah Harmar,	appointed	11 Ap., 1793.
----------------	-----------	---------------

I Division: Maj. Gen.—James Irvine, app'd 13 Ap., 1793.

1 Brigade—City of Phil'a:

Brig. Gen.—Thos. Proctor,	app'd	12 Ap., 1793.
---------------------------	-------	---------------

Brig. Insp'r.—B. J. Nicolas,	ap'd	11 Ap., 1793.
------------------------------	------	---------------

2 Brigade—Co of Phil'a:

Brig. Gen.—Jacob Morgan,	app'd	19 Ap'r, 1793.
--------------------------	-------	----------------

Brig. Insp.—Jos. Kerr,	app'd	11 Ap., 1793.
------------------------	-------	---------------

II Division—Maj. Gen.:

Copying from the Original List of app'tm'ts, except that of the 9th Division, is thus altered:

1 Brigade—Westm'd Co.

3 Brigade—The townships of Green, Cumberland, Franklin, Morgan, & East Bethlehem, in the Co. of Washington.

2 Brigade—Co. of Washington, except the Townships of—

4 Brigade—County of Fayette, &c.

5th Brigade—County of All'gheny.

Taken from the Records of the Executive Department.

A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary.*

SEC. OFF., Ph'a, 7th May, '93.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. HARMAR.

PHILAD'A, 25th May, 1793.

SIR:—The Communications which I have receiv'd from the President of the United States may eventually render it necessary to call a detachment of the Militia of the City and County of Philadelphia and County of Delaware into Service, shou'd

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

any Hostility be Committed by the present Belligerent powers within the Jurisdiction of this State, or any Privateers be unlawfully equipped in the Port of Philadelphia. You will be pleased, therefore, to pay particular attention to the Organization of those parts of the Militia.

I am, Sir, Your most Obed't Serv't,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

To JOSIAH HARMAR, Esq'r, Adj't Gen'l of the Militia of Penn-sylv'a.

DAVID MEAD TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

CUSSEWAUGA, ON FRENCH CREEK,

July 11th, 1793.

HONOURED SIR:—A Sergeant's Command has been Stationed here some time past for the Protection of the Inhabitants, But we have Just now been informed of Marching Orders for those troops to Join the Grand Army Down the Ohio; of Course the post will be evacuated, and the Settlement of the Country much Discouraged.

Therefore we Request your Excellency will be pleased to Order a Sergeant's Command to Support the Post, which in a Short time will be the means of Promoting a Numerous Settlement.

I am, in behalf of the Inhabitans,

Your most Obedient & verry Humble Servant,

DAVID MEAD.

Governor MIFFLIN.

COL. CHARLES CAMPBELL TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

GREENSBURGH, *July 23d, 1793.*

SIR:—It Appear as It Would be very Nessary that there Would Be Some Copyes of the Late Millitia Law Sent To this County as soon as the Can be got Printed, as A Great Number of the People Hath Not yet Had the Oppertunity of Hearing It, So As the Can Know what is thier Duty. And as It Appear Most Likeley that the Treaty Will Not be Got Effect And as Soon As The Indians Knoweth that there is No more Hopes of Getting Any Presents, We May Expect A Stroke Made By them On Some Part of Our frooneers. If It is By the Corn Planter's Nation, Westmoreland County May Expect To feel It, as the

Live So Near, and It is most Likeley he will take A Decided Part as Soon as the Result treaty is Known. If It is Not in their favour, and Should Any Large Number Come Against Us, there Is No Instruction Given to Any Person to Order Out Any Part of the Millitia In Case of An Invasion On Our County. I Could Wish you to Send Orders to Some Person, So as We Should Know Where to Aply If Sutch Should be Needfull.

I Remain your Obediant Humble Serv't,
CHAS. CAMPBELL.

His Excellency THOS. MIFFLIN.

GEN. NEVILLE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSB'GH, *July 26th, 1793.*

SIR:—The inclosed came by an Indian runner two days ago. The removal of the Troops from Cussawago, occasions uneasiness to that Settlement, & I think threatens its dessolution. Mr. Mead's Application to me is no doubt owing to his non-acquaintance with the late regulations and Appointments in the Militia. I have shewn it to the Brigadier who desires me to forward it to you.

The Treaty had not began a few days ago, the Commiss'rs were at Detroit waiting for the Indians who were assembling fast at Sandusky.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your very Obed't Serv't,
PRESLEY NEVILL, *B. In.*

THOS. MIFFLIN, Esq., Gov'r of Pennsyl'a.

DAVID MEAD TO GEN. NEVILLE.

CUSSEWAUGA, *July 11th, 1793.*

SIR:—We are Just informed that the Federal troops at this Station have Orders to March in a few Days down the Ohio; of Course the Post will be evacuated and the settlement of the Country much Discouraged.

Therefore we request that you will be pleased to Order a Sergeant's Command of State troops to support the Post, But should it not be in your Power to grant us any relief, we wish

you to let us know by the first Opportunity what Prospects we can have, and also that you forward the Inclosed letter without Delay.

I am, in behalf of the Inhabitants,
Your most obedient and
very Humble Servant,
DAVID MEAD.

Col. NEVILL.

GEN. JOHN WILKINS TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, 9th Aug't, 1793.

SIR :—I had the honor of yours of the 2d Instant. The opinion you require from me I will give with the utmost satisfaction.

The company raised for the defence of this county is no more than adequate to the defence of that part of the country east of the Allegheny & Ohio rivers, which exposes a frontier of sixty miles. We have no settlements on the west side Allegheny & Ohio rivers, but Mead's settlement on Cussawago, which is removed above one hundred miles from the upper part of the frontier above described. The company is now distributed in very small parties along the river, to give confidence to the people & afford a protection to all alike. I consider that should a peace not take place, they would be but a feeble defence to our long & dispersed frontier. The settlement at Cussawago is very much exposed, being greatly removed from any other settlement, therefore much more difficult to protect. From these reasons, Sir, I offer, as my opinion, that the general safety of Allegheny will not permit a draft to be made from the company allotted for its defence for the purpose of supporting the post, from which the party of Continental troops is withdrawn.

It is very much to be wished that the Cussawago inhabitants could be protected, as their settlement, tho' now but small, would, if supported, soon rise into consequence. There is no way that seems likely to afford them protection, but a draft from the militia—& yet it would appear hard to drag militia so far, especially as it will require as many men for the guard as the whole settlement consists of. I think the number necessary to send would be an officer & twenty-five men, to be safe themselves, & afford protection to the inhabitants.

I am, Sir, with the utmost respect,
your most obt. Hum. servant,
JNO. WILKINS, JR.
THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esq'r, Governor of Pennsylvania.

GEN. HENRY TAYLOR TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WASHINGTON COUNTY, 10th August, 1793.

SIR:—Your Excellency's letter to Gen'l John Minor & me, together with a Copy of his Excellency the Governor of Virginia letter to you, came to hand. Desiring that the Militia now in Actual Service, belonging to this County, might be better Arranged for the Defence of both States, we accordingly met and compared Sentiment with Col. Biggs, the Commanding Officer of Ohio County, and we Agreed to Send a Lieutenant & 20 men to the Block House at the mouth of Yellow Creek, Capt. Crawford & the Remainder of his men, to be Posted on fish Creek. I hope that this Arrangement will be Satisfactory to you and also to the Governor of Virginia. Col. Biggs Said he could not make any alterations in there Posts, as he had not Received any instructions from the State of Virginia, but was well contented with the arrangement we made, and said as Soon as he Received orders, would compare Sentiment with us, and make it convenient for the Protection of the frontier inhabitants of both States.

I have the Honour to be,
your Excellency's Humble Serv't,
HENRY TAYLOR,
B. G'l.

Excellency THOS. MIFFLIN.

GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR
MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
September 3d, 1793.

SIR:—I am instructed by the President of the United States to state to your Excellency, that information has this day been received by express, that notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Commissioners, the pacific overtures to the hostile Indians north of the Ohio have been rendered abortive by their insisting upon the Ohio as the boundary.

That the Commissioners arrived at the mouth of Detroit River on the 21st of July, and waited there until the 17th ultimo, when having received the definitive answer of the Indians, the Commissioners sailed for Fort Erie where they arrived the 23d ultimo.

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

The Commissioners were not even admitted to an interview with the body of the hostile Indians, but the communications were carried on by deputations from them.

It appears the tribes most determined for war are the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanees and Miamis; although it is said a considerable proportion of these were for peace.

It is understood that the Six Nations, including Captain Brandt and his Mohocks, strongly urged the hostile Indians to make peace with the United States.

Affairs being thus circumstanced it is probable that the sword only can afford ample protection to the frontiers.

It is understood that the militia embodied on the frontiers of Pennsylvania under your orders together with the patroles called scouts, are deemed sufficient for their defence. But it may be proper to caution the people immediately that every measure necessary to guard against surprize should be adopted.

I am, Sir, with great respect,
Your obedient Servant,

H. KNOX.

His Excellency Governor MIFFLIN.

GEN. JOHN GIBSON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, Sept'r 20th, 1793.

DEAR SIR:—Inclosed is a Copy of a letter from the commanding officer at Fort Franklin to Colo. Clark, the commanding officer at this place, with a speech delivered by the Cornplanter's nephew who was sent by the Cornplanter to Fort Franklin. As it contains very disagreeable news, I thought it my duty to transmit it to you. I shall take such steps as, with the opinion of the principal Officers and Gentlemen may be thought Best for the protection of the Frontiers. As the Express is waiting I have only time to add, that I have the honor to be, with respect,

Dear Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,
JNO. GIBSON.

CHARLES CAMPBELL TO GEN. HARMAR.

BLACK LICK, Oct'b'r 5th, 1793.

SIR:—I Received your Letter of the fifth of September, 1793 with the Inclosed Copies Mentioned in s'd Letter; the fronteers

h alarmed By the Information the Received By an
inner, Sent by Cornplanter, of a Party of Indians being,
some Part of the frooneers. On the Alarm a Number
abitants of the County Meat, And It Was Unanimously
at there Should be one Company of Men Raised and
on the frooneers; for the Militia Pay It was Likewise
Aproved of By General John Gibson, and In Hopes of It Being
Aproved of By the Governor. General Jack and Myself gave
the Officers the Instructions, and the Men Is Now on Duty whitch
Seemeth to Quiet the Minds of the People on the frooneers.

I am, Sir,
your Obedient Humble Serv't,
CHAS. CAMPBELL,

Br. Inspector of West. County.

Jos. HARMAR, Adj. General of the State of Pennsylvania.

GEN. JOHN GIBSON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, Oc'tr 5th, 1793.

SIR:—The Brigadier General and Inspector of Allegheny, have informed me that no commissions have been rece'd for the officers of the Company of artillery, and requested me to write to your Excellency, and inform you that they were included in the Gen'l Return, as they have Been at a very considerable Expense in procuring their Uniform, and are Compleatly organized agreeable to Law. I hope nothing may have happened to prevent their obtaining commissions.

Since my last nothing Material has happened; should any thing occur, I shall give you the Earliest information.

I am, with respect,
your Excellency's most oo'd't humble Serv't,
JNO. GIBSON.

The names of the officers are, George Robinson, Cap't; James Kerwan, 1st Lieut.; Jno. Hannah, 2d Lieut.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esq., Governor of Pennsylvania.

CAPT. JOHN WOODSIDE TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PHILADELPHIA, October 23rd, 1793.

SIR:—I called at Gen'l Proctor's quarters this morning with the inclosed, but finding that Gentlemen out of town, I do myself the honor to forward it directly to you Sir, least "embarrass-

ments" should arise from a want of timely information of the present circumstances in which the 6th Comp'y of artillery stands.

I beg leave, Sir, to repeat my desire to pay the most respectful attention to your opinion, and however I may differ as to the expediency of Lieut. Thompson's being "permitted to continue till the next day of relief," taking into consideration his conduct, which as an officer, I am willing to undertake to prove, is very reprehensible, yet as I believe, Sir, that your opinion is founded upon a desire to avoid an encrease of the troubles with which, under the present awful dispensation of divine Providence, our City is afflicted, I readily acquiesce in the measure.

Had it not been from these considerations, I should never have consented to let any of my Officers relieve Lieut. Thompson, unless the orders had been immediate and peremptory, and he put under arrest. I would attribute his not being arrested immediately, to that delicacy which his case, as just losing his wife, would point out—though it is to be lamented, that was but a compliment to your own feelings.

If we are not ordered to march, and are induced, nevertheless, out of respectful attention to our Colo., as commander-in-chief of the militia and Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, to relieve the Guard at Fort Mifflin, out of our regular tour of duty; that irregularity, occasioned by the whim & folly, to say the least, of a Gentlemen, of whom I would never have expected such treatment as an Officer. It is expected that the company will not meet with any difficulty in receiving the pay to which they will be Justly entitled, for the performance of an extra or rather an extended tour of duty, for as Capt. of the 6th Comp'y of Artillery, I can never relinquish the idea of our being actually in our proper tour. We are now under orders, these orders have been obeyed on my part, as far as circumstances would justify; these circumstances, as they relate to the object immediately demanding attention, having been reported, I only wait for orders to continue the tour a week longer. As soldiers, though called out only for a week's tour, yet if our Commanding Officer from the exigency of affairs, finds it necessary to extend the time as much longer as the emergency should continue, we are to obey; but if we volunteer, especially under our peculiar circumstances, we insist upon assurances that every reasonable demand which has been suggested may be fully complied with.

I am, Sir, with much respect,

Your Obed't humble Serv't,

JNO. WOODSIDE,

Capt. 6th Comp'y Art'y.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esq'r., Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, &c.

GEN. JOHN GIBSON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, Nov'r 15th, 1793.

DEAR SIR:—The Brigadier Generals of the Counties of Westmorland, Washington and Allegeny have called on Me, and have Shewn me the Circular letter from your Excellency to them, and have requested my opinion respecting the Continuance of the Six Months' men now in Service.

I have given it as my Opinion that they ought to be continued at least until the result of the present Expedition under Gen'l Wayne is known, or until the frost and Snow sets in, as after that time very little danger is to be apprehended from the Indians.

I am with great Esteem, Dear Sir,
Your most obd't Serv't,
JNO. GIBSON.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, Governor of the State Pens'a.

GEN. HENRY TAYLOR TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, 14th Nov'r, 1793.

D'R S'R—Your letter of the 28th October came to hand three days Since, Requiring me to make report whether there exists any reasonable cause for continuing in Service the Company Stationed for the Defence of Washington County. In Order to Compare Sentiment with General Gibson, I came to this place last night, and after consulting with him and Genral Wilkins, Agree that it is our Oppinions that the Said Company ought to be kept in Service untill the fate of the western Armie be known, or untill the Meeting of the Genral Assemble.

I am, D'r s'r,
Your most Obedient Serv't,
HENRY TAYLOR,
B. G. W. M.

Excellency THOS. MIFFLIN.

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

GEN. WILLIAM JACK TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

GREENSBURGH, 19 Nov'r, 1793.

SIR:—I had the honour to write your Excellency by post before last, respecting the additional comp'y under Cap't Murray which has been for some time stationed on the fronteers of this County, and at the same time inclosed a copy of my first letter on the same subject. In answer more particularly to your letter of the 28 ult., I beg leave to acquaint you, that having consulted with General Gibson, and with several Militia officers and respectable Characters of this County, it is my opinion that there is a sufficient reasonable cause for continuing in service the company raised by Law, for the defence of this County, either untill the fate of the Expedition of General Wayne is known to be successful, or untill the Winter sets in, so as to render any danger from the Incursions of the Savages unlikely, by reason of the severity of the Weather.

I am, Sir, your most ob't Serv't,
WM. JACK.

His Exe'y Governor MIFFLIN.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO SECRETARY OF WAR.

PHIL'A, 28th Feb., 1794.

SIR:—The readiness with which the Gen'l Gove't has hitherto aided the defensive measures of Pen'a, induces me to request the loan of 4 Brass nine Pounders, to be employed in the defence of our Frontiers; and I engage that they shall be returned when required.

I am, with respect, Sir,
Y'r most obed. Ser.,
THOS. MIFFLIN.

To H. KNOX, Esq., Sec'y at War.

CIRCULAR TO THE LIEUTENANTS AND ENSIGNS OF
THE THREE DEFENSIVE COMPANIES.

PHILADELPHIA, March 1st, 1794.

SIR:—Inclosed I Send you a Copy of an Act of the General Assembly, passed on the 28th ulto., and providing among other

things for the defence of the Frontiers; and a Commission, by which you are appointed of the Company, to be employed in protecting the county of _____ under the command of Captain _____.

You will be pleased to apply immediately to Captain _____ for instructions to raise your compliment of non-commissioned officers and men; and I rely upon your rendering all the assistance in your power in that respect, as well as upon your zeal and spirit in executing the other duties of your Commission.

I am, Sir, Your most obed't Serv't,

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

Sam'l Murphey, Lieut. Alleg.

James Patterson, Ens. do.

Stephen McHuffy, Ens. Westm'd.

GEN. KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR
MIFFLIN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *May 19th, 1794.*

SIR:—I am instructed by the President of the United States to transmit to your Excellency, the Act herein enclosed, entitled "An act directing a detachment from the militia of the United States."

In pursuance of this law, the President desires that you will take effectual measures, as soon as may be, to organize, arm, and equip according to law, and hold in readiness to march at a moment's warning, ten thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight of the militia of the State of Pennsylvania, officers included.

The said officers to be either the present militia officers, or others at the option of the Constitutional authority in your State.

But it will be necessary that the organization of the said Corps be conformable to the act passed the 8th of May, 1792, entitled, "An act to provide more effectually for the national defence, by establishing an uniform militia throughout the United States."

The President deems it expedient to authorise your Excellency to accept any independent corps of cavalry, artillery, or infantry, as part of the aforesaid detachment of ten thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight militia, Provided they shall voluntarily engage as corps in the service.

The term of service and allowances to the detachment are mentioned generally by the fourth section of the said act. But it is conceived proper that the pay, rations, and forage, be more precisely specified as follows, to wit:

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

<i>Rank.</i>	<i>Monthly pay. Dollars.</i>	<i>Rations per Day.</i>	<i>Forage per Month. Dollars.</i>
Major General,	One hundred sixty-six,	Fifteen, Twenty.	
Brigadier General,	One hundred and four,	Twelve, Sixteen.	
Lieut. Col. Commandant,	Seventy-five,	Six, Twelve.	
Major,	Fifty,	Four, Ten.	
Captain,	Forty,	Three, Ten.	
Lieutenant,	Twenty-six,	Two, Six. { ^{Cavalry.}	
Cornet,	Twenty,	Two, Six.	
Ensign,	Twenty,	Two.	
Surgeon,	Forty-five,	Three, Ten.	
Surgeon's Mate,	Thirty,	Two, Six.	
Sergeant Major,	Seven,	One.	
Quarter Master Sergeant,	Seven,	One.	
Sergeant,	Six,	One.	
Corporal,	Five,	One.	
Senior Musician,	Six,	One.	
Musicians,	Four,	One.	
Privates,	Three,	One.	

The ration of provisions to consist of one pound of beef, or three-quarters of a pound of pork; one pound of bread or flour; half a jill of rum, brandy, or whiskey, or the value thereof at the contract price, where the same shall become due; and at the rate of one quart of salt, two quarts of vinegar, two pounds of soap, and one pound of candles to every hundred rations.

It is the earnest desire of the President that your Excellency would immediately take the most effectual means that the whole of the militia of Pennsylvania not comprised within the foregoing requisition, be armed and equipped according to law.

The people of the United States increasing rapidly in wealth, population, and importance among the nations, ought not to indulge the expectation of being exempt from those agitations and dangers, which seem inseparable from the human character. But it is our highest duty that we should be in a perfect condition to preserve and defend ourselves against every injury to which we may be liable as a nation.

The President therefore hopes for a prompt and universal compliance with the law, as a measure upon which, under the protection of Heaven, our freedom and security may depend.

It is requested that you would be pleased to transmit, as early as may be, the information of the measures which may be

adopted in the State of Pennsylvania, in consequence of this Letter.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's Most obedient servant,

HENRY KNOX,

Secretary of War,

His Excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania.

QUOTA OF THE SEVERAL BRIGADES OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Roll designating the Quota of the several Brigades of Pennsylvania, towards forming a Detachment of 10,768 Militia, Officers included, agreeably to the requisition of the President of the United States, contained in a Letter from the Secretary at War, dated the 19th of May, 1794.

[Commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates, in due proportions.]

I. DIVISION—1. Maj. General Stewart.

1. Brigade—City of Philadelphia, 1. Brig. Gen.	
Proctor	885
2. Brigade—County of Philadelphia	818

II. DIVISION:

1. Brigade—County of Bucks, 2. Brig. Gen. Murray	547
2. Brigade—County of Montgomery	515

III. DIVISION:

1. Brigade—County of Chester	622
2. Brigade—County of Delaware	262

IV. DIVISION—2. Maj. Gen. Hand.

1. Brigade—County of Lancaster	756
2. Brigade—County of York, 3. Brig. Gen. Miller	823

V. DIVISION:

1. Brigade—County of Berks.	651
2. Brigade—County of Dauphin, 4. Brig. Gen. Hanna	410

VI. DIVISION—3. Maj. Gen. Irvine.

1. Brigade—County of Cumberland	456
2. Brigade—County of Franklin, 5. Brig. Gen. Chambers	421

VII. DIVISION:

1. Brigade—County of Northampton	555
2. Brigade—County of Northumberland, 6. Brig. Gen. Wilson	456
3. Brigade—County of Luzerne	166

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

VIII. DIVISION:

1. Brigade—County of Bedford	381
2. Brigade—County of Huntingdon	203
3. Brigade—County of Mifflin	291
IX. DIVISION—4. Maj. Gen. Gibson.	
1. Brigade—County of Westmoreland	410
2. Brigade—County of Washington, except the townships of Green, Cumberland, Franklin, Morgan and East Bethlehem	299
3. Brigade—Townships of Green, Cumberland, Franklin, Morgan and East Bethlehem in the county of Washington	299
4. Brigade—County of Fayette, 7. Brig. Gen. Douglass	339
5. Brigade—County of Allegheny, 8. Brig. Gen. Wilkins	297
	10,756
Major Generals	4
Brigadier Generals	8
	10,768

The foregoing detachment to be formed, and to be in readiness to march at a moment's warning, according to the following Divisions:

I. DIVISION—Maj. Gen. Stewart.

1. Brigade—Brig. Gen. Proctor.	
City of Philadelphia	885
County of Philadelphia	818
County of Delaware	262
	1,910
2. Brigade—Brig. Gen. Murray.	
County of Chester	622
County of Montgomery	515
County of Bucks	548
	1,685

II. DIVISION—Maj. Gen. Hand.

1. Brigade—Brig. Gen. Miller.	
County of York	822
County of Lancaster	756
	1,578
2. Brigade—Brig. Gen. Hanna.	
County of Berks	651
County of Dauphin	410
County of Northampton	555
	1,616

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

643

III. DIVISION—Maj. Gen. Irvine.

1. Brigade—Brig. Gen. Chambers.	
County of Franklin	421
County of Cumberland	456
County of Bedford	331
	— 1,208
2 Brigade—Brig. Gen. Wilson.	
County of Huntingdon	203
County of Mifflin	291
County of Northumberland	456
County of Luzerne	166
	— 1,116

IV. DIVISION—Maj. Gen. Gibson.

1. Brigade—Brig. Gen. Douglass.	
County of Washington	598
County of Fayette	889
	— 987
2. Brigade—Brig. Gen. Wilkins.	
County of West Westmoreland	410
County of Allegheny	297
	— 707

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN. JOHN PATTON.**PHILADELPHIA, 4th July, 1794.**

SIR:—On the receipt of your letter of the 22d ult'o, I made an application to the Sec. at War for a supply of arms and ammunition, (as you will perceive by the enclosed copy of my application,) for the defence of our frontiers; and I have the pleasure to inform you, that I shall be able in the course of a few days to send forward a proportional quantity for the use of Mifflin County.

I thank you for your communication, and shall be happy to receive from you any important information that may, from time to time, occur.

I am, Sir,

Your most Obed. Serv.,

THOS. MIFFLIN.

To Maj'r Gen'l JOHN PATTON.

GEN. JOHN BRATTON TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

MIFFLIN COUNTY, July 4th, 1794.

SIR:—The situation of our Country induces me to trouble you at this time. Our Brigade Inspector, Mr. Nisbet, is removed out of the County, or gone on business, that it is uncertain when he will return or whether he will continue to act in that business. On account of his Absence there is no person to arange the Business of the Militia of this County. The Critical situation of our public business has induced a number of the principle Characters of our County to request me to state this matter to the Governour that he may take such measures as he may think necessary. It appears to us to reflect on the Character of our County that we are the only part of the State that is not making some preparation to oppose the enemies of our Country.

JNO. BRATTON.

A. J. DALLAS, Sec'y.

WM. BROWN TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

LEWIS TOWN, July 5th, 1794.

SIR:—At the particular Request of a number of Respectable Characters of this county, we take the Liberty of troubling your Excellency with this. From all appearances we have every reason to believe that the Indians will be troublesome on the Frontiers of this and the Neighbouring County, from which Circumstances it's necessary that the Militia should be arranged & put in some situation of Defence, as yet there is not anything done. Mr. Nisbet, the Brigade Inspector, has left the County some time ago, and it's generally believed that he never will return to the Duties of his Office. From this circumstance we beg that some Relief may be granted us, by appointing some other Person to attend to that Business. Jno. Culbertson, Esquire, of this Place, is a respectable Character, adequate to the Duty of the office of Brigade Inspector, and would give a general Satisfaction to the County should he be appointed.

General Bratton and Andrew Gregg, Esq'r, have wrote to Mr. Dallas, your Secretary on that Subject.

We have the Honor to be, Sir,

Your most Hb'e & Obt. Servants,

WM. BROWN.

SAM'L EDMISTON.

His Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN.

GOVERNOR MIFFLIN TO GEN JOHN PATTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 11th July, 1794.

SIR:—I have procured a supply of Arms and Ammunition which will be immediately forwarded by Colo. Clement Biddle, in due porportions to the Brigade Inspectors of Luzerne, North-umberland, Mifflin & Huntingdon. I have, likewise, authorised those Officers to make Competent drafts from the Militia of their respective Brigades, to repel any Actual or threatened invasion or attack. And it only remains to request that you will give all the assistance in your power to the Brigadier Generals and Brigade Inspectors within your division, for the purpose of insuring the protection and defence of our fellow Citizens, who are exposed to the annoyance of the Indians.

I am, with great esteem, Sir,
Your most Obed't h'ble Serv't,

THOS. MIFFLIN.

To JOHN PATTON, Esq'r., Major Gen'l of the Militia, &c.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO GENERAL KNOX.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
PHILA., 11th July, 1794.

SIR:—In Obedience to the directions of the Governor, I have inclosed an Extract from a letter, which he has received from General Wilkins, dated the 4th instant, Stating more particularly, than his former communication, the Circumstances that attended the Murder committed by Robertson on an Indian at Fort Franklin.

I am, Sir,
Your most Obed't h'ble Serv't,
A. J. DALLAS.
Sec'y of the Commonwealth.

To HENRY KNOX, Esq'r, Secretary at War.

SECRETARY DALLAS TO COL. JOSIAH CRAWFORD.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
PHIL'A, 11th July, 1794.

SIR:—I have receiv'd your Letter of the 28th ult'o, and have submitted its contents to the consideration of the Governor,

who is of opinion that the drafts of Militia to form the Detachment under the President's requisition, of the 19th of May last, ought to commence with the first class in the present arrangement. This opinion is conformable, I believe, to the general practice, and appears to be the only one that can introduce an uniform and satisfactory rule.

The Commissions, which your several returns call for, have been made out, and will be sent to you, by the first favourable opportunity.

I am, with great esteem, Sir,

Your most obed't Serv't,

A. J. DALLAS, *Secretary.*

To JOSIAH CRAWFORD, Esq'r, Brigade Inspector of Franklin.

JUDGE ADDISON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

WASHINGTON, 1st July, 1786.

SIR:—By last post I received yours of 19th ulto, which, stating a general report and belief that the recent hostilities committed by the Indians on our western frontier, have been occasioned by previous outrages offered to some of their peaceable parties, directs me to institute an enquiry on this subject, and, if any lawless aggressions appear, to proceed against them in the proper judicial forms.

On the 8th ult'o, in the charge to the Grand Jury of Westmoreland county, where the persons who fired at the Indians on the Allegheny river, are supposed to live, and where a detection of the facts was most to be expected, I pointed out, in the strongest manner I could, the dangerous tendency of such outrages, and the obligations on the jurors to disclose any knowledge they might have of this transaction, or any of its circumstances. Next day I took the deposition of an inhabitant of that county who was in the vicinity at the time of the outrage. Before leaving that court, I requested Judge Barr, who lives nearest to the frontiers, to collect such depositions as he could touching this affair, and transmit them to me; and I sent to Gen'l Gibson requesting he would, as soon as possible, forward to me such information as he might receive, whether the wounded boy was alive or dead. The wounded woman, I understood, was out of danger.

I have delayed issuing any warrant in expectation of hearing from Mr. Barr and Gen'l Gibson, which I have not yet done. In the same expectation I shall delay, till the return of this post

from Pittsburgh. After that, if I hear nothing of the Death of the boy, and get no further information as to the perpetrators of the mischief, I shall issue a warrant as for a wounding against the persons whom there is ground to suspect from the deposition already taken.

So far as I could discover the disposition of the people, there is a very general resentment against this offence.

I am, with great respect, Sir,
Your most obed. Serv't,

ALEX. ADDISON.

The Governor.

WILLIAM BROWN TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

KISHACOQUILLIS VALLEY,

July 28th, 1795.

To his Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, Esquire, Governor of Pennsylvania:

SIR:—At the Request of an Unfortunate Woman who has had her Husband taken prisoner by the Indians on the fifth day of June near French Creek, in the party that were along with Capt. Wm. Power Surveying, and as we understand that there will be a Treaty held by General Wayne some time shortly with the Indians, I have taken the liberty to solicit your Excellency to write to General Wayne, or any other Person you may think proper, in order to try if he may be brought in Either to the place where the Treaty may hold or else where. The man's Name is James Thompson, a Respectable man of Kishacoquillis Valley, Mifflin County. If you think proper to Interfere in this business, Your Compliance will be Gratefully Acknowledged by a Number of the most Respectable people in this part of the Country. And by Your Sincere friend.

And Obliged Servant,
WM. BROWN.

JUDGE ADDISON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, 11th Sept'r, 1795.

SIR:—One of the persons charged with shooting the Indians on the Allegheny river, being taken on a warrant which I issued against him and the others, made his escape from the Sheriff of Westmoreland county. Two witnesses from that county, whom I recognised or subpoenaed, attended here this court, but we

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

could not prove the death of the Boy, I recognized them to appear next court. It will, I think, be necessary that the father of the boy or some other Indian present at the murder be sent for. I submit it to you, therefore, whether it will not be proper to direct some person here at the expence of the State to procure the attendance of the father or some other Indian at the next Court to the Grand Jury, & if the offenders be then in custody to the traverse jury.

If you approve this, I conceive General Wilkins will be the most proper person to conduct this part of the business.

I am, Sir, with great respect,

Your most obed. Serv't,

ALEX. ADDISON.

Governor of Pennsylvania.

JUDGE ADDISON TO SECRETARY DALLAS.

WASHINGTON, 2d March, 1796.

DEAR SIR:—I formerly wrote to the Governor respecting the sale of the residue of the lots of the town at the mouth of Beaver and the residue of the reserved tract there. I do think that there is a necessity for the sale as early as possible in the spring, and that as good a price will be given then as ought to be expected, or will probably be got at any future period within the compass of a proper prosecution of the plan. I think the lots will now sell high. I think the sale ought to be on the ground: those who intend to be settlers will go there; those who intend to speculate may go or send there. I am confident that this also will be found true and proper.

I do not know whether the land be all surveyed, and I believe not; it ought to be laid out in small lots near the town and in larger back from it to the extent of the reservation. If a clause of settlement be annexed there ought to be a special method pointed out to ascertain the forfeiture and conclude the purchaser.

The last sale was in this town that was not altogether right, as the land is not in this county. Yet reasons, perhaps true, and if true, sufficient were given for not selling at Pittsburgh. The people of Pittsburgh, it was said disliked the establishment, and would have thwarted the progress of the sale and settlement of the town. They had engrossed almost all the lots in the reserved tract opposite to Pittsburgh and made use of that as an argument to remove the seat of justice from that place into Pittsburgh, and so prevented any town there. They might have been disposed to do the same thing at McIntosh.

The Commissioners for laying out the town and lots, laid out at McIntosh, that is at the mouth of Beaver, were scattered, one in Pittsburgh, one in Westmoreland and one in Fayette, and the surveyor was in Washington. The consequence was they never met, and the surveyor after attending on several appointments, was obliged to lay out the lots alone. The blame of this was laid on the Pittsburgh Commissioner. I would recommend Matthew Ritchie, David Redick and Daniel Leet, the two first of this town and the last near it, as Commissioners to lay out and to sell the lots, and if the law for Greene county does not alter the day of next June courts, would suggest the last Monday of May as the time of sale on the reserved tract itself, & to continue from day to-day.

You wanted a lot at the last sale. If you should want one now, write to me, point out the lot and the highest price. I wish you would send me a plan of the town and out lots and reserved tract. It would do for the Commissioners. I wish you would accompany it with a list of the purchasers & the numbers purchased & the prices, that will also do for the Commissioners. But send me by post as soon as possible a list of such purchasers as have not taken out patents for their lots (if there be any such) with the numbers & prices. Purchases would be made of them perhaps.

Yours sincerely,

ALEX'R ADDISON.

JUDGE ADDISON TO GOVERNOR MIFFLIN.

PITTSBURGH, 11th March, 1796.

SIR:—At the court this week an application was again made for the discharge of the person taken for killing the Indian boy, on the Allegheny river. But on a statement of the circumstances rendering it impossible to proceed with the prosecution, it was not pressed. It will be impossible, with any decency, that this motion should be restrained or resisted any longer, and I hope measures will be taken to have Indians here by the next Court to prove the death.

Let me again suggest to you the necessity of as early a sale as possible of the residue of the lots and reserved tract at the mouth of Beaver creek. In my opinion the sale ought to be in the end of May next. If not sold soon the lots and land will be occupied by persons without title. The sale ought to be on the ground itself.

FRONTIER DEFENCE.

ESTIMATED EXPENSES OF 72 MILITIA MEN.

20 men on the East Side of Allegheny River.	
32 do. on the frontier extending from up the Allegheny to Ohio County, in Virginia.	
20 do. on the frontier between the settlements of Ohio & Monongalia Counties, in Virginia.	
72 men at 75s.	£270 00 a month.
Contingent expenses	30 00 do.
	£300 00
for 4 months	4
	£1,200 00
350 Stands of arms, at 55s.	687 10
Ammunition & carriage	312 10
	£2,200 00

Power to Lieutenants to have a sufficient number of the militia draughted near the frontiers, & in readiness to march in case of an alarm given by the Spies, & to keep them the time necessary.

26 Allegheny; 26 Washington; 20 Westmoreland;—72.

I N D E X.

[ABBREVIATIONS.—*Biog.*, biographical; *B. F.*, Braddock's Fields; *Col.*, Colonel; *Clement Biddle*; *commiss.*, commissioners; *Gen. K.*, General Knox; *Gov. M.*, Governor Mifflin; *Judge A.*, Judge Addison; *Sec. D.*, Secretary Dallas; *Sec. H.*, Secretary Hamilton; *Prest. W.*, President Washington.]

A.

	PAGE.
ACTION of the Assembly relative to defence of the frontiers	584
Addison, Alexander, biog. sketch of	30
charge of, to grand jury of Allegheny county	201
deposition of	328
reply of grand jury to charge of	209
letters from, to—	
Gov. M., relative to the Prest. Proclamation	30
in reply to circular of	50
his opinion of the collectors	53
Sec. D., to forward instructions to the attorneys for the State,	62
Gov. M., enclosing a copy of his charge	222
H. H. Brackenridge on the subject of robbing the mail	438
Sec. D., concerning "constitutional resistance"	446
Gov. M., relative to granting indiscriminate pardons	454
John Hall, concerning the commissions of certain justices	458
Gov. M., concerning the murder of Indians	646, 647, 649, 650
letters to, from—	
Sec. D., relative to publication of his letters	54
Judge Turner, rel. to recognizances	446, 449
Mr. Rawle, relative to certain insurgents	448
relative to the trial of the insurgents	449
relative to Dorsey and Bradford	453
relative to certain recognizances	397
relative to examination of Dr. Robinson and others . .	398
Gen. Henry Lee, relative to support of the troops	398
Daniel Morgan, requesting advice from to act against the insurgents	418
Mr. Rawle, concerning certain offenders	420
respecting recognizances	445, 453
Address of General Stewart to the militia of Philadelphia	308
citizens of Harrisburg to Prest. W.	329
Carlisle to Prest. W.	344
General Smith to the Maryland troops	380
the Senate to Prest. W	393
House of Representatives to Prest. W.	404
annual, of the Governor of Pennsylvania	409
of the Senate of Pennsylvania to Gov. M.	418

INDEX.

	PAGE.
Adlum, John, letter to Gov. M., relative to treaty at New Town	500
Alexander, Major John, Brigade Inspector, Cumberland county, to Gov. M.	272
report to General Harmar, relative to Cumberland county militia	272
Allegheny county, committee of correspondence for	26
letter from James Brison to Gov. M., relative to prosecu- tion of offenders in	38
letter from Sec. D., relative to a riot in	65
circular to President Judges, relative to riot in	66
letter from Sec. D., to Gen. K., relative to measures taken to suppress riotous proceedings in	66
Gov. M.'s opinion of the riots in	88
committee of conference from	155
Judge A.'s charge to the grand jury of	201
reply of grand jury to Judge A.'s charge	209
Allegiance, notice of receiving oaths of	377
Alliance, Captain, address of	459
Arms, state of the	602
Army, on their return, route of	380
Assembly, Gov. M.'s special message to	209
relative to defects in the militia law	203
action of, to suppress the insurrection in Western coun- ties	275
resolutions of, relative to Indians on the western frontiers	527
resolution of, February 23, 1790	527
action of the, relative to defense of the frontiers	584
Attorney General Ingersoll, opinions of, on militia law . . .	423, 439
B.	
BAIRD, ABSALOM, relative to commission of the peace to . . .	456
letters from—	
Committee of Holliday's Cove	589, 594
Matthew Ritchie	592
Captain Samuel Brady, relative to spies	596
Committee of Holliday's Cove, relative to station at Yel- low creek and Holliday's Cove	599
Thomas Ryerson, relative to an attack by Indians on es- cort	600
Col. Shepherd, relative to Indian depredations	603
Major McCully, relative to concentrating troops of . . .	606
Lieut. Wm. Crawford, relative to calling in the militia .	613
Lieut. Wm. Crawford, relative to distressed situation of the frontiers	616
Thomas Ryerson, relative to the expiration of the levies	620
John Moore, requesting the militia to be sent forward .	621
Bayard, Andrew, to Paymaster Dallas, relative to pay of the militia	357

INDEX.

655

	PAGE.
Bear's Oil, Indian chief, speech of	518
Beaver, town at the mouth of, sale of lots at	648
Bedford, encampment at	360
description of	360
Berks county, troops of, to assemble at Reading	239
Berryhill, Alex., biog. sketch of	330
Biddle, Col. Clement, Quartermaster General Pennsylvania	
Militia, biog. sketch of	257
orders of	257
letters to, from—	
General Wilkins, concerning the feeling in the Western	
counties	69
expressing fears of a civil war	222
Major John Irwin, relative to arms and ammunition	558
relative to arms, &c	561
William Rippey, relative to transportation of stores	585
Major McCully, relative to arms and ammunition	592
relative to arms	594
relative to arms and camp equipage	597
relative to an appointment in the rifle corps	602
Colonel John Irwin, relative to muster rolls and inspection	
returns	608
Major McCully, relative to rifles furnished	604
relative to rifles	606
relative to arms destroyed	613
Col. Wilkins relative to the accounts of the militia	623, 624, 625
letters from, to—	
Gov. M., relative to pay of troops at Fort Mifflin	257
requesting a warrant	270
Sec. D., respecting the military	282
Gov. M., relative to camp equipage	321
Gov. M., relative to appointment of Dr. Forrest	325
relative to rations	580
recommends Colonel Wilkins to Gov. M.	621
Big Sky, Onondago chief, Colonel Proctor dines with	497
Bingham, William, biog. sketch of	417
Bissell, Lieutenant Daniel, Sec. H., to Gov. M., requesting an	
escort of militia to	271
instruction relative to furnishing escorts to	274
Black Chief, present at the Squawkey Hill council	472
message of Cornplanter to	474
Blakeney, Col., officer of the day in the march of the insurgents	11
Blaine, Colonel Ephraim, shot at	258
Blanket, Captain, address of	458
Bombaugh, Conrad, biog. sketch of	330
Bowman, Captain Ebenezer, letter from Gov. M., directing	
him to remain at Sunbury	342
Brackenridge, Hugh H., biog. sketch of	119

INDEX.

	PAGE.
Brackenridge, Hugh H.—	
course of	10
description of feeling in western counties	10
takes part at meeting at P. F	12
appointed by P. meeting to confer with assemblage at B. F	68
letter to Tench Coxe, with his opinion of the opposition in the western counties	119
to Tench Coxe, relative to change in sentiments in the western counties	254
to Gov. M., relative to copy of resolutions	331
to the army, relative to explanation of	359
from Judge A., on the subject of robbing the mail	428
Bradcock's Field , place of assembling the militia	12
circular of western insurgents to assemble at	67
place of annual brigade muster	67
committee appointed at Pittsburgh meeting to confer with assemblage at	68
Bradford, David , attends Mingo Creek meeting	10
takes possession of the Pittsburgh mail	10
biog. sketch of	96
issues circular to officers of the militia	10, 67
proposes to attack the garrison at Pittsburgh	11
General of the insurgents forces	11
signs the test of submission	13
delegate from Washington county to the Pittsburgh meeting, 1791	16
appointed at Pittsburgh meeting, 1792, to draw up re- monstrance to Congress	25
letter of the inhabitants of Monangahela county, Va . .	95
declaration of	251
to Gov. M., relative to his conduct	333
Bradford, Wm. , appointed commrs. to western counties . .	12, 116
biog. sketch of	302
instructions to	116
Bradley, Nathaniel , delegate from Fayette county to Pitts- burgh meeting, 1791	16
Brady, Capt. Samuel , letter to Col. Baird relative to spies .	596
Brandt, Capt. , Chief of the Six Nations, hostility of . . .	492
Bratton, Gen. John , to Sec. D., relative to militia affairs in Mifflin county	644
Brigade inspectors, Gov. M.'s directions to	240
majors of Chester county, minutes of meeting of	253
Brison, James , exiled by the insurgents	12
letter to Gov. M., relative to proceeding in case of riot .	38
Brodhead, Col. Daniel , expedition against the Indians . .	483
Brown, John , Paymaster, letter to Gov. M., relative to monthly account	370

INDEX.

657

	PAGE.
M rown, Wm., to Gov. M-, relative to state of affairs in Mifflin county	644
to Gov. M., relative to a prisoner among the Indians	647
R ownsville, (Redstone Old Fort,) meeting of standing committee at	179
T ryson, Col. Samuel, from Andrew Gregg, account of Indian depredations on Crooked creek	559
T ucks county, report of brigade inspector of	237
troops of, to assemble at Reading	239
officers of, to Sec. D	283
U tler, Maj. Thomas, biog. sketch of	64
letter to Gen. K	63
U tler, Col. John, British officer, intrigues of, with the Indians	491
dispatched for, to attend council fire at Buffalo creek,	494
arrives at the Stone House on Lake Erie	496
appoints the council to open at Niagara	497
invites Colonel Proctor to dine	497
advises Colonel Proctor not to proceed to the Miami country	498
departure of, for Fort Erie	499
U tler, Lord, biog. sketch of	303
U tler, General Richard, from James Morrison, relative to three men killed, &c.	546
from General Neville, relative to murders on the frontiers	548
B uffalo Creek, fire of the Six Nations to be lighted at	485
Colonel Proctor arrives at	491
B uffalo Village, Bear's Oil chief assigned planting grounds near by	500
C.	
C AMPBELL, Col. CHARLES, letters from, to—	
Gov. M., relative to the frontiers	566
relative to the protection of frontiers	579
relative to the distressed situation of the frontiers of Westmoreland county	605
Mr. Findley, relative to the frontiers	626
Gov. M., relative to the defense of frontiers	627
requesting copies of militia law	630
General Harmar, relative to state of frontiers	634
C anon, Colonel John, chairman of meeting at Pittsburgh, 1792	25
issues circular for assembling of militia	67
C aptain Snake, Delaware chief, speech of, at Munsee council fire	482
assigned planting grounds at Cattaraugus	500
C arlisle, address of citizens of, to Prest. W	344
letter to the Governor, on state of feeling at	253
from Sec. H. to Gov. M., respecting accidents at	341

INDEX.

	PAGE.
Carnahan, Rev. Dr. James, opinion quoted	5, 13, 15
Casyonding creek, location of Colonel Brodhead's battle with the Indians	483
Catlin, Putnam, report of, to George Eddy	331
Cattaraugus, Indian town, account of	488
Chafudet, Shawanese chief	509
Chambers, General James, to command Third brigade	112
letters from, to—	
Sec. D	286
Gov. M., relative to an appointment	614
command First brigade, Third division	643
Chambers, David, chairman Ohio county meeting	229
Chester county, prosecution of rioters in	28
Chester, report of brigade inspector of	238
quota of, to assemble at Downington	239
county, minutes of meeting of brigade majors of	253
Circular letter of Sec. D	424
from Gov. M., of Pennsylvania	581
City Troops, Col. Francis Johnston offers his services as a volunteer in	235
Clarkson, Matthew, Major, of Philadelphia, letter from Gov. M., relative to application for military assistance	281
Clow, James, chairman Pittsburgh committee	134, 135
Commissioners, U. S., report of	292
Committee of conference on the part of the western counties .	138
proposition of commrs. of Pennsylvania to	158
United States commrs. to	159
reply of, to United States commrs.	161
propositions of United States commrs. to	163
to Pennsylvania commrs.	168
reply of Pennsylvania commrs. to	169
to the commrs. of Pennsylvania	173
to the commissioners of the Union	174
from the United States commrs., concerning extension of propositions to Ohio county	178
letter from United States commrs. in relation to suspen- sion of movements of militia	179
the Pennsylvania commrs. opinion respecting	185
of Holliday's Cove to Colonel A. Baird	589
Committee of Redstone to the United States commrs.	197
reply of United States commrs. to	198
answer of, to United States commrs	219
Committee of Washington county, General Henry Lee's an- swer to	366
Conewango, Manor laid out at	484
Conference of committee and commrs.	13
proceedings of first	155
proceedings of second	180

	PAGE.
Conference of committee and commrs.—	
Indians at Philadelphia, speeches of Cornplanter, Half Town and Great Tree	527, 546
Indians with Prest. W., speeches of Cornplanter, Half Town and Great Tree	533
Congress, act of, relating to excise, 1792	23
President Washington's message to	387
to place troops in western counties	401
resolves of	409
Conneaut, inhabitants at, take refuge in fort	480
mills of David Mead at	480
Bear's Oil, Chief and family fled from	500
Connondochta, Chief of the Messasagoes, assigned planting grounds near Buffalo	500
Conyandocta, speech of, to council of the Six Nations	517
Cook, Edward, biog. sketch of	162
chairman, meeting at Parkinson's ferry	12, 135
delegate, meeting at Pittsburgh, 1791,	16
General of insurgent force	11
letters from, to—	
United States commrs., requesting further time	183
to the public	407
Cornplanter—See O'Beel.	
and other Seneca Indians to Prest. W	546
Coxe, Tench, letter from Judge Brackenridge, giving his opinion of the opposition in the western counties	119
from Judge Brackenridge, relative to change in senti- ment in western counties	254
Courts, Federal, complaints against place of sitting	8
circular to clerks of	29
see <i>Supreme Courts</i> .	
Craig, Isaac, letter to Gen. Knox	63
Craig, John, of Northampton, from James Trimble	337
Major Isaac to Gen. K	545
Crawford, Colonel Josiah, letter to General Harmar, respect- ing the organization of the militia	219
from Sec. D., relative to the drafts of the militia	645
Crawford, Lieut. William, letter to Colonel Baird, relative to calling in the militia	613
to Colonel Baird, relative to distressed situation of fron- tiers	616
Cumberland county, quota of troops to assemble at Carlisle	239
letter of Major Alexander to Gov. M., relative to militia of	272
militia report of Colonel Alexander	272
Cussewago, inhabitants at, take refuge in fort	480
David Mead, requests troops at	630, 631
Cutbush, Dr. Edward, from Gov. M., relative to Surgeon Gen- eral of militia	350

INDEX.

	PAGE.
Cutbush, Dr. Edward.—	
Surgeon General, report of	386
Culbertson, Col. John, to Gov. M., relative to appointment of	
brigade inspector	617
circular to the militia of Mifflin county	619, 620
D.	
DALLAS, A. J., Secretary of the Commonwealth, circular to	
clerks of courts	29
biog. sketch of	57
circular to president judges	65
circular letter of	424
report of, to the Senate	237
report relative to promptness of militia	425
certifies to the appointments	629
letters to, from—	
David Redick, relative to indictment of Daniel Hamilton	39
Judge A., requesting instructions for the attorneys of the State	62
General Wilkins, concerning the determination of the western counties	119
General Irvine, giving an account of affairs in western counties	142
Mr. Findley, concerning the late outrages	175
Col. B., respecting the militia	287
officers of Bucks county	288
Col. Chambers, concerning the disposition of the people	
Captain Woodside, concerning the marching of his company	286
Andrew Bayard, relative to pay of the militia	290
Col. Thomas Forrest, relative to pay of troops	357
Major Joseph Ker, relative to queries, &c.	359
Judge Addison, respecting "constitutional resistance".	381
Attorney General Ingersoll, relative to disposition of militia fines	445
Mr. Simmons, relative to a certain exoneration of fine	448
William Findley, relative to Indian depredations	453
Major McCully, relative to camp equipage	555
relative to resignation of Captain Smith	599
William Findley, relative to outrages by the Indians	607
relative to officers and scouts on the frontiers	608
relative to frontiers	611
from committee of Assembly, relative to expenses incurred in protecting of the frontiers	612
David Redick, relative to bonds of the brigade inspectors	622
General Bratton, relative to military affairs in Mifflin county	628
	644

INDEX.

661

	PAGE.
Dallas, A. J., letters to, from—	
Judge A., relative to the sale of lots of the town at mouth of Beaver	648
letters from, to—	
Judge A., relative to publication of his letters	54
Jacob Harbaugh, of Bedford	57
Attorney General, relative to riot in Allegheny county .	65
General John Gibson, concerning insurrection in the State	66
Gen. K., relative to measures taken to suppress the riotous spirit in Allegheny county	66
General William Irvine, acknowledging the receipt of the report of the commrs.	195
Joseph Ker, brigade inspector of Philadelphia, to Major Rees, in reply to certain queries	249
General Harmar, relative to draft of Samuel Owner . .	278
Anthony Morris, Speaker of the Senate	279
George Latimer, Speaker of the House	279
Alexander Hamilton, concerning the appointment of a Surgeon General	282
General William Irvine, respecting his official notice .	285
Albert Gallatin, concerning the vigorous exertions of government	310
Doctor George Wales, of York, relative to appointment as Surgeon to Marsh Creek troop of horse	321
Paymaster to Adjutant General Harmar, relative to monthly pay of families of militia	333
officers of Western expedition	334
Sec. of State, requesting correspondence of the commrs. of the Union	422
Major Ralston, relative to the settlement of certain pay- rolls	442
General Tannehill and others, relative to extracts from letters from Fort Franklin	578
Gov. M., relative to instructions to lieutenants of exposed counties	616
General Knox, enclosing letter from General Wilkins .	645
Col. Crawford, relative to the drafts of the militia . .	645
Day, Edward, exiled by the insurgents	10
Dauphin, report of brigade inspector of	238
Declarations of David Bradford and others	251
election judges of western counties	252
election judges of Fayette county	252
Defense of frontiers, estimate for	561
De Hebecourt, captain, letter to General Henry Lee, concern- ing the escape of Bradford	378
letter to, from General Lee, relative to the attempted ar- rest of Bradford	395
Delaware county, report of brigade inspector of	238

	PAGE.
Frontiers.—	
letter of Gen. Jack, relative to continuance of troops on circular of Gov. M. to military officers on the	638 639
pay of troops called out for defence of	640
organization of troops called out for defence of	641
Fulton, A., signs circular for assembling of militia	67
G.	
GALLAGHER, EBENEZER, indicted for treason	448
Gallatin, Albert, appointed by Pittsburgh meeting, 1792, to draw up remonstrance to Congress	25
clerk of meeting at Pittsburgh, 1792	25
secretary of meeting at Pittsburgh fort	12, 13
letter from, to Gov. M., transmitting submission resolves of the inhabitants of Fayette county	267
letter to, from Sec. D.	310
Gardner, Arthur, bound over as a witness	448
Gazette, Pittsburgh, publication of, in "Tom the Tinker's" organ	5 7
Gibson, Gen. John, biog. sketch of exiled by the insurgents	58 12
passport to, by committee of Pittsburgh	135
resolves of committee of Pittsburgh respecting to command Fourth division	135 643
letters from, to—	
Gov. M., on his way to Philadelphia	124, 133
enclosing news from Fort Franklin	634
relative to certain military commissions	635
relative to the continuance in service of the six months' men	637
relative to military discipline	552, 578
letter to, from Sec. D.	68
Gordon, Col. A., requested by Col. Proctor to allow the use of a schooner in the lake	499
letter from, to—	
Col. Thos. Proctor, relative to a letter	521
letters to, from—	
Col. Thos. Proctor	518
relative to a letter	520
Gore, Obadiah, biog. sketch of	332
Greensburg, resolves of the inhabitants of	354
Gregg, Andrew, to Col. Bryson, account of Indian depredations on Crooked creek	559
Gunpowder Magazine, Gov. M.'s instructions relative to	281
H	
HALL, CHARLES, letter from Jasper Ewing	319
Hall, John, letter from Judge A., relative to the commissioning of certain justices	456

INDEX.

665

	PAGE
Hamilton, Alexander, secretary of the Treasury, letters from,	
to—	
Prea. W., detailing the opposition to the excise	71
Gov. M., requesting the assembling of the quota of Pennsylvania	226
Pres. W., with an account of affairs in the western counties	242
Gov. M., relative to equipping of troops	263
requesting an escort for Lieut. Bissell	271
relative to state of feeling in western counties	281
relative to the accidents at Carlisle	341
letters to, from—	
Gov. M., concerning escort for Lieutenant Bissell	274
Sec. D., relative to appointment of surgeon general for Pennsylvania	282
Hand, General Edward, letter to, from Gov. M., relative to a supply of rifles	319
to command second division of the militia	642
Hanna, Gen. John A., to command second brigade, second division, militia	642
Harbaugh, Jacob, letter to, from Sec. D.	57
Harmar, Gen. Josiah, Adjutant General of Pennsylvania, biog.	
sketch of	115
circular of, to brigade inspectors	178
general orders of, to—	
hold troops in readiness	110
brigade inspectors to organize quota of troops	115
directing an encampment at Philadelphia	230
directing the officers of the city and county to meet the Governor	230
for rendezvousing of the militia	239
for marching the troops	264
respecting the orderly march of the militia	278
relative to the appearance of detachments	318
letters to, from—	
Gov. M., concerning progress in organizing the militia	177
Col. Crawford, respecting organization of the troops	219
Col. Russell, relative to the delay in York county	223
Gov. M., urging expedition	221
Gov. M., relative to enlisting French citizens	271
Sec. D., relative to enlistment of Samuel Owner	278
Major Rees, relative to want of knapsacks	285
Sec. D., relative to monthly pay to families of the militia	333
Gov. M., communicating the resolves of Congress	415
communicating the thanks of Senate of Pennsylvania	419
relative to collecting the fines of delinquents	439
relative to the conduct of the militia	629
Col. Campbell, relative to the state of the frontiers	634
report of Major Alexander, rel. to Cumberland co. militia	272

	PAGE.
Harrisburg, address of citizens of, to Pres. W.	329
French flag erected at	360
Gov. Howell's thanks to citizens of	310
reply of Pres. W. to address of citizens of	330
Harris, James, letter to Wm. Findley, concerning frontier defence	596
Hawbottom, settlement at	469
Heart, Major Jonathan, letter to Gen. K., respecting murders committed by Indians on the Allegheny	557
Hodgdon, Major Samuel, letters from, to—	
Gov. M. relative to militia fine of Jacob Stober	454
Gov. M., respecting the artillery	548
Holcroft, John, the reputed "Tom the Tinker"	7
bound over as a witness	448
Hollenback, Matthias, biog. sketch of	303
Holiday's Cove, letters of committee of, to Col. Baird	588, 594
proceedings of the meeting at	590
committee of, relative to stationing troops at	599
Houdin, Capt. M. G., accompanies Col. Proctor	466
comes near drowning	466
left sick at New Arrow's town	484
Howell, Richard, Gov. of New Jersey, address of New Jersey cavalry to	260
address of New Jersey infantry to	261
author of "Jersey Blues," a poem	462
general orders of	196
letters from, to—	
Gov. M., relative to march of Jersey cavalry through Philadelphia	266
respecting the progress of the troops	343
order of thanks to citizens of Harrisburg	310
proclamation relative to arrest of disorganizers	258
reply of, to New Jersey cavalry	261
reply of, to New Jersey infantry	262
Hubley and Wilson, of Northumberland, letter of, to Gov. M.	338
Humphon, Gen. Richard, letter from Gov. M., relative to quota of Delaware county	290

I.

INDIAN CONFERENCE, with Prest. W.	533
at Philadelphia, speeches of the chiefs	527, 536
Indians of the north-west, Colonel Proctor's narrative of his journey to	463
murder of, by Virginians near Fort Pitt	476
goods belonging to, taken by the militia	476
feast at O'Beel's town, account of	486

INDEX.

667

	PAGE.
Indians of the north-west—	
British influence with	494
Indian treaty, burlesque	458
Ingersoll, Jared, Attorney General, letters from, to—	
Sec. D., giving an account of affairs in the western coun- ties	142
Gov. M., relative to certain bounty money	447
Sec. D., relative to disposition of militia fines	448
letters to, from—	
Sec. D., relative to a riot in Allegheny county	65
Judge McKean, concerning negotiations with committee of inhabitants of the western counties	183
opinions of, on the militia law	423, 439
biog. sketch of	473
Inhabitants of western counties, memorial to General Lee . .	372
of Pittsburgh, representation of	567
recommendations of James Morrison	585
Inspectors of revenue, notices of	378, 404
Instructions to General Henry Lee	346
Insurgents, commr's appointed by	14
conference of, with General Lee	367
concerning trial of	449
Gov. M.'s proclamation of pardon to	451
Insurrection in the western counties, act to provide for sup- pressing	275
Irvine, General William, appointed commr. to the western counties	11
biog. sketch of	142
instructions to, as commrs.	93
letters from, to—	
Sec. D., giving an account of affairs in the western coun- ties	142
Sec. D., in regard to the feeling in the western counties .	153
Gov. M., relative to his command of the militia	273
Gov. M., relative to his appointment	326
letters to, from—	
Gen. Wilkins, with an account of affairs in the western counties	143
Sec. D., acknowledging receipt of report of commrs.	195
Gen. Wilkins, relative to the feeling in the western coun- ties against the excise	195
Sec. D., explaining the non-receipt of orders	285
Gen. Lee, directing him to arrest certain parties	376
to command the division of the Pennsylvania troops	112
to command 3d division of the militia	643
Irwin, Col. John, letters from, to—	
Col. B., relative to arms and ammunition	558, 561
Col. B., relative to muster rolls and inspection returns .	603
Irwin, William, relative to commission of the peace to	457

INDEX.

J.

	PAGE.
JACOBS, JUDGE BENJAMIN, reply to circular of Gov. M.	52
Jack, Gen. William, inhabitants of western counties to	55
letters from, to—	
Gov. M., relative to the situation of the frontiers	288
Gov. M., relative to the continuance in service of the six months' men	638
Jack, Capt. Patrick, not to be prosecuted	448
Jefferis, Lieut. John, in command at Fort Franklin	569
letter from, on the situation at Fort Franklin	569
extract of letter from, to Eli Williams	570
Jersey Blue's answer to Captain Whiskey	461
Jersey Blues, a poem by Gov. Howell	462
Johnson, Robert, Collector of Excise, outrage upon	6
resignation of	61
Johnston, Col. Francis, Receiver General, offers his services as a volunteer	235
Judges of the courts, circular to, relative to riot in Allegheny county	65

K.

KER, JOSEPH, brigade inspector of Phila., letter from Sec. D. to Sec. D., relative to queries, &c.	241
	381
Kirkpatrick, Major Abram, defends Gen. Neville	9
barn of, destroyed	11
Knox, Gen. Henry, Secretary of War, letters from, to—	
Gov. M., relative to outrage committed near Pittsburgh	62
Gov. M., enclosing proclamation of Pres. W.	104
Major Parrot, relative to Jersey militia	343
Gov. M., relative to thanks of the House of Representatives to the militia	408
Gov. M., enclosing Col. Proctor's narrative	465
Gov. M., extract of a paragraph	541
James Marshall, relative to Indian depredations	541
Gov. M., relative to protection of frontiers	543
Gov. M., relative to lieutenants of western counties	544
lieutenants of the western counties	544
Gov. M., relative to murder of friendly Indians	549
Gov. M., relative to raising additional troops	550
Gov. M., relative to a letter from Lieut. Ernest, at Fort Pitt	554
Gov. M., relative to killing of Indians on Big Beaver creek	557
Gov. M., relative to an order for arms, accoutrements and ammunition	560
Gov. M., relative to orders	568
lieutenants of the counties of Westmoreland, Allegheny and Washington, instructions to	573
Pres. W., relative to memorial of the western counties .	574

INDEX.

609

	PAGE
Knox, Gen. Henry.—	
Gov. M., relative to protection of the frontiers	575
Gov. M., relative to pay of militia by General Government	576
Gov. M., relative to frontier defence	583
relative to troops on the frontiers	615
relative to a treaty at Lower Sandusky	628
relative to affairs in the North-Western Territory . .	633
requesting speedy organization of troops for frontier defence	639
letters to, from—	
Maj. Isaac Craig, relative to attack on Gen. Neville's house	63
Maj. Thomas Butler	63
Sec. D., relative to measures taken to suppress riotous proceedings in Allegheny county	66
Thomas Proctor, relative to a tour among the Six Nations .	524
Maj. Isaac Craig, relative to alarm on the frontiers, &c.	545
Lieut. Ernest, of the Federal artillery	555
Maj. Jonathan Heart, relative to murders committed by Indians on the Allegheny	557
Gov. M., relative to instructions issued to Lieutenants of western counties	575
relative to an act for the defence of the western frontiers asking for a loan of artillery	586
Sec. D., enclosing a letter of General Wilkins	638
Sec. D., enclosing a letter of General Wilkins	645
L.	
LANCASTER, address by Gov. M., to militia of	310
Lancaster county, troops of, to assemble at Lancaster	239
Latimer, George, speaker of the House of Representatives, letter from Sec. D.	279
Lee, General Henry, answer of, to the Washington committee appointment to chief command of army	366
orders of, to militia of Virginia	13
of marching	136
general	369
prices of provisions as approved by	350, 382, 385, 391, 392
proclamation of, relative to treason	371
pardon	400
reply of, to committee of conference	402
letters from, to—	
Gov. M., relative to conduct of the troops	367
the inhabitants of four western counties	372
General William Irvine, directing him to arrest certain parties	376
Captain De Hebecourt, relative to attempted arrest of Bradford	395
Judge Addison, relative to support of the troops	398

INDEX.

	PAGE.
Lee, General Henry.—	
Gov. M., relative to troops returning	399
relative to copy of resolution of House of Representatives	419
letters to, from—	
Sec. Hamilton, instructions to	346
Prest. W.	352
Captain De Hebecourt	378
Lee, Thomas S., Governor of Maryland, orders of, to militia	131
Lenox, Major, United States Marshal, processes served by	8
Lieutenants of the counties of Westmoreland, Allegheny and Washington, instructions from Gen. K. to	513
of the western counties, circular from Gen. K.	544
Lisle, Peter, appointed by Pittsburgh meeting, 1792, to draw up remonstrance to Congress	26
Little Beard, present at the Squawkey Hill council speech of, to the Brother of the Thirteen Fires	473
Lockrey, L., signs circular for assembling of militia	67
Luzerne county, resolves of	303
Lynn, John, outrage upon	8
M.	
MACFARLANE, MAJ. ABRAM, in command of the attack on Neville's house	9
death of	9
MacPherson, Maj. W., letter to Gov. M. relative to troops	317
biog. sketch of	317
and Capt. Dunlap, letter from Gen. Frelinghuysen	396
Marshall, James, appointed by Pittsburgh meeting, 1792, to draw up remonstrance to Congress	26
delegate from Washington to Pittsburgh meeting, 1791	16
signs circular to assemble the militia	67
letter to, from Gen. Knox, relative to Indian depredations	541
letters from, to—	
Gov. M., relative to officers of militia	538
Gov. M., relative to militia	553
Maryland, orders of Gov. Lee to the militia of	131
address of Gen. Smith, to troops of	380
Meason, Isaac, justice warrants issued by	6
McClelland, John, chairman of committee appointed at Redstone	197
McConnell, Capt. Matthew, return of troops by	337
McCulloch, John, process issued against	8
McCully, Col. George, letters from, to—	
John Wilkins, extract of a letter	570
Col. B., relative to arms and ammunition	592
Gov. M., relative to frontiers	593
Col. B., relative to arms	594
Col. B., relative to arms and camp equipage	597

INDEX.

671

	PAGE.
McCully, Col. George, letters from, to—	
Sec. D., relative to camp equipage	599
Col. B., relative to an appointment in the Rifle corps	602
Col. B., relative to rifles furnished	604
Col. B., relative to rifles	606
Sec. D., relative to resignation of Capt. Smith	607
Col. Baird, relative to concentrating troops of	608
Col. B., relative to arms destroyed	613
letters to, from Capt. Smith, relative to his resignation	607
McIntosh, town of, sale of lots of	648
McKean, Thomas, Chief Justice, appointed commr. to the western country	11
biog. sketch of	35
charge of, to the grand jury of Philadelphia	35
Instructions to, as commr. to western counties	93
reply of grand jury to	37
to Attorney General Ingersoll, concerning negotiation with the commrs. of the western counties	183
Mead, David, mills of, at Conneaut	480
letters from, to—	
Gov. M., requesting troops at Cussewago	630
Gen. Neville, relative to removal of troops from Cussewago	631
Meeting of volunteers, call for	307
at Pittsburgh, resolutions of	320
Memorial from the inhabitants of the counties of Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette and Allegheny to Gov. M. of the inhabitants of Middle Wheeling applying for assistance	571
598	
Messages of Gov. M. to Pennsylvania Assembly	44. 409, 209
Message of Pres. W. to Congress	387
Messasagoes, Connondochta, chief of, assigned planting grounds near Buffalo	500
Miami, Indians assembled at, to descend upon the frontiers .	50J
Middle Wheeling, memorial of inhabitants of, praying for assistance	598
Mifflin county, circulars of Col. Culbertson to militia of .	619, 620
letter from Gen. Bratton, relative to militia affairs in .	644
letter from Wm. Brown, relative to state of affairs in .	644
Mifflin, Gov. Thomas, address of Pennsylvania Senate to address of, to militia of Philadelphia	225
to the militia of Lancaster	231
annual	310
of the Senate of Pennsylvania to	409
annual message of	418
appoints commrs. to the western country	44
biog. sketch of	11
circular, relative to belligerent powers, national defence and opposition to excise law	44
	49

INDEX.

	PAGE.
Mifflin Gov. Thomas—	
circular letter from	581
circular of, to the officers of the defensive companies	638
directions to brigade inspectors	240
extract of a letter to, relative to the subsiding of the disturbances at Pittsburgh	260
Instructions of, to superintendent of gunpowder magazine	280
letter to, on the state of feeling at Carlisle	253
memorial of inhabitants from Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette, Allegheny, to	571
message of, to the special Assembly	209
message of, to Assembly, relative to defects in militia law	263
orders of, for conference with the militia officers	227
orders of	384
orders to Gen. H. to hold troops in readiness	110
report of Pennsylvania commrs. to, relative to restoration of peace in the western counties	220
reply of, to Pennsylvania commrs., requesting them to remain at Pittsburgh	221
proclamation convening the Assembly	114
proclamation of pardon	451
proclamation of warning to the insurgents	108
reply of Judge A. to, circular of	50
reply of Judge Jacobs	52
reply of Judge A., explaining his position	53
reply to Pres. W., relative to his course in regard to the western counties	125
reply of the President to, relative to the call of the militia	186
report of Pennsylvania commrs. to	165
special message of, to the Assembly	229
letters from, to—	
Pres. W., relative to offenders	28
Supreme Court Judges, concerning opposition to excise law	29
Pres. W., enclosing letters of Messrs. Addison and Redick	54
transmitting Judge Addison's letter	56
relative to riots in Allegheny county	88
Pres. W., enclosing instructions issued	125
respecting charge of Sec. H. against Pennsylvania officers	164
Gen. Harmar, inquiring of the progress of organizing the militia	177
Pennsylvania commrs., requesting them to remain at Pittsburgh	221
Gen. Harmar, urging expedition in organizing the militia	224
Pres. W., relative to immediate assembling of troops	250

INDEX.

678

	PAGE.
Mifflin, Gov. Thomas, letters from, to—	
Gen. Harmar, relative to enlistment of French citizens	271
Sec. H., relative to an escort for Lieut. Bissell	274
Col. Russell, directing an escort to Lieut. Bissell	274
Gen. Stewart, relative to application of mayor of Philadelphia for troops	279
Matthew Clarkson, mayor of Philadelphia, relative to assistance of the militia	281
Capt. Rice, with instructions	284
Gen. Walter Stewart, relative to order for troops	289
Gen. Richard Humpton, relative to quota of Delaware county	290
Gen. Edward Hand, relative to a supply of rifles	319
Capt. Ebenezer Bowman, directing him to remain at Sunbury	342
Dr. Edward Cutbush, relative to Surgeon General of militia	350
Gen. Wilkins, relative to Fort Le Boeuf	358
Gen. Harmar, communicating resolves of Congress	415
Pres. W., acknowledging resolves of Congress	416
Gen. Harmar, resolve of thanks of Pennsylvania Senate to militia	419
relative to the collecting of fines of delinquents	439
Pres. W., enclosing second memorial of inhabitants of western counties	570
Gen. K., relative to instructions issued to lieutenants of western counties	575
relative to an act for the defence of the western frontiers	583
Gen. Harmar, relative to conduct of militia	629
Gen. K., requesting a loan of artillery	638
Gen. John Patton, relative to supply of arms, &c.	643, 645
letters to, from—	
Wm. Findley, relative to opposition to excise	41
Judge Thomas Smith, relative to enforcing the excise law	46
Gen. John Gibson, account of riot at house of Gen. Neville	58
Secretary of State, relative to objections to the laws in the western counties	96
Secretary of War, enclosing proclamation of Pres. W.	104
Gen. Gibson, while on his way to Philadelphia	124, 133
Pennsylvania commissioners, enclosing propositions	175
relative to restoration of peace in the western counties	220
Judge A., enclosing copy of his charge	222
Secretary of War, requesting the assembling of the troops	226
Maj. Rees, relative to the Philadelphia quota	234
Col. Johnston, offering his services as a volunteer	235
Col. Williams, offering his services as a volunteer	240
48—VOL. IV.	

INDEX.

	PAGE.
Mifflin, Gov. Thomas, letters to, from—	
Secretary of State, enclosing letter of Secretary of Treasury to Pres. W.	242
Maj. John Smith, tendering his resignation of office in the militia	250
Col. B., relative to pay of troops at Fort Mifflin	257
Sec. H., relative to equipping of troops	263
Gov. Howell, relative to march of New Jersey cavalry through Philadelphia	286
Albert Gallatin, transmitting resolves of Fayette county	267
Sec. H., requesting an escort for Lieut. Bissell	271
Gen. Irvine, relative to command of the militia	273
Tench Francis, relative to certain cedar cooperers in the militia	277
Sec. H., relative to state of feeling in western counties	281
Gen. Wm. Jack, relative to situation on frontiers	288
Francis J. Smith, relative to joining volunteers	291
Walter Stewart, relative to a corps to be raised for Philadelphia county	306
George Eckert, relative to hand bills	316
A. Russell, relative to arms and camp equipage	316
Major W. MacPherson, relative to moving troops	317
Col. B., relative to camp equipage	321
Col. B., relative to appointment of Dr. Forrest	325
Gen. Wm. Irvine, relative to appointments	326
H. II. Brackenridge, relative to copy of resolutions	331
David Bradford, of Washington, relative to his conduct	333
Col. Jesse Fell, relative to Luzerne county	335
Messrs. Wilson and Hubley, of Northumberland	338
George Eddy, relative to raising troops	339
Sec. H., relative to accidents at Carlisle	341
Gov. Howell, of New Jersey cavalry	343
Col. Eli Williams, relative to supplies	349
Gov. Lee, of Virginia, relative to troops	354
Paymaster Brown, relative to monthly account	370
Gov. Lee, of Virginia, relative to troops returning	399
Gen. K., relative to thanks of House of Representatives	408
Gov. Lee, of Virginia, relative to copy of resolution of House of Representatives	419
Col. Alex. Russell, relative to militia law	421
Attorney General Ingersoll, relative to certain bounty money	447
Samuel Hodgdon, relative to militia fine of Jacob Stober	454
Judge A., relative to indiscriminate granting of pardons	454
Secretary of War, enclosing narrative of Col. Proctor	466
James Marshall, relative to the officers of militia	538
David Redick, respecting the success of the troops	540
Gen. K., relative to extract of a paragraph	541
relative to protection of frontiers	543

INDEX.

675

	PAGE.
Mifflin, Gov. Thomas, letters to, from—	
relative to copy of letter from lieutenants of the western counties	544
Samuel Hodgdon, relative to artillery	548
Gen. K., relative to murder of friendly Indians	549
relative to raising additional troops	550
Col. Wilkins, relative to Indian depredations	551
John Gibson, relative to military discipline	552
James Marshall, relative to militia	553
Gen. K., relative to a letter from Lieut. Ernest at Fort Pitt	554
David Stewart, relative to Indian depredations	556
Gen. K., relative to killing of Indians on Big Beaver creek	557
John Scull, relative to accounts of Indian depredations	558
Gen. K., relative to an order for arms and accoutrements	560
John Adlum, relative to treaty at New Town	560
Capt. Torrence, relative to protection of the western frontiers	566
Col. Campbell, relative to the frontiers	566
Pres. W., relative to the defeat of Major Gen. St. Clair	568
Gen. K., relative to orders	
relative to protection of the frontiers	576
relative to pay of militia by the Government	577
John Gibson, relative to military discipline	578
Col. Chas. Campbell, relative to protection of frontier	579
Col. John Wilkins, relative to frontiers rations	580
Col. B., relative to rations	580
Col. John Wilkins, relative to defence of frontiers	586
Gen. K., relative to defence of frontiers	586
David Redick, relative to defence of frontiers	588
Maj. McCully, relative to defence of frontiers	593
Gen. Presley Neville, relative to Indian depredations	605
Charles Campbell, relative to the distressed situation of the frontiers of Westmoreland county	606
Gen. James Chambers, relative to an appointment	614
Gen. K., relative to troops	615
Sec. D., relative to instructions to lieutenants of exposed counties	616
Col. Culbertson, relative to appointment of brig. inspector	617
Col. B., recommending Col. Wilkins	621
Gen. Neville, relative to military accounts	622
Col. Campbell, relative to state of the frontiers	627
Gen. K., relative to a treaty at Lower Sandusky	628
David Mead, requesting troops	630
Col. Campbell, requesting copy of militia law	630
Gen. Neville, relative to the removal of troops from Cussewago	63

INDEX.

	PAGE
Mifflin, Gov. Thomas, letters to, from—	
Gen. Wilkins, relative to defence of the frontiers	632
Gen. Henry Taylor, relative to stationing the troops	633
Gen. K., relative to affairs in the north-western territory	633
Gen. Gibson, relative to certain military commissions	634
Capt. Woodside, relative to military disputes	635
Gen. Gibson, relative to the continuance in service of the six months' men	637
Gen. Taylor, relative to the continuing in service of the six months' men	637
Gen. Jack, relative to the continuance in service of the six months' men	638
Gen. K., relative to speedy organization of the troops for the defence of the frontiers	639
Wm. Brown, relative to state of affairs in Mifflin county	644
Judge A., relative to the murder of Indians	646
Wm. Brown, relative to a prisoner among the Indians	647
Judge A., relative to the escape of certain prisoners	647
Judge A., relative to the trial of a person charged with shooting an Indian	648, 650
Militia accounts, committee of Assembly requesting state- ment of	622
Militia of Philadelphia, address of Gov. M. to	231
of Pennsylvania, appointments in 1793	629
circular of Gen. Harmar to brigade inspectors, relative to expenses of	178
letter of Gov. M., inquiring as to progress in organiza- tion	177
letters from Col. John Wilkins, relative to	623, 624, 625
estimated expenses of	652
officers, circular of the western insurgents to	67
places of conference with the Governor	226
opinion of Attorney General Ingersoll relative to	423
opinion of Attorney General Ingersoll on the	439
orders of Gen. Harmar, relative to orderly march of	278
orders of the commander-in-chief of	350
report of Sec. D., relative to promptness of	425
request of the Secretary of War for the assembling of the State troops	226
call of Secretary of State to Gov. M. concerning	186
Miller, Gen. Henry, to command 1st brigade, 2d division	642
Mingo creek, military meeting at	9
Monongahela county, Virginia, letter of Bradford to	95
Montgomery county, report of brigade inspector of	237
Moore, John, letter of, to Col. Baird, requesting militia to be sent forward	621
Morgan, Gen. Daniel, orders of	403
letter to Judge A.	418
Morris Anthony, speaker of the Senate	226

INDEX.

677

	PAGE.
Morris Anthony.—	
letter to, from Sec. D.	279
Morrison, James, letter to Gen. Richard Butler, relative to three men killed, &c.	546
recommendation of, by the inhabitants of Pittsburgh, to Gov. M.	585
Morton, Thomas, appointed to meet the President at Bedford delegate from Allegheny to Pittsburgh meeting, 1791	14
16	16
Muncy settlement, reception of Col. Proctor at conference at	482
482	482
Murray, Gen. Francis, to command 2d brigade	112
to command 2d brigade, 1st division	642
N.	
NARRATIVE OF COL. PROCTOR'S JOURNEY TO THE INDIANS OF THE north-west	463
Narrative of Thomas Rhea	582
New Arrow, chief of the Senecas, arrival of, at Fort Franklin threatened	484
477	477
requests canoes to convey goods	484
New Arrow town, Capt. Houdin left at	484
New Jersey, address of cavalry of, to Gov. H.	260
address of infantry of, to Gov. H.	261
cavalry of, Gov. H.'s letter to Gov. M. relative to march of, through Philadelphia	266
troops of, Gov. H.'s orders to	196
proclamation of Gov. H. of	258
reply of Gov. H. of, to address, &c.	261
reply of Gov. H. to infantry of	262
Neville, Gen. John, accompanies Marshal Lenox in serving process	8
biog. sketch of	60
destruction of house of, by the insurgents	9
Major Craig's account of	63
Major Butler's account of	63
notice by, for entering stills	15
notice from, relative to loss of certificates	60
notice of opening office of inspection	378
relative to discontinuing suits	404
Neville, Col. (Gen.) Presley, biog. sketch of	134
exiled by the insurgents	10
resolves of Committee of Pittsburgh respecting	134
letters from, to—	
Col. Richard Butler, relative to murders on the frontiers	548
Gov. M., relative to Indian depredations	605
relative to accounts of the militia	622
relative to the removal of troops from Cussewago	631
David Mead, relative to stationing of troops at Cussewago	631

INDEX.

	PAGE.
Nichola, Col. Lewis, brigade inspector, orders of Gen. Harmar to organize troops	115
Northampton county, troops of, to assemble at Reading	239
North-Western territory, Gen. K. to Gov. M., giving an ac- count of affairs in	633
 O.	
OATH, form of	375
Oaths of allegiance, notice for receiving	377
O'Beel, Cornplanter, arrival of, at Pittsburgh	473
message of, to Stump Foot and Black Chief	474
calls a meeting of the Indian chiefs at Kayasutta's cabin	497
Col. Proctor advises to attend the council at Niagara	497
assembles the chiefs to select lands	500
conversation with, relative to joining Gen. St. Clair	511
speech of, at Fort Franklin	513
Obishaw settlement, Seneca town on Oil Creek	476
Officers, general, of the Pennsylvania troops	112
of Bucks county to Sec. D.	288
list of, appointed to command of the experienced rifle- men of militia	583
Ohio county, Virginia, answer of committee to U. S. commrs. committee of conference from	172
committee of, to the U. S. commrs	155
letter of U. S. commrs. to committee of, respecting ex- tension of propositions to	171
reply of U. S. commrs. to	176
resolves of	172
228	
Oliphant, John, delegate from Fayette to Pittsburgh meeting, 1791	16
Opinions of Attorney General Ingersoll on the militia law	423, 439
Orders of Gov. Lee, of Maryland, to militia	137
Gen. Harmar, to brigade inspectors	115
to the troops	230, 231, 239
Gov. Howell, of New Jersey, relative to marching of troops	196
Gov. Mifflin to Gen. Harmar	110
Gov. Lee, of Virginia, to militia	136
Gov. M., for conference of militia officers	226
Col. B., quarter master general Pennsylvania militia	257
Maj. Gen. Harmar, respecting orderly march of the mi- litia	278
Orders, division, of Gen. Stewart	300
general, of the commander-in-chief of the militia	350
of Maj. Gen. Lee, relative to marching	389
general, of Gen. Henry Lee	382, 385, 391, 392
of Gen. Morgan	403

P.

	PAGE.
PACIFICUS, CAPTAIN, address of	460
Painted Post, treaty at	523
Pardon, Gen. Lee's proclamation of	402
Gov. M.'s proclamation of	451
Parker, George, bound over as a witness	448
Parkinson's Ferry, meeting ordered at	10
meeting held at	12
meeting of committee of safety at	14
second meeting of committee of safety at	14
minutes of meeting at	185
committee of conference appointed at	136
resolutions of the second meeting	327
resolutions of the final meeting	386
Parkinson, Benjamin, signs circular to assemble the militia	67
surrenders to the arrest	448
Parrot, Maj. ——, from Gen. K., relative to Jersey militia	343
Patton, Gen. John, from Gov. M., relative to supply of arms	643, 645
Pennsylvania, act of Assembly of, relative to suppressing the insurrection in the western counties	275
Pennsylvania commra. to the western counties, appointment of	11
to meet the committee of insurgents	13
quota of troops to be raised	112
report of, to Gov. M.	165
instructions to	98
arrival at Pittsburgh	142
propositions of	158
committee of conference to	168, 173
reply of, to committee of conference of	169
to Gov. M., enclosing copy of propositions	175
assurances of	182
letter to Gov. M., giving their opinion of the feeling of the standing committee	186
to Gov. M., relative to the restoration of peace in the western counties	220
from Gov. M., requesting them to remain at Pittsburgh	221
Pennsylvania, charges against officers of, made by Sec. H.	164
Pennsylvania Senate, resolutions of	236
address of, to Gov. M.	225
letter of Secretary of Treasury to Pres. W., relative to officers opposed to excise law	242
Legislature, resolutions of, against excise law	16
quota of the several brigades of	641
Peters, Judge Richard, of U. S. courts, biog. sketch of	148
investigation held by, at Pittsburgh	15
charge of	148

INDEX.

	PAGE
Philadelphia, orders of Gen. Harmar for officers of, to meet the Governor	231
address of Gov. M. to militia of	231
troops, relief of the families of	323
relative to conduct of the First Troop of	323
list of the First Troop of	324
return of volunteer Greens	337
Phillips, Rev. David, delegate from Washington to Pittsburgh meeting, 1791	16
appointed by Pittsburgh meeting to draw up remonstrance to Congress	25
Pittsburgh, meeting at, in 1791	6
minutes of meeting at, 1791	16
minutes of meeting at, 1792	24
minutes of meeting at, July 31, 1794	68
passport of committee of, to Gen. Gibson	135
proceedings of first conference at	155
resolutions from inhabitants of, to march out and meet the assemblage on B. F.	69
resolves of committee of, respecting Gibson and Neville	134
request of Gov. M. to Pennsylvania commr. to remain at	221
resolves of inhabitants of, relative to proscriptions	266
resolutions of Sept. 27, 1794,	320
representation of the inhabitants of	567
recommendation of Jas. Morrison from inhabitants of, to Gov. M.	586
Plumer, William, delegate from Allegheny to Pittsburgh meeting, 1791	16
Powell, Capt., British officer, present at the Buffalo creek council	491
Prices, specification of, in Washington and Fayette counties	365
of provisions, as approved by Gen. Lee	371
Proclamation, second, of Pres. W.	304
of Gen. Henry Lee, relative to treason	400
relative to pardon	402
Proctor, Gen. Thomas, advised by Col. Butler not to proceed to the Miami country	498
comes near drowning	467
council with Indians at Squawkey Hill	473
at Munsee settlement	482
at Buffalo creek	491
declines to remove the council fire at Buffalo creek	493
dines with Big Sky	497
explains his plan of visiting the Miami Indians	495
invited to dine with Col. Butler	497
relative to Journal of	512
narrative of the journey of	463
relative to New Arrow's town	511
to command 1st brigade, 1st division	112, 642

INDEX.

681

	PAGE.
Proctor, Gen. Thomas.—	
letters from, to—	
Col. A. Gordon	518
Col. A. Gordon, relative to miscarriage of a letter	520
Gen. Knox, Secretary of War, relative to a tour among the Six Nations	524
reply of Col. A. Gordon to	521
Propositions of the comra. of Pennsylvania	158
Provisions, price of	371
Purviance, Henry, letter from Gen. Wilkins	443
biog. sketch of	443
R.	
RALSTON, MAJ., from Sec. D.	442
Randolph, Edmund, Secretary of State, letter to Gov. M.	96
President's reply to Gov. M., relative to a call of militia	186
letter to Gov. M., enclosing report of U. S. comra.	138
letter to Gov. M., enclosing letter of Secretary of Treas- ury to Prea. W.	242
letter from Sec. D.	422
Rawle, William, District Attorney, letters from, to—	
Judge Addison	397, 398, 420, 445
relative to certain insurgents	448
relative to trial of the insurgents	449
relative to Dorsey and Bradford	453
biog. sketch of	397
Reagan, Philip, property of, destroyed	6
Recommendation of John Robinson, to Gov. M.	587
Red Jacket, chief of the Six Nations, message sent to	485
welcomes Col. Proctor	489
desires to remove the council fire to Niagara	493
reply of, to Col. Proctor's objections to the removal of the council	493
reasons of, for not holding a council	499
speech of	505
information of	508
speech of, at Buffalo	515
Redick, David, appointed committee to meet the President	14
biog. sketch of	39
letter from, to—	
Sec. D., relative to indictment of Daniel Hamilton	39
Gov. M., relative to the success of our troops	540
relative to defence of frontiers	588
Sec. D., relative to bonds of the brigade inspectors	628
Redstone Old Fort, meeting at, in 1791	5
committee of sixty to meet at	12
conference adjourns to	12
resolutions of standing committee at	179, 183
proceedings of second conference at	180

INDEX.

	PAGE.
Redstone Old Fort.—	
committee of, to U. S. Commissioners, enclosing resolution of 28th August, 1794	197
Reed, John, "Tom the Tinker's" notice to	61
Rees, Major James, Deputy Adjutant General, letter to Gov. M.	
relative to Philadelphia quota of troops	234
reply of Sec. D. to	249
letter from, to Gen. Harmar	285
Report of the U. S. Commissioners	292
of the committee of conference with Gen. Lee's reply	367
of Surgeon General Cutbush	386
of Sec. D., relative to want of promptness of the militia	425
Resolutions of Pittsburgh meeting	320
of second meeting at Parkinson's Ferry	327
at Tioga, relative to disturbances in the western counties	331
of General Assembly to officers on the western expedition	334
of the final meeting at Parkinson's Ferry	356
of the New Jersey Legislature	408
of the General Assembly, relative to the Indians on the western frontiers	527
of Gen. Assembly, rescinding the resolution of February 23, 1790	527
of the inhabitants of Luzerne	303
of the inhabitants of Greensburgh	354
of Congress	409
of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, relative to militia	416
of the Senate of Pennsylvania, relative to militia	417
Revenue, notices of the inspectors	378, 404
Rhea, Thomas, narrative of	562
Rice, Capt., instructions to, from Gov. M.	284
Rippey, Wm., letter from, to Col. B., relative to transportation of stores	585
Ritchie, Matthew, letter from, to Col. Baird	592
Robinson, John, recommendation of, to Gov. M.	587
Ross, James, appointed commr. to the western counties	12, 116
biog. sketch of	302
instructions to	116
Route of the army on their return	380
Russell, Col. Alex., letter from, to Gen. Harmar, concerning delay in drafting militia of York	223
Gov. M., directing an escort for Lieut. Bissell	274
letters from, to Gov. M., relative to arms and camp equipment	
page	315
relative to militia law	421
Ryerson, Thomas, letter from, to Col. Baird, relative to an attack by the Indians on escort	600
relative to expiration of the levies	620

INDEX.

688

S.

	PAGE.
SANDUSKY, LOWER, notice relative to proposed Indian treaty at	628
Scotch-Irish, first settlers in the western counties	4
Scott, John, Allegheny county, Judge A., recommends commission of the peace for	457
Scull, John, to Gov. M., relative to accounts of Indian depredations	558
Senate of Pennsylvania, address of, to Gov. M.	225, 418
resolutions of	236, 417
report of Sec. D. to	237
Shepherd, Col. David, letter from, to Col. Baird, relative to Indian depredations	603
Simmons, Wm., accountant for the Department of War, to Sec. D., relative to exonerations for fine	453
Six Nations, message from Col. Pickering relative to presents for	500
certain Indians placing themselves under the protection of	500
Smilie, Robert, process issued against	8
Smith, Thomas, alternate U. S. commr. to western counties	118
biog. sketch of	46
letter from, to Gov. M.	46
Smith, Maj. John, of Philadelphia, resigns his position in the militia	250
Smith, Francis J., letter from, to Gov. M., relative to joining volunteers	291
Smith, Capt. Samuel, to Maj. McCully, relative to resignation of	607
Spaulding, Simon, biog. sketch of	332
Smith, Gen. Samuel, address to Maryland troops	380
Spear, Thomas, signs circular to assemble the militia	67
Speeches of Cornplanter, Half Town and Great Tree, in conference at Philadelphia	527, 536
Cornplanter, Half-Town and Great Tree, to the President of the United States	533
Squawkey Indiaus, branch of the Senecas	472
threaten to leave and repair to Buffalo	500
Squawkey Hill, council fire at	473
State of the arms	602
Stewart, Gen. Walter, letter to, from Gov. M., relative to application of mayor of Philadelphia for troops	279
from Gov. M.	289, 306
address of	308
division orders of	309
to command 1st division troops	642
Stewart, David, to Gov. M., relative to Indian depredations	558
Stingfish, Capt., appointment of	509

	PAGE.
Stober, Jacob, concerning militia fine of, for non-attendance	454
Stokely, Nehemiah, delegate from the Westmoreland to Pittsburgh meeting, 1791	16
Stokely, Thomas, from Thomas Trulock, relative to appearance of Indians on Fish creek	625
Stump Foot, present at the Squawkey Hill council	473
message of Cornplanter to	475
Submission, vote on, directed by the standing committee	179
Subscription papers for volunteers	307
Superintendent of magazine, from Gov. M.	281
Supreme Court, judges of, letter from Gov. M. to, concerning opposition to excise	29
Surgeon General of Pennsylvania, from Sec. D. to Alex. Hamilton, relative to appointment of	282
T.	
TANNEHILL, GEN. ADAMSON, chairman of Pittsburgh meeting, resolving against proscriptions of its citizens	266
and others, from Sec. D., relative to extracts of letters from officers at Fort Franklin	578
Taylor, Gen. Henry, to Gov. M., relative to stationing the troops	633
to Gov. M., relative to the continuance in service of the six months' men	637
Tenachshegouchtongee, O'Beel's Town, situation of	477
Test of submission, vote to be taken on	179
Thyogasa, speech of, at Buffalo Creek	515
Tioga, resolutions at, relative to disturbance in the four western counties	331
"Tom the Tinker," reputed author of	7
Torrence, Capt. Joseph, letter from, to Gov. M., relative to protection of the frontiers	565
Trimble, James, biog. sketch of	337
letter from, to John Craig, of Northampton	337
Troops of Maryland, address of Gen. Smith to	380
letter from Col. B. to Gov. M., relative to pay of, at Phila.	257
estimate for raising and equipping the	587
Gen. Harmar's marching orders to	264
Gov. M.'s orders to Gen. Harmar to hold in readiness	110
in the western counties, act of Congress to place	401
assembling of, orders of Gen. Harmar relative to	239
notes on the march of	360
proclamation of Pres. W. to	105
of Gov. M., calling out	114
quota of, assigned to each State under proclamation of the President	112
relief of the families of Philadelphia	323
return of Capt. Matthew McConnell's	337

INDEX.

685

	PAGE.
Troops of Maryland—	
roll designating quota of	112
Sec. Hamilton, relative to equipping of	262
to be immediately assembled	250
Trulock, Thomas, letter to Thomas Stokely, relative to appearance of Indians on Fish creek	625
Turner, George, Judge N. W. Territory, biog. sketch of	446
letters from, to—	
Judge A., relative to certain recog.	446
relative to Cunningham's recog.	449
U.	
UNITED STATES COMMISSIONERS, appointment of	116
answer to, by Redstone committee	219
assurances of	180
committee of Ohio county, Virginia, to	171
from Col. Cook, requesting farther time	183
from committee of Redstone	197
instructions to	116
letter to committee of conference, respecting extending propositions to Ohio county	176
propositions submitted by	163
reply of committee of conference to	161
reply of, to committee of Ohio county	172
reply to committee of Redstone	197
report of, to Sec. of State	138
report of	292
to committee of conference	159
to committee of conference, respecting suspension of movements of the militia	179
Uniontown, resolves of submission of meeting of inhabitants of Fayette county at	269
resolves passed at, transmitted to Gov. M. by Mr. Galatin	287
V.	
VIRGINIA, orders of Gov. Lee to militia of	136
resolves of Ohio county, in	228
Volunteers, call for a meeting of, at Philadelphia	207
subscription papers for	207
W.	
WALES, DR. GEORGE, from Sec. D., relative to appointment as surgeon of Marsh Creek Troop of Horse	321
Wallace, George, appointed by Pittsburgh meeting to confer with assembly at B. F.	68
Washington, Prest., address of citizens of Harrisburg to	329
address of citizens of Carlisle to	344
address of the Senate to	398

INDEX.

	PAGE.
Washington, Prest.—	
address of the House of Representatives to	404
appoints commrs. to the western counties	12
Cornplanter and other Seneca Indians, address to	546
extract from annual message of	33
notification to, from Judge Wilson, relative to the ob-	
struction of the laws	70
conference at residence of	122
message to Congress	387
proclamation of warning issued by	11, 26
proclamation of warning to western insurgents	105
proclamation, second, of	304
reply of Congress to	37
reply of Gov. M. to, relative to his course in regard to	
the western counties	125
reply to citizens of Harrisburg	330
reply to citizens of Carlisle	345
reply to the address of the Senate	304
reply to House of Representatives	406
sets out for Western Pennsylvania	14
speech of Indian chiefs to	533, 536
letters to, from—	
Gov. M., enclosing letter of Messrs. Addison and Redick	54
transmitting Judge Addison's letter	56
Sec. H., relative to the conduct of the western counties	71
Gov. M., relative to riots in Allegheny county	88
respecting charges made by Sec. H.	164
Secretary of Treasury, giving account of affairs in west-	
ern counties	242
Gov. M., relative to immediate assembling of the militia	250
Gov. M.	416
relative to the second memorial	570
Gen. K., relative to memorial of the western counties	574
Gen. Lee	352
Gov. M., relative to the defeat of Maj. Gen. St. Clair	568
Washington county, resolution passed by committee of	5
committee of correspondence for	26
committee of conference from	155
answer of Gen. Lee, to committee of	366
Webster, Capt., excise officer for Somerset, compelled to re-	
sign	7
Wells, Benjamin, collector, compelled to resign	6
Wells, John, collector, outrage upon	6
Western counties, act of assembly to provide for suppressing	
insurrection in	275
act of Congress to place troops in	401
appointment of U. S. commrs. to	116
Brackenridge's description of feeling in	10

INDEX.

687

	PAGE.
Western counties—	
Brackenridge's opinion of opposition to excise in	119
Brackenridge to Tench Coxe, relative to change of sentiment in	254
condition of, in 1794	4
conference committee appointed by	136
committee of conference from	155
Gen. Wilkins' account of affairs in	143
Gen. Irvine's account of affairs in	153
Gen. Wilkins to Gen. Irvine, giving an account of feeling in concerning excise law	195
instructions to commrs. of Pennsylvania to	93
instructions to U. S. commrs. to	116
letter of Sec. H. to Washington, relative to conduct of .	71
letter of Sec. of State, relative to obstructions of laws in	96
letter of Pennsylvania commrs., relative to restoration of peace in	220
letter of Alex. Hamilton to President, giving an account of affairs in	242
letter to Gov. M., concerning the disturbances in	34
members of Congress from	4
sketch of Irish settlers in	4
Western insurgents, circular of, to militia officers	67
proclamation of warning to, by the President	105
proclamation of warning to, by the Governor	108
West Liberty, Va., meeting of inhabitants at	228
Westmoreland county, inhabitants of, to Gen. Wm. Jack . .	55
declaration of election officers of	252
Wheat, abundance of, west of the mountains	4
Whiskey Boys, relative to one man shot at by	360
Whiskey, historical notes concerning	5
insurrection papers relating to	3
Whiskey, Capt., address of	458
Jersey Blue's reply to	461
White, Anthony W., Adjutant General of New Jersey	197
Williams, Col. Eli, extract of a letter from Lieut. Jeffers to .	570
to Gov. M., relative to supplies	349
Williams, Col. Jonathan, biog. sketch of	240
to Gov. M., offering his services	240
Wilkins, Gen. John, Jr., appointed by Pittsburgh meeting to confer with assemblage at B. F.	68
extract of a letter from Col. George McCully to	570
letters from, to—	
Col. B., concerning the state of the western counties . .	69
Sec. D., relative to the determination in the western counties	119
Gen. Irvine, with account of affairs in the western counties	143
concerning the feeling against the excise law	185

INDEX.

	PAGE.
Wilkins, Gen. John, Jr.—	
Gen. B., expressing fears of civil war	222
Henry Purviance, relative to state of affairs	443
Gov. M., relative to Indian depredations	551
relative to contract for rations	580
relative to frontiers	586
Col. B., relative to the accounts of the militia	623, 624, 625
Gov. M., relative to protection of the frontiers	632
letters to, from—	
Gov. M., relative to Fort LeBoeuf	358
to command 2d brigade, 4th division	643
Wilson, James, Judge of U. S. Court, biog. sketch of	70
notification of the President	70
Wilson, James, of Greene county, Judge A. recommends commission of the peace to	457
Wilson, Gen. William, to command 2d brigade, 2d division	643
a deranged person, outrage upon	6
Wilson and Hubley, Messrs., of Northumberland, to Gov. M.	
Wood, John, delegate from Allegheny to Pittsburgh meeting, 1791	16
Woodside, Capt. John, letter to Sec. Dallas	290
to Gov. M.	635

Y.

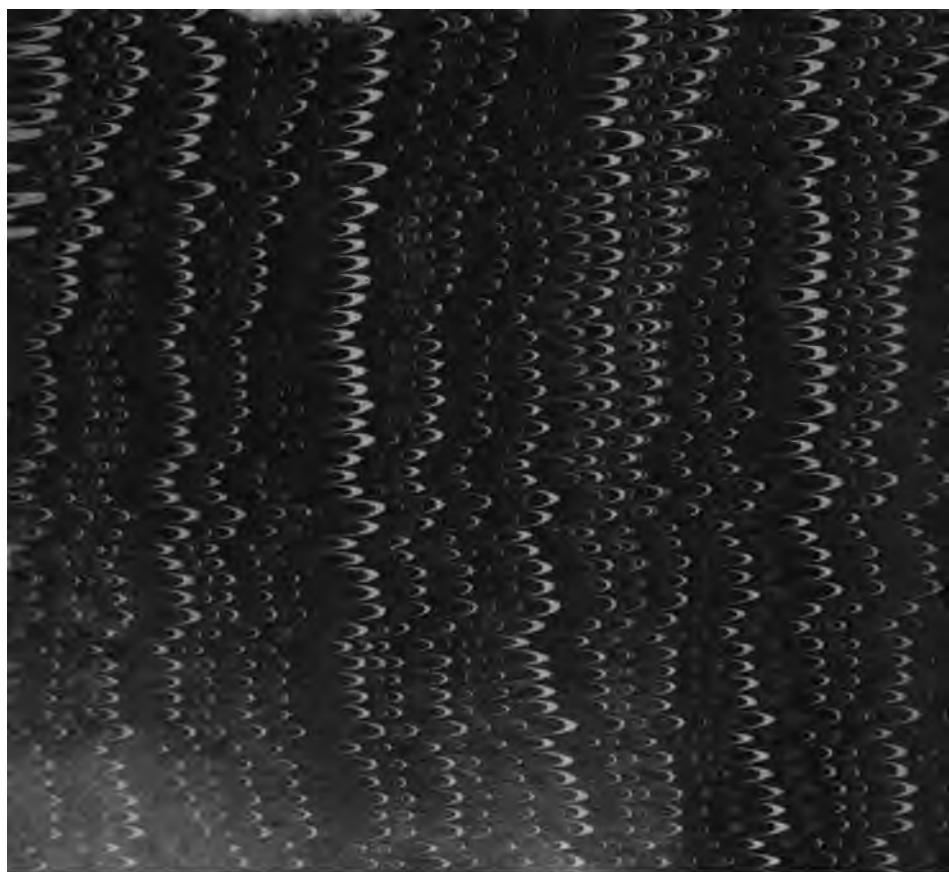
YEATES, JASPER , appointed United States commr. to W. C.	12, 116
instructions to	116
biog. sketch of	164
York , letter of Col. Russell to Gen. Harmar, relative to delay in drafting militia in	223
quota of, to assemble at the town of	239
Young , John, delegate from Westmoreland to Pittsburgh meeting, 1791	16
Young King , headed by twelve of the chiefs	508
Six Nations chief, prompts Red Jacket at the Buffalo council	494
Six Nations chief, speech of, on leaving Buffalo	522
speech of	504











Stanford University Libraries



3 6105 020 082 603

OCT 17 1986
NOV - 2 1986

REF 849

JUN 9 1986 FEB 28 1973 974.8
SEP 8 1986 H 42 A
JUL 15 1986 REF. SER. v. 4

SEP 29 1986

Stanford University Library
Stanford, California

In order that others may use this book,
please return it as soon as possible, but
not later than the date due.

